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## **A Brief History of Greek Orthodoxy in America 1880-2000**

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### **1. THE "PROTOPOROI" (PIONEERS) AND THE FOUNDING OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH IN AMERICA**

The founding in 1922 of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America can be traced to the Greek immigration in the latter part of the 19th Century. Generally, it is associated with the great wave of migrations to the United States from 1890-1914, and is related to the arrival of peoples from Slavic territories and from the Mediterranean area. During the last decade of the 1880's immigrants arrived from the Greek mainland to be joined later by fellow Hellenes from the parts of Greece that were still under the rule of the Ottoman Empire.

Most of the Greek immigrants – railroad and mine workers in the West, textile and shoe factory workers in New England, peddlers and bootjacks in the large Northern cities, aspiring entrepreneurs everywhere – all somehow managed to save money from their meager earnings. Funds in large amounts were sent back to Greece; remittances from Greeks in America totaled over \$600 million in the years between 1910 and 1930. Many immigrants, moreover, accomplished exactly what they had set out to do – make money and return to Greece. It was estimated that about forty percent of all Greeks admitted to the United States before 1930 went back to their homeland; some after only a short while in America, others after a longer stay. Some 45,000 returned to volunteer in the Greek Army during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, a tribute to the Hellenic patriotism of Greek immigrants

in America. It is not known how many of these patriots eventually decided to settle in the U.S. A large number, however, were simply returning to the old country to bring relatives or their own brides back to America. The number of such immigrants crossing the oceans in the early decades of this century was considerable. In fact, almost any tracing of a Greek-American family tree will uncover ancestors who crossed and recrossed the Atlantic several times before finally deciding to remain in America or live permanently in Greece.

In most cases, the Greek immigrant reluctantly gave up the idea of returning home. A 1930 survey of twenty-four nationality groups showed that the Greeks ranked last in acquiring American citizenship. Yet, contrary to their initial intentions, those immigrants whose economic fortunes turned out best were the ones who put down roots in America. Those who earned a bare subsistence were the ones who returned permanently to Greece. Among the less economically successful immigrants who did stay in America, a disproportionate share never married. Another wave of returnees started in the 1950's- and continues at present, consisting of elderly bachelors retiring to Greece on their Social Security benefits. In brief, those immigrants prospered in America, or at least had steady employment, were the ones who established families here. It was this element that became the bedrock of the Greek Orthodox Community in America.

The transformation of the Greek immigrant colony in America into a Greek Orthodox Community was presaged by the passage of restrictive immigration starting in 1917. It was not until 1921, however, that Congress first passed immigration legislation based on nationality quotas. The move toward restrictive immigration culminated in the Reed-Johnson Act of 1924, in which the number of entering immigrants was determined by a formula based on the nationality distribution of the 1920 census. The clear intent and result was to exclude immigrants coming from southern and Eastern Europe. The Greek quota was set at only 100 immigrants per year! This number contrasted sharply with the 28,000 Greeks who came to this country in 1921, the last year of relatively open immigration. In 1929 the annual Greek quota was raised to 307, where it remained for the greater part of the next three decades. Non-quota immigrants, however, were allowed (principally through the mechanism of reuniting immediate family members) and Greek entry into the United States averaged about 2,000 yearly between 1924 and 1930.



The immigration legislation of 1921 and 1924 closed what had been a virtually "open-door" policy for Greeks and other European immigrants. The halt in mass migration had two profound consequences for Greek Americans – one immediate and the other long-term. First, there was a frantic scramble to acquire American citizenship. The immigrant realized that only a naturalized citizen could hope to bring over family members, or even himself if he sought to return to America after visiting Greece. Whereas in 1920 only one in six Greek male immigrants had acquired American citizenship, by 1930 half of these immigrants had become naturalized Americans. Second, without the transfusion of new arrivals from Greece, American-born Greeks would eventually replace the immigrants as the core Greek-American population. Proponents of maintaining traditional Greek culture in the adopted country would dominate for a generation, but the arithmetic of the American ascendancy was inevitable. In 1920 only one in four Greek-Americans was born in this country, but by 1940 American-born Greeks were in the majority. Thus, legislative restrictions of immigration set into motion both individual and demographic forces that molded the Greek Orthodox Community.

The formation of the Greek-American Community was also affected by the regional origins of the immigrants. The first small group of Greek immigrants in the 1880's came from Laconia, a province located in the Peloponnesus. By the 1890's most came from Arcadia, another province in the Peloponnesus. In time, Greek immigrants would be drawn from all parts of "free" Greece as well as the unredeemed lands. The expulsion of the Greeks from Asia Minor by Turkey in 1922 resulted in a number of these refugees coming to America just before the closing of the immigration gates. But the Peloponnesus, the southernmost region of mainland Greece, has always remained the main place of origin for Greek-Americans.

The reasons for Greek immigration to the U.S. or even to other areas of the globe, are not to be found in political or religious oppression at home, but in the search for self-improvement in the "land of promise" and for economic assistance to relatives back home. Greek immigration to the U.S. from those Greeks living in the Ottoman Empire was for a different reason. These Orthodox Christians occupied a respectable economic status, but frequently suffered political and religious oppression.

## 2. THE FIRST ORGANIZED EFFORT FOR A CHURCH, 1902

The Greek immigrant soon realized that his survival as an individual depended on an identity with some institution closely related to his ethnic and religious roots. This developed through the organization of the "Koinotês" or "Community." When a sufficient number of Greeks had settled in one place, a community would be formed which would include all the Greeks of that area. These were the humble beginnings of the founding of a great tradition, one that goes back through the Byzantine legacy to the founding of Christianity, and even to Hellenism as it evolved from pre-Christian times.

The Greek immigrant had faith in himself and in the value of his tradition; he had a sense of dignity and a sense of duty. His faith provided him with the strength for great efforts; his sense of dignity prevented him on many occasions from doing anything that would be embarrassing to himself, to his Church, or to his Hellenic origins; his sense of duty encouraged him to serve the institutions he represented and his fellow human beings to the best of his ability.

As he began to organize his "Koinotês," the Greek-American was not only faithful to his religion, conscious of his duty to the land of his origin and its people, to Hellenism and to his family, but also loyal to his city, state, the nation, and obedient to their respective laws. He became a "Greek Orthodox American" in practice as well as in spirit. To his surprise, there was no conflict between his Orthodoxy and Hellenism, his faith and ethnic pride on one side and Americanism on the other. His religion, like that of any other American, could be part of the American scene, and a major part of his Hellenism was already here within the foundations of American history.

Among the earliest Church communities were New York's Holy Trinity established in 1902 by the Society of Athena; Chicago's Annunciation founded in 1893 by the Society of Lycurgus, and Boston's Holy Trinity founded in 1903 by the Society of Plato. By 1906 there were 29 churches built; by 1916 there were 59; and by 1926 there were 153. There were limited ties with the Mother Church, but organization of these parishes was shoddy. Although the priests who served the American parishes had come from Greece, they were canonically under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate until 1908. Administratively there was complete chaos within the communities. There was a need for some ecclesiastical authority that would put an

end to the deeply disturbing irregularities, and put a stop to the influx of 'unqualified' priests from Greece whose only concern seemingly was their personal advancement.

Even the State Department realized the necessity of such an authority and expressed its concern to the Greek Ambassador Coromilas. It was the need for such an authority that brought the American parishes under the jurisdiction of the Church of Greece for a number of years. Although, initially, neither the Synod of Greece nor the Patriarchate of Constantinople made claims to exclusive jurisdiction, the Patriarchate nevertheless assumed jurisdiction over the Greek Orthodox parishes in America. Then in 1908, a proclamation was issued by the Patriarchate of Constantinople that the Greek Orthodox parishes in America were to be under the care of the Holy Synod of Greece, according to the *Patriarchal Tomos* of March 8, 1908.

### 3. THE HOLY SYNOD OF GREECE AND THE CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The *Tomos* of 1908 transferred the responsibilities as well as the rights of the Greek-American Church to the Holy Synod of Greece. Although this *Tomos* should have immediately established a recognized Bishop in the U.S., months and years passed without any such appointment. Segments of the Greek press in both Greece and the U.S. blamed Greek Ambassador Demetrios Coromilas for the fact that no bishop was forthcoming. *To Kratos*, a Greek newspaper, claimed that Coromilas did not want the Church to have a bishop so that he could become the unquestionable leader of the Greeks in this country.

The situation persisted and kept the Church without a spiritual leader. Petitions for the assignment of a Hierarch went unanswered. Sporadic attempts were made to unify the efforts of local parishes by adopting rules and regulations in matters of mutual interest. Others spoke out for a centralized program embracing all the parishes of the United States which would at least regulate the priests. All these efforts, however, failed to materialize and each parish continued to be governed by its own Board of Trustees, who managed the affairs of the parish.

At this particular time of ecclesiastical distress, in Greece the (King) Constantine – (Prime Minister) Venizelos controversy began to fer-

ment. The roots of the controversy were political. Nevertheless, the Orthodox Church, being a State Church, was hopelessly involved and this brought tragic consequences not only upon the Faithful in Greece but also upon the Greek Diaspora – especially in the United States. It began in 1916, when the royalist Metropolitan of Athens, Theokleitos, excommunicated Venizelos according to an ancient ceremony. During the summer of 1916, a revolutionary movement against the King was initiated by the Army in Thessalonikê. Venizelos publicly endorsed the revolution in a speech delivered in Athens on August 16, 1916, and then left for Thessalonikê to head the National Unity Government. King Constantine was forced to leave the country on June 12, 1917 and Venizelos assumed the sole leadership of Greece.

The liberal followers of Venizelos soon dethroned the Metropolitan and the bishops who sympathized with the King. The Ecclesiastical Court found Metropolitan Theokleitos guilty of violating the Canons in anathematizing Venizelos and his revolutionary government. Bishop Meletios Metaxakês replaced Theokleitos as the elected Metropolitan of Athens.

Metaxakês was to become a prime personality in the history of the Greek Orthodox Church in America, both in his capacity as Metropolitan of Athens and later as Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. A Cretan by birth, he first distinguished himself as Chief Secretary and as a member of the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. He was especially recognized for his management ability. During his tenure at the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (1902-1907), he supervised the Church's 80 schools in the Holy City. In 1910 he was elected Metropolitan of Kition of the Church of Cyprus where he also distinguished himself as a great organizer, especially in improving the educational system of his diocese. An admirer of Venizelos, he was the choice of the Greek Synod for the position of Metropolitan of Athens and titular head of the Church of Greece after the dethronement of Metropolitan Theokleitos in 1917.

Metaxakês, in the midst of his problems in Greece, showed great concern for the Greek Diaspora in America. On July 14, 1918, the Holy Synod of Greece passed a resolution to immediately begin the organization of the American Church with the objective of creating an Archdiocese. On July 8, 1918, Metropolitan Metaxakês accompanied by Bishop Alexander of Rodostolon, Archimandrite Chrysostomos Papadopoulos and Amilkas Alevizatos, a distinguished

professor of Canon Law, departed for the U.S.A. They arrived in New York on August 8, 1918. Metaxakês immediately began to work on his plan to establish an organization capable of ecclesiastical authority. He realized from the very beginning that this authority should be vested in a bishop who would act on behalf of the Holy Synod. For this reason he installed Bishop Alexander of Rodostolon, under the title of "Synodikos Epitropos" to administer the area. Although the political differences and divisions were obvious among the Greeks, the fact that a bishop was in their midst gave them hope for a strong Church and Archdiocese. After 82 days on the American continent, Metaxakês left for Greece promising to return in order to establish an Archdiocese in America.

However, at this time, Greece was in a state of political unrest which hampered the efforts of the "Synodikos Epitropos" in uniting the Greek Orthodox Faithful under a central authority. During the elections of November 1, 1920, the Venizelos Party was defeated. The Royalists regained the government and the ecclesiastical throne of the Metropolitan of Athens. On November 17, 1920 Meletios Metaxakês was informed by letter from Theodore Zaimis, Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, that by Royal order Metropolitan Theokleitos was being restored as head of the Greek Church and that he (Metaxakês) was being asked to vacate the official residence of the Metropolitan. Metaxakês' precautionary protests to the Regent Queen Olga, and to the Patriarchate of Constantinople did not change the decision of the Government. Now deposed Metropolitan Metaxakês came to the United States and acted as the Canonical Archbishop of Athens. With his authority he would assume the administration of the Greek Communities in the Americas.

Bishop Alexander Rodostolou served as his Auxiliary, refusing to comply with the order of the new Holy Synod to return to Greece. To further complicate matters, the Church of Greece sent the Metropolitan of Monemvasia and Lacedaemon, Germanos Troianos to the United States to administer the area as its representative, negating many of the foundations that Meletios had established during his brief tenure.

#### 4. THE FIRST CLERGY-LAITY CONGRESS 1921

On August 11, 1921, Metropolitan Meletios called the Clergy and Laity representatives of the Greek-American communities to the first

Clergy-Laity Congress. It was held in New York on September 13-15, 1921. This Congress is considered a landmark of the Greek-American Church, for it marked the beginning of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. Metropolitan Meletios signed the certificate of Incorporation as the President of the Congress. The incorporation, which took place on September 9, 1921, was significant because it was the first overt separation of the parishes in America from the jurisdiction of the Church of Greece.

Two months later, on November 25, 1921, while he was still in America, Metropolitan Meletios was elected Patriarch of Constantinople. Before he departed for the Patriarchal See to assume his duties, he issued a farewell encyclical in which he thanked both the clergy and laity for their assistance and devotion to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and urged them to remain united under Bishop Alexander.

#### 5. THE CHURCH OF AMERICA AND THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE

Cognizant of the chaotic situation in America, Meletios reversed the *Tomos* declaration of 1908 by which the American Church was placed under the jurisdiction of the Holy Synod of Greece. On May 11, 1922, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America was canonically created and approved by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. His Eminence Alexander was chosen as its first Archbishop. With the official proclamation of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and the selection of Alexander as Archbishop, the Patriarchate set a new plan of government in the Greek Orthodox Church of America. This plan came to be known as the Synodical System.

The Synodical System followed these lines: the Archdiocese was to be divided into four dioceses: New York, Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco. New York was to be the Archdiocesan See, the headquarters of the Archdiocese. Each diocese would have its own annual conference of the elected clergy and laity representatives. The plan also provided for a biennial conference of the entire Archdiocese, and for at least two meetings of the bishops with the Archbishop annually. The bishops were to be nominated at the annual diocesan conferences and approved by the Patriarchate.

The second Clergy-Laity Congress, which was to be held in New York on August 8, 1922, adopted the plan enthusiastically. Two bish-

ops were elected and ordained. Bishop Philaretos for Chicago and Bishop Joachim for Boston.

While all this was taking place in America, the pro-monarchist Government of Greece and the Royalist Holy Synod under Theokleitos reacted negatively to the American development by ordering Bishop Alexander to return to Greece, and then by sending Metropolitan of Monemvasia and Lacedaemon, Germanos Troianos to the United States to take over those churches that remained loyal to the King and the Church of Greece. Although the majority of the parishes followed Metaxakês and Alexander, there were a great number of parishes and people who remained fanatically devoted to the royalist cause. The two factions struggled constantly. Court actions were commonplace as both sides struggled to persuade the communities to join their side. Alexander served as Archbishop of North and South America until 1930. Unfortunately, his reign of eight years was a travesty. Peter Kouridês, in his book, *The Evolution of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America* describes this period:

During this interval our Churches and Communities had become divided battlegrounds in which Venizelists (anti-royalist liberals) and royalists used physical violence even within the sanctuary of the Holy Altar. Police were stationed at strategic positions within some of the Churches to actually prevent bloodshed. And of course these shameful and disgusting incidents were duly reported on the front pages of the American press to the awful humiliation and irreparable damage of the Greek people throughout the country.

At this time, the role of the Greek-American press was very significant and many times overlooked. The two newspapers were the *Atlantis* and the *National Herald*. The publisher of the *Atlantis* was Solon Vlasto, a pioneer in New York Community affairs. He organized the first fraternal organization, Athena, in 1895, which sponsored the Holy Trinity Church in New York. *Atlantis* first published on March 4, 1894, remained for many years the conscience of its Greek readers, encouraging the Greek emigrants in their struggle for survival, protesting discriminations, fighting illiteracy by providing books to the poor and uneducated Greeks throughout the land. The *Atlantis* did not hesitate to castigate the activities of the Greek Ambassador Coromilas as being against the appointment of a bishop to the Greek Orthodox Church in America. During the royalist and

Venizelist divisions in Greece, the *Atlantis* became the flag-bearer of King Constantine in America. Its publisher, Solon Vlasto, was an enthusiastic admirer of the King and gave him his unqualified support.

The second major Greek newspaper in America was the *National Herald*. It first appeared as a daily on April 2, 1915. From the very beginning it became clear to everyone that its primary mission was to render support to the Venizelist elements in the U.S. and counter-attack the *Atlantis*. The editor of the *National Herald* was Demetrios Callimachos, an ordained priest and a graduate of the Theological School of Chalkê. This greatly talented priest-journalist became the champion of the Venizelos forces in America. In addition to his fiery anti-royalist editorials, he traveled throughout the land and helped organize political clubs and advance the cause of Venizelos. The battle between the *Atlantis* and the *Herald* was vociferous. The antagonisms through editorials and articles were reflected in political and ecclesiastical issues. These newspapers had greater influence on the Greek American faithful than the encyclicals of the Archbishop and other bishops. Father Vasilios Efthimiou, in his book, *Skiagrafia Tôn Apothêmôn Ellênôn*, (A Sketching of Immigrant Greeks) describes the passions of the time:

...the two opposing camps led by the press *Atlantis* with the royalists and *National Herald* with the Venizelists, were fighting for a total victory and annihilation of the other side.

The mission of the Greek press in America was to preserve the Greek language, the national and cultural ideas, to assist the Church in keeping the faithful united and to help them in their struggle for survival. In reality, though, the two Greek newspapers did much to frustrate the positive developments of the Church, by creating dissension among the ranks of the Greek Orthodox faithful.

## 6. THE CHURCH BECOMES ORGANIZED

In 1923, Chrysostomos Papadopoulos was elected Metropolitan of Athens. Metropolitan Chrysostomos, a respected scholar and cleric, utilized his talents in restoring relations between the Church of Constantinople and the Church of Greece. While this was happening, the American Church remained in a state of chaos. A new faction came on the scene headed by Metropolitan of Chaldea, Basilios



Kombopoulos, a fanatical royalist who came to the United States without the permission of his superiors. Basilios was soon deposed by the Patriarchate. He remained as head of the "Autocephalous Greek Orthodox Church of the United States and Canada," and by 1929, 50 churches were under his jurisdiction. It soon became apparent to Constantinople and Athens that something had to be done.

Church leaders in Athens and Constantinople joined forces with the Royalists and Venizelists in order to solve the Greek-American problem. It was this joint effort that paved the way for one of the great acts of the Church. Patriarch Photios II, in agreement with Metropolitan Chrysostomos Papadopoulos of Athens, designated Metropolitan Damaskênos of Corinth – one of the most capable and respected hierarchs of Greece – as Exarch of the shrewdly assumed sole authority of the Orthodox Church after arriving in New York on May 20, 1930. His ministry was enhanced by the endorsement of his mission by the two Greek-American dailies. Both newspapers supported his policies and promised to assist him in every way possible. Ironically, however, the Exarch received little cooperation from Alexander. Archbishop Alexander claimed that Damaskênos had no authority to interfere with the administration of the Archdiocese. His mission was only to study the situation and then report the findings. In an encyclical Alexander declared that he would remain as Archbishop and would accept no external interference.

Damaskênos proceeded with his work. On May 31, 1930, he issued his first encyclical to the priests and the Parish Councils, stating the objectives of his mission and the authority invested in him by the Ecumenical Patriarchate as its Exarch to administer the affairs of the American Church. The encyclical included three important documents: one was the Patriarchal letter from the Patriarch to the Greek people of the United States admonishing them to dissolve the difference which existed between them; the third was a letter from Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Athens to Damaskênos in which he indicated his fullest cooperation in his efforts to bring peace and tranquillity to the faithful in the United States of America.

Damaskênos was now Exarch and supported by the Church, the political leaders of Greece, as well as the press and the majority of the Greek-American community. He produced a plan which would eventually lead to reconciliation, unity and harmony. His plan called for Archbishop Alexander and his bishops to be given new positions

in Greece and for the rebellious defrocked Bishop Vasilios to be restored to his office and reassigned to a diocese in Greece. Despite desperate attempts by Alexander and some of his fanatic following to present obstacles to the implementation of the plan, the Ecumenical Patriarchate endorsed it: There was now little support left for Alexander. To dramatize the support for Metropolitan Damaskênos and his plan, a mass rally was held in New York with the participation of most of the Churches and organizations of the New York area. The two sides were reunited and the Church entered a new phase in America.

#### 7. ATHENAGORAS AND THE FINAL SOLUTION

On June 19, 1930, Archbishop Alexander was officially deposed as Archbishop of North and South America by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. On August 13, 1930, upon the recommendation of Damaskênos, the Metropolitan of Kerkyra (Corfu), Athenagoras was chosen Archbishop of North and South America. His first task was to have all the American hierarchs assigned to Sees in Greece. Archbishop Alexander became Metropolitan of Corfu; Bishop Philaretos of Chicago became Metropolitan of the islands of Syros and Tênos; and the restored Bishop Basilios was assigned to the Diocese of Drama. At Athenagoras' request, Bishop Kallistos of San Francisco remained in America.

With his mission having come to a successful end, Damaskênos departed for Greece on February 9, 1931. He received the plaudits of the Greek-American faithful, and credit for bringing together the several factions of Greek Orthodoxy in America.

After his election as Archbishop of North and South America, Athenagoras began his pastoral ministry. The Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Church of Greece, as well as the Greek Orthodox constituency in America, looked to Athenagoras with great hopes and expectations. Announcing Athenagoras' election in an encyclical to the Greek American faithful, Patriarch Photios expressed the joy of the Mother Church for the solution of the American problem, stressing the exceptional ability, experience and leadership of their new hierarchy, and admonishing them to accept him with love and respect.

Athenagoras consulted with the Ecumenical Patriarch in

Constantinople and received direction from him and the Holy Synod. His reputation as a remarkable man and "ecclesiastic with dedication," "dynamic energy," "farsighted statesmanship" and visionary enthusiasm" preceded his arrival in America.

Following his enthronement as Archbishop, Athenagoras began his ministry by paying visits to President Herbert Hoover and other officials in the Federal and State governments to assure them that the alarming Greek problem in America was resolved to the satisfaction of all. At the same time he wished to raise the prestige of the Church which was very low. He then visited the major cities in the U.S. to meet the people and personally hear their views before he proposed his programs for adoption. The Ecumenical Patriarchate provided him with a new Constitution and the authority to enforce it, but he knew that this alone could not terminate the dissension. The new parish administration had to come from and be responsive to the needs of the people. Past experience had made it clear that decisions reached without community participation would create new problems and tensions. When visiting Communities he would study local conditions, then confer with local leaders and receive their recommendations. It was obvious to him that reorganization on both the national and local level required a degree of cooperation that was not easily obtained. Having formed his own ideas about the problems of the Greek-American communities, he then proceeded with their solution. His first move was to call a Clergy-Laity Congress which was held in New York City on November 14, 1931. This Congress was the Fourth Biennial Congress. While the first Congress in 1921 had voted for the Church's incorporation according to the laws of the State of New York, this was the first time that all factions of American Hellenism were represented and took part in the deliberations for the acceptance of the proposed new programs.

There was a record number of 300 delegates at the 1931 Congress, all eager to deliberate on the Archbishop's plan and present their views. The Archbishop in presenting his report explained to the assembly the proposed changes in the Archdiocese's government; the most important of which was the elimination of the synodal system. The by-laws of 1922 gave the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America a semblance of autonomy. The governing body of the Church was the Synod of Bishops presided over by the Archbishop. The proposed new by-laws would return the American church under

the direct jurisdiction of the Patriarch whose sole representative would be the Archbishop.

Athenagoras defended the change by presenting the following reasons:

1. Experience of the past has proven that the autonomy granted by the 1922 by-laws had not been beneficial to the Greek-American Church; this should convince anyone that the American church must remain indefinitely under the supervision and guidance of the Mother Church until spiritual and financial conditions and administrative experience permits its autonomy. Even when these conditions permit, however, autonomy should be granted only after an agreement has been reached on the status of all the national Orthodox branches in America. This can be settled by a Pan-Orthodox Synod.

2. The synodal system and the independent dioceses should be eliminated, at least for the foreseeable future, because the variety of administrative systems, the division of the financial strength, the limited resources and the mortgages of the Archdiocese make it impossible to function.

3. A centralized administration is the only way to unite and restore order in the Church. "The brief experience that we had with centralized authority," Athenagoras pointed out, "has already manifested its usefulness and validity."

The Archbishop's report dealt extensively with the administration of the parish, and the authority of the priest. Athenagoras fought vigorously to restore the place of the priest in parish life. As a true pastor of pastors he defended the clergy and took exception to the suggestion that the priests were to blame for the mistakes of the past.

One of the most interesting points made by Athenagoras was that he was convinced that the cause of the existing chaos in the communities was not as much the political struggle in Greece as it was the poor administrative system, the domination of the laity, and the exclusion of the clergy from ecclesiastical affairs. In urging the acceptance of the new constitution, the Archbishop made an appeal to both clergy and laity to rededicate themselves to the mission of the Church which is the establishment of the kingdom of God in the hearts of the people and to work together to put into practice the decisions of the Congress.

When Athenagoras assumed his duties as Archbishop of North and South America, he received a set of new by-laws, prepared by a spe-

cial commission of the Holy Synod, to govern the Archdiocese. The new by-laws, consisting of twenty-two articles, included many of Athenagoras' ideas. Changes could be made providing that these changes were accepted by the Patriarchate. The biennial Congress remained, as in the by-laws of 1922, the supreme legislative body of the Archdiocese to which each community would send both clergy and laity representatives. The Archdiocese would still be considered a province of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and under its spiritual and canonical jurisdiction (Article III).

Article VI stated that the actual administration of the Church is wholly in the hands of the Archbishop. He performs his duties and responsibilities according to the Holy Canons, deriving his authority from the Ecumenical Patriarchate and is responsible to it. He also would have jurisdiction over all the churches of North and South America. There were to be bishops, but they were only auxiliary bishops who would carry out the dictates and directions of the Archbishop in the discharge of their duties. Furthermore, these bishops were to be chosen by the Archbishop. He would nominate the candidates to the Holy Synod of Constantinople.

The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese had by now demonstrated resiliency; its maturation was reflected in the fact that "old country" regionalism and policies were giving way to a more united Greek-American religious way of life. By the 1930s, the Greek-American Church and community established an extensive network of Greek-language afternoon and Saturday schools. In the late 1930s there were 450 schools with 25,000 students attending. The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese was finally winning its battle to bring the local churches under its central direction headquartered in New York City. In this centralization process, the Archdiocese which undertook many charitable activities, a function, which, to this day, is the main and highly successful role for this great organization. The permanency of the Greek community in this country was reinforced by the founding of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Seminary in Pomfret, Connecticut, in 1937. This became the center for American-born Greek Orthodox men to enter the clergy in significant numbers. The establishment of the seminary, precursor to the present Hellenic College-Holy Cross campus in Brookline, Massachusetts, became the final chapter in the early growth of the Church. It heralded the beginning of a new phase of the Church under the leadership of the late Archbishop Michael

and that great visionary, His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos. This final chapter, the establishment of the Pomfret School, symbolized the ultimate achievement of the early organization; that the Church was no longer a Greek immigrant Church, but a Church and Archdiocese that was truly Orthodox, Greek and American.

## 8. FROM 1937 TO THE PRESENT

### *a) Archbishop Athenagoras*

In his 18 years of ministry in the United States, there were several important happenings that would determine the future of the American Church. In addition to his ability to unite the politicized warring factions in our communities, through patience and a persuasive dynamic personality, he was able to persuade even the most dissident congregation and parish to join the ranks of the Archdiocese. The only ones who remained outside of the canonical churches belonging to the Ecumenical Patriarchate were those communities which followed the Julian Calendar, (Old Calendarists). One of his main concerns was the poor way that the parishes conducted their economic policies relying on parish collections and donations from a few wealthy individuals. In June, 1942 in Philadelphia, at the Eighth Clergy-Laity Congress, the Congress established the system of "monodollarion," a system by which each family contributed \$1 toward the support of the Archdiocese through the local parish. By today's standards, the contribution was very small, but it provided the Archdiocese with a regular income and allowed it to hire a small staff to implement its programs. Athenagoras, however, would be best remembered for providing the theological training for American born candidates for the priesthood. Most of the parish priests in America did not have any formal theological or even college education. Some had mastered the English language, and there were many immigrant priests who taught by their devotion to the Gospel and by their faith, rather than by their education or theological expertise.

But Athenagoras realized that the Church no longer consisted of Greek-speaking immigrants. The majority of the faithful were increasingly native born and English was their first language. The educated among them were not comfortable in a Greek speaking Church and so, the Archdiocese and Athenagoras, realizing the need for an educated clerical leadership opened the doors of the Holy Cross

Greek Orthodox Theological Institute in September, 1937, with fourteen students and three instructors. (One of those instructors was my late father, Rev. Basil Efthimiou, who was also on the committee which founded the Institute in Pomfret, Connecticut). It was placed under the deanship of the dynamic Bishop of Boston, Athenagoras Kavadas. St. Basil's Teachers College was established in 1944 to train teachers for Greek language schools and for the secretarial needs of parishes.

Among the most important institutions organized by Archbishop Athenagoras was the Ladies Philoptochos Society which was organized in 1931 and since that time, has served as the right arm of the Archdiocese and each parish belonging to the Archdiocese in the Philanthropic and social endeavors throughout the years since its inception.

#### *b) Archbishop Michael*

On December 15, 1949, following the departure of Archbishop Athenagoras, who was to become Patriarch of Constantinople, on President Harry Truman's plane, Archbishop Michael took along with him for the enthronement only one cleric (the late Rev. Basil Efthimiou), and several laymen. For a decade, Michael had been the Metropolitan of Corinth and for twelve years prior to that, he had been Dean of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in London, England. Michael was a committed theologian and proved to be a great and devoted Church leader emphasizing the need for a rediscovery of the fundamental religious rudiments of church organization on the local level as well as the national level. He was the author of several books which were translated into many languages. He also translated into Modern Greek, such books as, *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas A. Kempis and *My Life in Christ* by John Kronstadt.

Michael dealt with two of the most pressing problems facing the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese at that time: the religious education of people at all levels and bringing the youth into the fold of the Church. Archbishop Michael was particularly proud of the establishment of the Greek Orthodox Youth of America (GOYA), and brought his idealism and devotion to biblical values to the Tenth Clergy Laity Congress held in November 1950, in St. Louis. The "Dekadollarion," the \$10 annual obligation of each Greek Orthodox family to the Arch-

diocese, was also adopted at this Tenth Clergy Laity Congress. By the time of his death, eight years later, the annual income of the Archdiocese had increased from \$100,325.25 during the last year of Archbishop Athenagoras and the "Monodollarion" to \$585,698.98 under the "Dekadollarion" for the 1958 calendar year, but Michael's greatest contribution, and the one for which he is most notably remembered, was dealing with the youth question, the Greek language and Christian education. The GOYA movement gained him recognition as having dealt with the youth question successfully, and by the time of his death, on July 13, 1958, GOYA reached a membership of 30,000 young people. Under his initiatives, Archbishop Michael contributed not only his moral support but also financial assistance toward the establishment of the first home for the aged which subsequently took his name, "Archbishop Michael Home for the Aged."

Another "first" of Michael's decade, was the acceptance of Orthodoxy by the American Nation through resolutions passed in 26 States recognizing Eastern Orthodoxy as a major faith in the United States. He was the first Orthodox Hierarch to take part in the inaugural ceremonies of a president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, by delivering the invocation on January 20, 1957. In 1954, he headed the Orthodox delegation at the World Council of Churches held in Evanston, Illinois, where he delivered one of the most powerful addresses ever delivered on the topic, "The Present Tension in the Relations between Nations and the Unity in Christ." The delegates of the 163 participating churches and denominations elected Archbishop Michael as one of the six presidents of the World Council of Churches.

Finally, with the arrival of his successor, Archbishop Iakovos, Michael's ministry pressed forward in the effort of the Archdiocese to impose upon all parishes the Uniform Bylaws in order to eliminate chaos and introduce more harmony between the Archdiocese and the parishes throughout the country. What Archbishop Athenagoras had tried to do through his personality and politics, Archbishop Michael tried to do through the adoption of a common constitution and by-laws.

### *c) The Iakovian Era*

With the arrival of Archbishop Iakovos on April 1, 1959, a new era began. The problems of the Church had become much more complex and numerous. In the previous era, under Archbishop Michael, the



major task was of consolidating a unified Church and expanding its facilities so that it could reach many more of our people throughout the United States. Archbishop Iakovos set, as one of his primary objectives, the unity of the Archdiocese which would bring together all the parishes, no longer as independently functioning communities but as an important extension of the Archdiocese, and an inseparable part of the Archdiocese. He also was concerned and gave top priority to Orthodox unity in America. Toward this end, of Pan-Orthodox cooperation and organic unity which would show the non-Orthodox that we were a strong Orthodox Church of eight million faithful in the Americas, he established the "Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas (SCOBA) in 1960, which would include all the canonical jurisdictions in North and South America belonging to one of the Patriarchates overseas. The other priority that Archbishop Iakovos gave to his tenure was the language question. Archbishop Michael's vision for the future led him to ask the Tenth Clergy-Laity Congress to approve the use of English in the Sunday Schools. This the Congress did enthusiastically. From this modest beginning, and despite fierce opposition from some Greek Orthodox faithful here and abroad, the use of English increased, albeit slowly, throughout the Church. In 1964, the 17<sup>th</sup> Clergy Laity Congress responded to Archbishop Iakovos's request and recommended the use of English in parts of the Liturgy. By 1970, after considerable study and visits to most of the parishes of North America, Archbishop Iakovos had concluded that unless the Church updates itself (and use English), it would never be a serious force in American religious life. The problem was discussed at length at the 20<sup>th</sup> Laity Congress which met that year in New York. Considered a true "grass-roots" congress and one of the best ever held, the group heard the views from people on every side of the issue. In the end, it supported a report calling for the publication of the new English translation of the Liturgy and the use of English throughout the service.

Archbishop Iakovos also focused his attention on the young people. His whole focus was to demonstrate to them that their ethnic and cultural background was important in the total spectrum of church life in this country and toward this end, he was responsible for building the Ionian Village at Bartholomio in the Peloponnesus in Greece, so that every summer, more than 1000 third and fourth generation young people might spend their vacations in this historic environ-

ment in order to learn the source of their ancestry, their faith, and their culture. His experiment proved to be successful in that Greek-American youth to the present day, realize for themselves a profound love and affection for the land and the ideals of their forefathers which is reflected in the youth's continued interest and devotion to the Church.

Archbishop Iakovos perceived at the very outset that he could not succeed in his determination to make Greek Orthodoxy a major faith unless there was a new charter from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, which he initiated in 1977. The Charter of 1977 replaced the one that had governed the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese since 1931 from the time of Archbishop Athenagoras. The Charter of 1931 replaced the first charter of the Archdiocese of 1922 and brought the Archdiocese of North and South America under the jurisdiction, once again, of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Its representative in this country would be the Archbishop of North and South America. In essence, Archbishop Iakovos wanted a new system to introduce a degree of decentralization which, however, would also have as its primary objective the unity of the parishes to the Archdiocese, and, the creation of Bishoprics headed by regional Bishops and united in a single Archdiocese and surrounding a single Archbishop. On November 29, 1977 the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate granted the Archdiocese a new charter that included all recommendations made by Archbishop Iakovos. The result of all this, was to create at the archdiocesan level, a sophisticated Economic Development Department which could strengthen Hellenic College and the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological Seminary and serve the number of parishes which had doubled during the leadership of Archbishop Iakovos. Archbishop Iakovos' legacy was his uncompromising commitment to assist the members of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America in their struggle to preserve their Greek Orthodox identity, and also to preserve their Greek national character in this country.

#### *d) Archbishop Spyridon*

As the Greek Orthodox Church in America enters the new millennium, it finds itself grappling with problems unheard of in the days of Archbishops Meletios, Athenagoras, Michael, and Iakovos. Upon

assuming the leadership of the Archdiocese, now designated as the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, Archbishop Spyridon, formally the Metropolitan of Italy, embarked on a series of programs, especially in the area and task of restructuring the Archdiocese with new reforms which proved to be troublesome to many people, groups and Churches of the Archdiocese. It was almost reminiscent of the troubles that the Church in the Americas and the Church Leaders were confronted with back in the 1930's when the Venezelists and the Royalists fought over issues that were rooted in the political chaos in Greece. The Greek Language and English promoted dissension within parishes as well as within the framework of the Archdiocese, with the Archbishop as the one most responsible for these discrepancies. One of the key areas that Archbishop Spyridon initially concentrated on was the internal structure of the Archdiocese. Of course, much of this was already in place from the dynamic efforts of his predecessor, Archbishop Iakovos. Archbishop Spyridon also initiated programs of cost-saving measures and financial procedures such as the development of an Internal Audit Department, which was built upon what previously existed and which included an updated Accounting System. Some other initiatives: the Archbishop created a new dynamic in religious education through Teacher Training Programs which took place periodically in each of the Dioceses. While the ongoing program of establishing the Archbishop Iakovos Library received support from Archbishop Spyridon, and while the two Educational Institutions of the Archdiocese, St. Basil's Academy and Hellenic College/Holy Cross received priority attention from the Archbishop, the College/Seminary went through many difficulties stemming from faculty unrest, academic and student improprieties at the school, and other such difficulties for which Archbishop Spyridon was held responsible. After academic and judicial review, the school continued to be a fully accredited institution of higher learning which would train the future clergy of the Greek-American Church and which would be sustained through the National Ministries of the Archdiocese. One of the objectives of Spyridon was that the Archdiocese might one day be able to fully fund qualified candidates for the priesthood with total scholarship assistance. This objective was short-lived since many alleged improprieties were uncovered in the Archdiocesan system causing a breakdown in communication between the administrative functions at the Archdiocese and the administration at

Hellenic College/Holy Cross, partly due to the charge by opponents of Archbishop Spyridon that he, along with the Ecumenical Patriarchate violated and ignored the Charter and Uniform Bylaws of the Archdiocese.

In carrying on the concerns of his predecessor, Archbishop Spyridon focused on the Greek Language and Hellenic Culture. He developed a Commission on Greek Language and Hellenic Culture for the improvement of Greek Studies in Greek Orthodox communities nationwide. This Commission was charged to assess the status of the Greek language and cultural education system in the United States through a questionnaire and meetings in each of the Dioceses, Greek day and afternoon schools in the 500 plus communities in the United States with the help of the Archdiocese Department of Education. (In the Diocese of New Jersey, this Commission continues to function with a great deal of success as reported to the delegates of the First Clergy-Laity Congress of the Diocese of New Jersey under its new Bishop, Bishop George of New Jersey, held in Cherry Hill, New Jersey in October, 1999).

In October 1988, the five Metropolitan Bishops of the Archdiocese issued public statements describing Archbishop Spyridon's manner of governing the Church of America in harsh terms and as being uncanonical. 105 Priests of the Archdiocese supported these allegations in a written declaration.

In August, 1999, Archbishop Spyridon resigned as Archbishop of the Americas; two Priest/Professors at the center of the School controversy were reinstated at Hellenic College/Holy Cross School of Theology in September, 1999. Archbishop Demetrios (Trakatellês) formerly titular Metropolitan of Vresthena was elected and enthroned as the new Archbishop of the Americas.

#### *e) Archbishop Demetrios*

With the election of Archbishop Demetrios as Archbishop of America, a reconciliation of all factions, which, for the three-year tenure of Archbishop Spyridon, threw the Church of America into turmoil and caused disturbance of the structure and framework of the Archdiocese of America, was brought about. The Greek language and English language media concentrating on Hellenic and Orthodox issues, coalesced in reporting that the administrative and

ecclesiastical crisis within the Archdiocese was being resolved by the new Archbishop whose deep spirituality and intellectual prowess and strength, gave new hopes for a restoration of the Archdiocese and its institutions leading to the enhancement of Orthodoxy, and of Orthodox Christian witness in America, as was promulgated at the Clergy-Laity Conference held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in July, 2000. Already, the Archbishop's vision of, "cultivation and growth of our Orthodox faith," which was a main theme in both the enthronement address as well as at the keynote address at the Clergy-Laity Conference, is finding a foothold in each and every Diocese and Parish throughout the country, as verified by the visit of His All-Holiness Bartholomew to the United States in November, 2000. In the early ministry of Demetrios "unity" and "harmony" will be a legacy which will be left to posterity and the future of the Church in America.

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## **A Concise History of The Ecumenical Patriarchate**

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**PROF. VASIL TH. STAVRIDES**

Translated and edited from the Greek original  
by Fr. George Dion. Dragas

### **INTRODUCTION**

The city of Istanbul, surrounded by the waters of the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara (Hellespont), has known a long history. Today, it is certain that at the time of the arrival of the Greek inhabitants from Megara under their legendary leader Byzas (658 B.C.) there existed an indigenous population of Thracian origin. Since that year, the city took the name of Byzantium and its history as a Greek city constituted a part of the wider history of ancient Greece. The Romans followed. Constantine the Great, after his triumphal entrance into the city (324), chose Byzantium as the center of his Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire (to 1453). Henceforth, the new city would be known as Constantinople, New Rome. From 1453 to 1923 the city of Istanbul was the capital of the Ottoman Empire, which replaced Byzantium. Within the modern Turkish Republic (1923 to the present) Istanbul remains the first city after the new capital, Ankara.

The Christian community or Church in this city has been known by various names: as the Church and Bishopric of Byzantium; the Church, the Bishopric, the Archbishopric and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, or the Patriarchate of New Rome; the Great Church of Christ, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Church of Phanar. In Turkish, it is known as Istanbul or Fener Rum Patrikhanesi.

## PART I

## THE BYZANTINE PERIOD (324-1453)

## 1. CHURCH AND STATE

With the accession of Constantine the Great and the termination of persecutions against Christians, a new era began in church-state relations, which were shaped in a particular way in Byzantium. Here, church and state came to be seen as two parallel and inter-related hierarchies, each having at the top the Patriarch and the emperor, both belonging to a single unity, serving the one Lord for the establishment of his kingdom on earth and the well-being of their members.

The emperor, a layman himself, was the protector of the Church and had some 'priestly' functions. This second 'priestly' element of his office was apparent, e.g. in the ritual that followed during his election and coronation. The emperor was responsible for the unity of the Church, and for maintaining the purity of the Orthodox faith and he exercised this responsibility by calling the ecumenical synods and vesting their decisions with the status of state laws. Indeed, he took an active role in the domain of church legislation, not only by turning church canons into state laws, but also by issuing laws affecting the life of the Church. As regards church organization the emperor had special rights during and after the election of the Ecumenical Patriarchs. He was actively engaged in the establishment of new dioceses and monasteries, and he also dealt with matters related to the clergy. At the time of sacred worship, he could enter the altar area, stay there and receive Holy Communion like a priest, offer incense, and bless the faithful with the *trikerion*.

In principle, however, the Byzantine emperors did not deal only with the external affairs of the Church. On some occasions at least, they would directly interfere in church affairs and force the Church on points of doctrine and unity and also on matters affecting the election and resignation of patriarchs and other hierarchs. Yet, on such occasions of open clash between state and church in Byzantium we see the Church almost always winning the victory in the long run.

The Byzantine ideal of church-state relations was transplanted to those nations and States that received the Christian faith through the missionary efforts of the Byzantines, such as Bulgaria, Serbia, Russia, and Rumania.



## 2. CHURCH ADMINISTRATION

### *a) Foundation and Development of the Church of Constantinople*

Authors like Harnack, Vailhe, Janin, and Dvornik consider the existence of the Christian Church in Byzantium during the second century A.D. as a definite fact. From written sources, however, it is not possible to ascertain the year in which Christianity was preached in this city. There is also, of course, connected with this, the tradition of Andrew, the brother of Peter, who comes to Byzantium and establishes the first ecclesiastical organization during his itinerary to Scythia. Two contemporary scholars have written on this subject: F. Dvornik, who finds it possible that the above tradition was already in existence from the time of Constantine the Great, but rejects its historicity; and Gennadios of Helioupolis, who holds that this tradition possesses historical value and could be traced to the time before Constantine. In any case, historians cannot easily overlook this tradition.

The Church of Byzantium appears in history first as a bishopric of the diocese of Heracleia, Thrace, even at the time of and subsequent to the foundation of New Rome (330). It grew to a great ecclesiastical center during the period 330-451, because of its special position in the new capital of the empire. In this case it was the principle of adaptation to the political conditions and administrative organization of the empire that was initially applied, but later on the other principle, that of apostolic origin, was also taken into due consideration.

Canon 3 of the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople (381) conferred upon the bishop of this city the second rank after the bishop of Rome because this city was New Rome. Thus, the line of precedence of the first bishops in the Roman oikoumene came to be as follows: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451) gave definitive shape to the organization of the Church of Constantinople. Accordingly, the Church of Constantinople kept the same rank that had been accorded to her by the Second Ecumenical Synod, and assumed ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the formerly autonomous dioceses of Pontus, Asia and Thrace (Caesarea, Ephesos, Heracleia) and the metropolitans of the sees 'in the lands of the barbarians,' i.e. those lands that lied outside the borders of the Roman Empire. After the Great Schism between East and West (1054), the first place of

precedence within the Orthodox Church, that is, the primacy of honor, was accorded to the Ecumenical Patriarch.

The leader of the Church of Byzantium and (later) of Constantinople was in the beginning called "bishop" and "Archbishop." Later on, in the years of Acacius (471-489), he received the title of "Patriarch." Since the time of John II (518-520), he has been known as "Ecumenical Patriarch." From the thirteenth century on, his full title has been "by the grace of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch."

The election of the bishop of Constantinople was at first done by a body composed of clergy and laymen, but later on this was carried out by a synod of bishops, which had the duty to prepare a list of three names, among whom the final choice was entrusted to the emperor. The general rule was to choose a Patriarch from the clergy and the monks. There have been few occasions, however, when patriarchs were elected from laymen, or bishops, or patriarchs of other sees in the East. The patriarchal residence was in the same area as the cathedral churches of St. Irene, Holy Apostles, and Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia). With the establishment of the Latin Empire (1204-1261), the patriarchal residence was moved to Nicaea.

#### *b) Synodical Institution*

In order to deal with different matters concerning the life of the Church, the bishop of Constantinople summoned "synods" mainly composed of bishops. The first synod known to us is that of the year 335/336 against Marcellus of Ancyra. In the beginning the regular yearly "diocesan and patriarchal synods" were customary. A feature of the synodical regime here was the "endêmousa synod," which was called by the Patriarch and was composed of bishops and metropolitans who were present in the city or had dioceses in the vicinity. A third specimen was the "extraordinary patriarchal synod," in which all or most metropolitans of the Patriarchate participated. The diocesan synods stopped functioning in the twelfth century, while the yearly patriarchal synods ceased in the thirteenth century.

The most common synod in the Patriarchate came to be the endêmousa synod, which, since that period, met on a more regular and permanent basis. This regular synod and also certain extraordinary synods continued to operate until the fall of the city (1453) and

afterwards. The endêmousa synod takes its name either from the fact that it was summoned in the city or that it included all the hierarchs sojourning ("endêmountes") in the city. Its first appearance is placed in the fourth century. From then on, it continues operating throughout the entire Byzantine period, in post Byzantine times and up until the present time.

The endêmousa synod is intimately connected with the organization and the seniority of honor of the Church of Constantinople and constitutes a special characteristic of this Patriarchate. It took place in the city of Byzantium and was summoned by the Patriarch of Constantinople who presided over it by virtue of his office. Members of it were the hierarchs of the Patriarchate who sojourned in Constantinople. Other participants included patriarchs and hierarchs of other Churches, as well as ecclesiastical officials, priests, deacons, monks, state officials and civil representatives of the Byzantine emperor, but not all of them had the same rights. At first the endêmousa synod was extraordinary and was summoned unexpectedly and at different times. It appears that it became regular and permanent during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The endêmousa synod had jurisdiction within the Church of Constantinople over various matters, legislative, judicial and administrative. There were cases, however, when it also deliberated on matters pertaining to other ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the East.

Finally, there was the "greater," or "great," or "local synod," which was usually summoned and presided over by the Patriarch of Constantinople, or rarely by the Byzantine emperor and took place at times of doctrinal or administrative crises. Other participants included hierarchs of the Byzantine Empire and, sometimes, representatives of Rome and of the Eastern Patriarchates. Such were, for example, the synods summoned at the time of Patriarch Photios in the ninth century, or the synods that dealt with the so-called Palamite or hesychastic controversy in the fourteenth century. These synods have many common features with the ecumenical ones and constitute an intermediary stage between the endêmousa synod and the ecumenical synod.

### *c) Offices and ranks*

The terms "office" (*offikion*) and "rank" (*axiôma*) were at first

used by the Roman (Byzantine) state; but they were later introduced to the ecclesiastical sphere. Offices and ranks were also called *archontikia* (from the term *archon*=leader) and *klêrikata* (from the term *klêros*=clergy and *klêrikoi*=clerics). Those who bore these offices and ranks were called *offikialoi*, or *offikiouchoi*, *axiômatikoi*, *archontes* and *klêrikoi*. All these constitute a special order in the service of the Church of Constantinople. They began to appear from the fourth century onwards.

The bearers of these offices were divided into two grand categories, a) the *esôkatakoiloi* (or *esôkatakêloi* or *esôkatakelloi*=resident), and b) the *exôkatakoiloi* (or *exôkatakêloi* or *exôkatakelloi*=non resident). It appears that these terms were derived from the words *koilos*, *koila* (in the geographical sense or in the sense of pointing to a place), or *kella* (*kêla*, from *kellion* or *dôma*).

Around A.D. 400 the *synkellos* (*synkella*, *kellion*) appears; who is a cohabitant of a bishop, sharing meals with him, as well as considering the ecclesiastical affairs. The *synkellos* was at the beginning a deacon or a presbyter, but from the tenth century onwards he could also be a Metropolitan. Then, the number of one *synkellos* was increased to more. The first of them, in distinction to the others, was called *prôtosynkellos*, eventually adding to it the epithet *meas* (grand). Along with the rank of *synkellos*, which belonged to the order of the *esôkatakoiloi* clergy of Constantinople, there also appeared the so-called *exôkatakoiloi offikialoi* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (fourth century onwards, with special development later on). Such an office was that of *oikonomos*, *chartophylax*, *ekdikos* and others. To some of them at least, and perhaps to all, the titles *archôn* and *meas archôn* were added as a matter of honor or of distinction from others who bore the same *offikion*. These *offikia* were divided hierarchically into groups of five. They were nine in number and each one of them was placed on either the right or the left chorus. From the tenth century onwards it appears that the position of the old *synkelloi* was little by little taken by the *exôkatakoiloi* archons, who enjoyed the same privileges with them.

The so-called officials or *archontes* of the Patriarchate carried out the everyday routine work, thus forming a permanent body around the Patriarch, which was occasionally able to exert a strong influence upon him.

*d) The Hierarchy*

Metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, belonging to the third order of the higher clergy, ranked after the Patriarch. A Metropolitan, being the bishop of a major city in a large area, had some pre-eminence over the bishops in the same district. Autocephalous archbishops, who had no bishops under them, were directly responsible to the Ecumenical Patriarch. Bishops had diocesan jurisdiction, but during the first centuries we also come across titular (suffragant) bishops as well.

*e) Ecclesiastical jurisdiction*

The jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate extended over a vast geographic area. In the fifth century the whole of Asia Minor, Thrace, and the dioceses around the Black Sea were under the Patriarchate. The growth in the number of bishops was due to the geographic extension of the empire and the missionary work undertaken by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. From the fourth to the ninth centuries the total number of metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops was between 500-600. In the eighth century Eastern Illyricum, that is, the lands of the southern Balkans, including the Greek islands, the island of Sicily and parts of Italy were annexed to the Patriarchate.

With the spreading of Christianity from Byzantium among the Slavs—Bohemians, Moravians, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Russians—the Patriarchate established many more dioceses. The Church of Bulgaria was at times independent or under the Patriarchate. The Church of Serbia also won her independence. The Church of Russia remained under the Patriarchate until the end of this period. During the years of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and after the arrival of the Seljuk and the Ottoman Turks on the scene, the number of bishoprics constantly diminished. In the fourteenth century we come across the two metropolises of present-day Rumania, that is, of Wallachia, and Moldavia. In the fifteenth century the total number of bishops of all categories was 150, a number that has, more or less, remained the same to the present.

*f) Missions*

The Church of Byzantium was always a missionary Church. As

Rome in the West, so Constantinople in the East was a great center for propagating Christianity among different nations. Mission became the common task of church and state. Those directly concerned were clergymen, monks and lay Christians, merchants, Byzantine empresses, diplomats, soldiers and captives. The initiatives were taken not only by the two above-mentioned institutions, but also by distinguished personalities.

Since the time of Constantine the Great missionary work, centered in Constantinople, began to be pursued within and without the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. It included the geographical area extending from the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea to the Adriatic, and to Arabia and North Africa in the south, as far as Nubia and Ethiopia. Generally speaking the people who were Christianized included Jews and pagans, such as Dacians, Goths (Sarmatians and Scythians), Huns, Iberians, Armenians, Lazians (Abasgians, Alans, Tzanians), Slavs, Arabs, Ethiopians, the various tribes of Nubia, the Vandals, the Berbers, and others. Missionary work was constant from the fourth century onwards, although external factors by and large forced those who engaged in it to temporal slowing-down or stoppage. The period from the fourth to the sixth century, with the sixth century reaching a peak under Justinian the Great (527-565), presents an intensification of missionary zeal.

The center of the departure of the missions was usually Constantinople itself. There were also other ancillary centers for this task and other local ecclesiastical centers, connected with or being under the Ecumenical Patriarchate. What followed after every missionary undertaking was the ecclesiastical organization of the regions and peoples that were evangelized, by appointing suitable clergy and hierarchy, as well as by the establishing sacred churches and other special places of worship. Orthodox missionaries used in their missionary preaching the apostolic principle of using local languages. They took care right from the start to translate the Holy Scriptures, the liturgical books and other texts into the local language and to organize indigenous local Churches. Their care also covered other areas, educational, social, literary, artistic and so on.

The second period, during which the missionary zeal appears to be intense and productive in Byzantium, comprises the ninth and tenth centuries, which is the era of the Macedonian dynasty. Whereas previously the missionary work of Byzantium moved along the

geographic parameters of the Byzantine Empire, it will now be restricted, on account of external reasons, to Northern regions alone, but also to a vast area which will cover, the Balkans, Poland, Lithuania and Russia, from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean and to the Euxine, as far as the Northern extremities of Europe, and especially the European continent. The recipients of the evangelical preaching will be the world of the Slavs and the Romanians. The Missions of the Ecumenical Patriarchate will come to an end with the fall of the Byzantine Empire.

### 3. DOCTRINAL AND CANONICAL WORK

The see of Constantinople has played a great role in the work of both defining and explaining church dogmas and promulgating church canons. There have been great heresies, schisms, and theological discussions affecting dogma, order, and the unity of the Church, all of which were connected with the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The proper agencies for dealing with such problems were the ecumenical synods, which constitute the highest authority in the Orthodox Church. Ecumenical synods did not call themselves ecumenical. No ecumenical synod legislated concerning an ecumenical synod. Ecumenical synods have had an extraordinary character and have operated on the basis of ecclesiastical action and custom and above all of ecclesiastical synodical consciousness.

The causes pertaining to the summoning of an ecumenical synod included the position, discussion and decision that were taken on issues relating to church dogma, unity and generally issues of ecclesiastical nature, especially those relating to heresy and doctrine. It was the emperor who usually summoned these synods in the name of the Church. Besides, the emperor specified, up to a point, the number of participating members of these synods. He also participated either personally or through his representatives. He made the inauguration and decided on the termination of the sessions. His representatives maintained order and he endorsed the decisions of these synods.

The presidency of an ecumenical synod, depending on the particular circumstances, was given either to the representatives of the pope of Rome or to one of the four Eastern patriarchs, among whom the Patriarch of Constantinople was also included. Synod members

with the right to vote were those holding the episcopal office, bishops, metropolitans, exarchs, patriarchs, and, earlier on, even *chôrepiscopoi*. These hierarchs represented the entire ecumenical Church.

As regards the authority and validity of an ecumenical synod, it was based on the fact that the Holy Spirit led its proceedings and on the conviction that it expressed the orthodox, apostolic faith. The issue of its reception is connected with the issue of its authority, i.e. whether it was guided by the Holy Spirit and, therefore, was received by the consciousness of the Church.

The Christian (Orthodox) Church lived and acted during the first three centuries and after the ninth century without ecumenical synods, which constitute extraordinary events of charismatic and circumstantial character, but with synods of lower standing or even with other agencies and means that were at her disposal.

The Orthodox Church accepts seven ecumenical synods. The first such synod of Nicaea (325) condemned Arius and promulgated the doctrine of the "homousion." The second of Constantinople (381) gave a final solution to the sequels of Arianism, condemning the Pneumatomachians. Indeed our symbol of faith (creed) is connected with these two synods and is known as the symbol of Nicaea-Constantinople. The third of Ephesus (431) condemned Nestorius and approved the use of the name of *Theotokos* (God-bearer) for Mary. The fourth of Chalcedon (451) dealt with the dogma of the two natures of Christ and condemned Monophysitism. From the fifth century onwards several Ancient Eastern Churches of Nestorian and Monophysite origin have been in existence: Assyrian, Syrian, or Jacobite (with their daughter Church in South India), Coptic, Ethiopian, and Armenian. The fifth of Constantinople (553) condemned the so-called Three Chapters and Origenism. The sixth of Constantinople (680-1) condemned Monothelitism, a logical outgrowth and successor to Monophysitism; the seventh of Nicaea (787) dealt with the doctrine of the veneration of icons. At the same time the above-mentioned ecumenical synods issued canons.

The summoning of all seven ecumenical synods within the territory of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the fact that the presidency was at various times entrusted to Ecumenical Patriarchs and the presence of a great number of bishops from this Church contributed a great deal, along with other factors, to the acquisition by this Church of the



honor of being in the East the visible center of church unity, and the expression of ecclesiastical lawfulness and missionary activity.

#### 4. RELATIONS AMONG THE CHURCHES

##### *a) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ancient Eastern Patriarchates*

The relations of the see of Constantinople with the other Churches have passed through periods of tensions and crises. During the fourth and fifth centuries there was some tension between Constantinople and Alexandria.

After the fourth ecumenical synod of Chalcedon the history of the three Eastern Patriarchates, those of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem was on the one hand full of internal disputes and schisms and on the other hand was marked by their subjection to Arab rule (seventh century). In Alexandria those opposed to Chalcedon organized the Monophysite Church, whilst the remaining residue of the Orthodox were called Melchites (people of the king). In Antioch the Church was split between Nestorians, Monophysites and Maronites, whilst the Patriarchate of Jerusalem remained on the whole Orthodox. As in Alexandria, so throughout the entire Middle East the Orthodox Christians were called Melchites.

From the time of the Arab conquest of the East the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were mostly elected and lived in Constantinople. The Ecumenical Patriarchate displayed to these suffering sister Churches a brotherly sentiment, care and direction, helping them in every way to maintain their existence.

##### *b) Old and New Rome*

Ecclesiastical communion between the Churches of Old and New Rome had several times been disrupted in the years before the ninth century. These two great ecclesiastical centers were the symbols of the two main parts within one Christian Church and world. Unfortunately, several negative factors were operating against the unity of the Church, such as the division of the empire, the continuation of the same empire in the East and the cataclysmic events in the West, namely, the arrival of new races, the foundation of the Frankish and the Germanic Empires, and the differences in language, manner of life and thought.

Along with these, there were in sight two different tendencies within the Church that were manifested in the Church's mission to those outside, theological perception and language, church customs, worship, organization, and the formulation of dogmas. Two of the greatest differences were the following: the first one related to church order and arose as a result of a claim of the Roman popes for a *de jure* primacy over the whole world contradicting the theory of the pentarchy of patriarchs which accorded to the popes only seniority of honor; the second difference was related to the *Filioque* addition to the third article of the creed. Beyond these two main differences, however, the most important of all was the freezing of the spirit of Christian love.

The first manifestation of the Great Schism between the two Churches occurred in the ninth century when Pope Nicholas I and Patriarch Photios I were on the respective Thrones of Old and New Rome. The year 1054 is accepted as the year in which the Great Schism between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople occurred, but the chasm of the Churches became a reality during the period of the Crusades. In that period Westerners established the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, and other Patriarchates in the East with Latin hierarchs, thus forming the first Uniate Churches in the East.

At the same time, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century several efforts were made to reunite the two Churches. Three factors operated in these efforts: a) the popes, b) the emperors of Byzantium, and c) the Eastern Church, which had been divided into two groups, unionists and anti-unionists. The various means employed in this task included: visits, discussions, correspondence, writings, unionist synods – the most important of which were those of Bari (1098), the Lateran (1215), Nicaea-Nymphaeon (1234), Lyons (1274) and Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439) – imposed ecclesiastical communion, individual conversions to the Western Church, the establishment of permanent Latin Patriarchates and Latin hierarchy within the territory of the Eastern Patriarchates and the creation of various forms of Uniatism in the East.

Thus we arrived at the capture of Constantinople (1453), which constitutes yet another turning point, since reunion attempts unfortunately remained fruitless. The unionist views of the papists are well known. The spirit of making concessions, or reconciliation, was almost non-existent. The establishment and consolidation of Latin

Patriarchates, hierarchy and Uniatism in the East produced negative results. On the other hand the Byzantine emperors made no positive contribution to these attempts. The lack of a common line of approach within the Eastern Church, due to its division and constant inter-Orthodox frictions, was not at all constructive. The absence of a common language and of a common ecclesiastical criterion between the two Churches was an important factor in this failure. The situation was further exacerbated by the adverse events that took place during the Crusades, which contributed greatly to the constant cooling down of the spirit of love. The chasm that separated the two Churches became unbridgeable and the alienation of the two worlds from each other was made definitive.

### *c) Other Movements*

Other movements of the same kind were those of the Paulicians and the Bogomils in the Balkans and of Palamism or Hesychasm. The last of these movements can be also understood within the wider context of relations between East and West.

Hesychasm, which made its appearance in the fourteenth century, became the subject of many discussions as to whether or not and to what extent it was one of the key factors in the fall of Byzantium, or whether it was a consoling phenomenon, belonging to the broader context of the spiritual regeneration of the Palaeologan era. Today this movement is taken as an expression of the mysticism of the East, or as a movement that brought renewal of the theological terminology concerning the vision of God on the basis of the ancient tradition of Orthodox monasticism and gave new directions to theological thought.

### *d) Conclusions*

The period up until the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire yields certain findings and leads to certain conclusions concerning the position of the Ecumenical Patriarch in the Orthodox Catholic Church:

Constantinople was the seat of the Empire. This meant that the seniority of honor (*ta presbeia*) of the Bishop of Constantinople was not a mere matter of words, but incurred certain rights and duties for the Patriarch of Constantinople vis-à-vis the other Orthodox Patriarchs. It meant that the Church of Constantinople hosted ecumenical synods and other synods within her territory; that she was the visible

center of the unity of the Church; that she bore the form of integrity and authority; that she offered a ministry of protection and support to the Churches of the East that were undergoing great trials. It also meant that the Ecumenical Patriarch had the right over the churches of the diaspora and also the right to hear appeals of Bishops or other clerics and to establish stavropegiac monastic centers.

## 5. MONASTICISM

Monasticism is accepted as a considerable spiritual force in the Eastern Church. Begun in Egypt, it moved to Palestine and Syria and then covered the whole ecclesiastical area of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, that is, Asia Minor, Constantinople, Greece, the islands, Sicily, South Italy, the Balkans, and Russia. Within this area both styles of monastic life, the eremitic and coenobitic, were to be found, but the second was most usual. From the fourteenth century the idiorrhythmic style of monastic life also appears on the scene.

The first monastery in Byzantium was that of Dalmatios (382). Other famous monasteries were those of the Akoimetoï (420) and of Studios (463). Janin counts 325 monasteries, for men and women, which existed in the capital and its European suburbs during the Byzantine Empire. Other famous monastic centers were the following: St. Basil's in Cappadocia, Mt. St. Auxentios and Mt. Olympos in Bithynia, Mt. Latros near Miletos, Thessalonike, Athos, Meteora in Greece and Patmos.

Monasteries belonged to different categories: imperial, patriarchal or stavropegiac, diocesan or independent, known as such according to their founders. St. Basil's rule was used for their operation. St. Theodore the Studite adapted this rule to the needs of his time and this new rule was put into practice in the monasteries of Mount Athos. Monks spent their time in contemplation, prayer, and manual work. Monasteries were centers of learning, involving copying manuscripts, hymnography, painting, piety and mysticism, the defense of Orthodoxy and philanthropy. In the strife of the two ecclesiastical parties in Byzantium, liberals and traditionalists, the monastic world stood almost always for the latter.

## 6. DIVINE WORSHIP

The period from the fourth to the sixth century constitutes the golden period in the formation of worship in the Eastern Church,

with Constantinople at its center.

At the beginning this Church did not have its own liturgical tradition, but acquired its components from other Christian areas, such as Asia Minor, Antioch, and possibly Jerusalem, giving to them enrichment, organic unity, and final shape. The liturgies that are connected with St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are the best examples of the Byzantine liturgical genius. These liturgies little by little replaced all other Eastern liturgies (twelfth century). Liturgical life had been nearly shaped by the eighth century, but the Iconoclastic controversy (eighth and ninth centuries) was a set back to this process. With the Macedonian dynasty (ninth century) things regained their previous status.

The church calendar generally in the East and particularly in Constantinople included feasts of the Lord, the Theotokos and the Saints. The last category comprised martyrs, confessors, monks, patriarchs, bishops and other clerics, emperors and members of the royal family and laymen. There were also festal days for the commemoration of events connected with the Holy Cross, churches and monasteries, political life, and natural phenomena.

Byzantine liturgical life was enriched by hymnographers, most of them living or holding offices in Constantinople, Rômanos Melôdos being the greatest of them all (sixth century). Their hymns were sung with a special music called Byzantine. Preaching formed an integral part of the liturgical life throughout the Byzantine period. One can furnish a long list of well-known preachers, with St. John Chrysostom at the top, and of sermons during the whole period of Byzantine history.

Byzantine architecture and painting were at the service of divine worship. Byzantine architecture, with the great example of the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, a combination of the ancient basilica and a dome, was formed from Syriac and Hellenistic styles, under the impact of the Christian tradition. Later on, the basis of the temple, which was previously quadrangular, was inclined towards the rectangular. Besides, apart from the middle or central dome other domes began to be constructed in other parts of the temple. From the time of the Macedonian dynasty onwards the well-known cruciform temple with a dome will make its appearance.

The same can be said about painting, which includes panel-icons, wall paintings (frescoes), mosaics, and illuminated manuscripts. Re-

ligious art flourished during the Macedonian period (ninth and tenth centuries), but in later centuries two opposing schools emerged: a) The Macedonian school of art followed earlier Byzantine prototypes but was somewhat more liberal (Panselênos); and b) the Cretan school, whose technique had a more conservative character (Theophanês and Damaskênos). This latter was particularly developed in the sixteenth century and was dominant throughout the period of Turkokratia.

Byzantine art is subdivided into: 1) proto-Byzantine (sixth – mid-ninth centuries), 2) middle-Byzantine (end of the ninth – end of the twelfth centuries, i.e. the period of the Macedonians and the Komnênnoi), and 3) the period of the Palaiologoi (thirteenth – the middle of the fifteenth centuries). Designed to serve Divine Worship, Byzantine art visualized heavenly realities for worshipers and initiated them into the mystery and symbolism of the great act of the offering of the whole of creation to God.

## 7. PHILANTHROPY

The Church of Byzantium was involved in various kinds of organized philanthropy. The emperors, members of the royal family and others established philanthropic institutions and attached them to monasteries. These included old people's homes, hospices, hospitals, orphanages, crèches, penitentiaries, burial places for foreigners, homes for the blind and asylums for the poor, where needed medical care was offered with the most advanced medical methods of that time.

## 8. ECCLESIASTICAL-THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Within the Byzantine Empire there were several early-established centers of ecclesiastical and theological learning, such as Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Caesarea in Palestine, and North Africa. For a variety of reasons, these centers started to deteriorate. Their academic traditions slowly but steadily moved to Constantinople and the Byzantine tradition that emerged retained its importance in the domain of letters to the very end.

Theology, in the Byzantine tradition, can be studied in two distinctive periods: the first is generally known as "Patristic" (fourth – eighth centuries), and the second, as "Byzantine" (ninth – fifteenth centuries). The characteristic of the first period is the tendency to

make a synthesis between the Greek spirit and Christianity, to define and explain the Christian faith and to be original in all branches of theology. The characteristic of the second period is a spirit of traditionalism, with an air of originality in relation to persons and sectors not studied in the first period, that is, ascetic theology, hymnology, symbolism, mysticism, polemics, and the like.

The whole of Byzantine society was imbued with the aspirations of the Church and lived in the atmosphere of the Church. Thus, theology up to a point was the concern of all the faithful. Nevertheless, those who pursued it par excellence and incarnated it in their lives were, on the one hand, the patriarchs, the hierarchs, the clergy, and the monks, and on the other hand, the emperors and all sorts of men from the different strata of society. They all theologized with their faith and their life styles, as well as with their pens and mouths.

Byzantium included special schools for the ecclesiastical and theological education, such as the patriarchal school, and the various monastic schools that existed in the provinces. The independence, or not, of the patriarchal school from the university of Constantinople has been a matter of discussion. Research on this tends towards the independence of this school, although points of contact between these two supreme Byzantine institutions are acknowledged.

Other ancillary means or agencies for theology were the libraries, the imperial and the patriarchal, as well as those of the monasteries, the parish churches, etc., and also the archives, as well as the scriptoria where copying and decorating manuscripts was systematically practiced.

Other special factors that came to bear directly upon the development of theology in Byzantium, beyond the above-mentioned, would be: the relation of the Greek letters to Theology, the emergence of great monastic establishments around Byzantium and especially those in Constantinople and in the Holy Mountain, the relations between Old and New Rome, the existence of schisms and heresies.

The above factors, and perhaps others too, make the theology of Byzantium appear at least tied to certain tendencies and currents, which sometimes took the form of historical exaggerations. Therefore, the theology of Byzantium is called, from time to time and during different stages, theology of the palace or imperial, Greek, synodical or conciliar, of the desert, or of the great monastic centers, unionist or anti-unionist. It appears that in Byzantium there were two ecclesi-

astical and theological parties, that of the liberals and that of the conservatives, which in the passage of time took on various names and gained followers from all the social strata of Byzantium. The existence of these two parties could be regarded as a healthy and promising condition for the articulation of theology in Byzantium, as long as they did not move to extremes.

## PART II

### THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1453-1923)

#### 1. CHURCH AND STATE

Immediately after the conquest of the city of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (May 29, 1453), the Ecumenical Patriarchate faced new relations with a new State, the official religion of which was Islam. According to some information, Mohammed II the conqueror specified those relations within his empire, by taking into consideration the teaching of the Koran on this matter and the political interests of his empire.

He accepted the Orthodox Christians as a separate and autonomous religious and ethnic entity (the Greek nation, *Rum milleti*), and the Patriarch as their spiritual and ethnic leader (ethnarch, *Millet basi*). In this way, the Patriarch assumed rights pertaining not only to the spiritual domain of the Church, as was the case with the Byzantines, but also to the family, social customs and education of the members of the Church. The conqueror gave written orders, the so-called *berat* (ordinance) to the first Patriarch after the conquest, Gennadios Scholarios, in which these special rights were officially acknowledged. The *berats* were given to the patriarchs and the metropolitans. Patriarch Germanos V (1913-18) was the last to receive such a *berat*. The sultan, although a non-Christian, acted in some ways like the Byzantine emperors. For example, after the election of each Patriarch, he would personally install the Patriarch (patriarchs appeared before the grand viziers instead of the emperors during the years 1657-1834).

All non-Muslims had to pay the so-called head tax. Each Patriarch, beginning with the year 1467, had to pay at his election a special tax called *peskes* and yearly the so-called *harac* (after 1474). After the eighteenth century no mention of these taxes is made.

Janissaries were recruited from the male Christian children, who



were taken from their families and Islamized, with the last probable mention of this custom occurring in 1637. Christians had accepted Islam, as individuals or groups, mainly in some Balkan States, like Albania, Serbia, and Bosnia. Several Byzantine Churches had been turned into mosques, which still exist in Istanbul, like the churches of Holy Wisdom (*Aya Sofya muzesi*), The Holy Apostles (*Fatih camii*), Pammakaristos (*Fethiye camii*), and the monastery of Chora (*Kariye muzesi*), etc. During the first centuries after the captivity, it was usual policy not to permit the founding of new churches, but the renovation and repair of existing churches was allowed. Up until the middle of the nineteenth century the use of bells was generally prohibited.

Within the Ottoman Empire there existed religious freedom and a policy of toleration for Christians and Jews. The religious policy within the Ottoman Empire, a non-Christian state, could be better understood by comparison with the position accorded to heretics, schismatics, Jews, and Muslims within the Christian West during the same period. The actual application, of course, of the special rights granted to Christians in the Ottoman Empire depended on the personal will of the sultan and the governors, as well as on certain events.

With the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), Russia, being an Orthodox state, assumed the right to interfere in the empire on behalf of the Orthodox citizens, as France did on behalf of Roman Catholics.

Special mention should be made here of the so-called Phanariots, who were connected with the Phanar quarter of Constantinople and served as merchants, lawyers, and interpreters. They eventually entered the civil service of the Ottoman state and even held highest positions, such as that of the Grand Dragoman (chief interpreter) of the Porte, which in reality meant under-secretary of state for foreign affairs. The first such Interpreter was Panagiotakis Nikousios and his successor Alexander Mavrokordatos was the chief delegate of the Ottomans in the treaty of Karlowitz (1699). The Phanariots also assumed the position of the Dragoman of the Fleet and became hegemons (hospodars) of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. Their service falls within the eighteenth and the nineteenth century (1661-1821). Most of these aristocratic families appeared during the times that followed the captivity. Such families that could be traced to the Byzantine period were those of Argyropoulos, Cantacouzênos, Mourousês, Rangavês and Hypsêlantês. To them we may add the following Phanariot families: those of Aristarchês, Kallimachês,

Karatzas, Manos, Mavrokordatos, Mavrogenos, Negrês, Rallês or Ralletos, Rizos-Neroulos, Rôsettês, Gikas, Soutsos, Stourtzas, Schoinas and Chantzerês.

Attempts to reform the Ottoman Empire according to western ideals started in the eighteenth century and affected religion. With several state decisions a policy was enacted to equalize non-Muslim and the Muslim Ottomans before the law. The Hatti-Serif of Gülhane (1839) and mainly the Hatti-Hümayun (1856) were such examples. This policy continued during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century (until 1923). In reality, of course, this meant the abolition of the special rights acknowledged to the Orthodox Church by the conqueror.

At the time of the Sultan Abdul Hamit II, the so-called issue of privileges made its appearance, which had to do with the attempt to abolish the privileges of the Church within the Ottoman Empire that had been granted since the capture of Constantinople and afterwards. These privileges were related to serving a writ of summons to clergy, and deliberating on it, to granting alimony to women in cases of conjugal disputes, to settling inheritance law, to dealing with church and school disputes. This issue presents three historical phases: The first one (1883-1884) was developed during the first Patriarchy of Joachim III (1878); the second, during the Patriarchy of Dionysios V (1887-1891), with the collaboration of the then Metropolitan of Herakleia and afterwards Patriarch of Constantinople Germanos V; and the third phase, during the Patriarchy of Germanos V (1913-1918).

At the same time, the Ecumenical Patriarchate had members living in Roman Catholic and Orthodox states. In the latter the Byzantine ideal of church-state relations was in practice, while in Roman Catholic states, such as Venice, Austria, Hungary, and Poland, Orthodox had from time to time to face difficulties, for they were pressed to become Uniates and be absorbed into the Roman Church.

## 2. INTER-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

### *a) Generally*

One of the prerogatives of the honorary pre-eminence of the Ecumenical Patriarch within Orthodoxy was his right to take initiatives, to deal directly and occasionally to represent Orthodoxy in her relations with the heterodox. The activities of the Patriarchate in this

domain were very rich.

*b) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ancient Oriental Churches*

The Ecumenical Patriarchate maintained good relations with the Ancient Eastern Churches. The establishment of the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul (1461) by Mohammed II normalized relations between the two Churches. In 1755, however, the Ecumenical Patriarchate decided to re-baptize the Armenians who entered the Orthodox Church. This was the Orthodox practice to the end of the nineteenth century when the ancient custom of accepting Armenians by the use of holy chrism was once again in use. The twentieth century saw a great rapprochement between these two Churches that was enhanced by the exchange of visits of their respective patriarchs and other persons, the exchange of church buildings and other hopeful actions.

Relations between the Orthodox and the Ethiopians were always warm, especially through the mediation of the Orthodox Patriarchs of Alexandria. Joachim III of Constantinople (1878-1884) communicated by correspondence with the leaders of Ethiopia. This is reported in the important inter-Orthodox correspondence of the same Patriarch at the beginning of the twentieth century (1902-1904).

*c) Constantinople and Rome*

The two parties in the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the one for and the other against union with Rome that existed at the end of the Byzantine period continued functioning at least until the seventeenth century. Consequently, Roman Catholic interferences in Orthodox theology were always felt. The main aim of Rome was to subdue the Patriarchate, and all the Eastern Orthodox to Rome through preaching, sacramental life, education, philanthropy and political interference. To this end she established and recruited the Jesuit order of monks, the Greek College of St. Athanasius (1577) and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (1622) with its special branch for the Orientals (1917), while promoting the Uniate church scheme. In most of the Latin states the Orthodox hierarchy was replaced by a Latin or a Uniate one and the Orthodox members were forced to become Uniates or Latins. The Ottoman state had on several occasions issued *firman*s condemning the work of proselytizing

its Orthodox citizens to the Roman Catholic faith.

The union of Western and Eastern Orthodox Christians that was accomplished at the synod of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439) also became an important chapter in determining relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Churches. The Church of Constantinople rejected the decisions of the above synod through an Orthodox synod that was summoned in Constantinople in 1484. The synod of 1755 that was summoned in Istanbul decided to accept Roman Catholics into the Orthodox faith by rebaptizing them – a custom that continued to exist to the beginning of the twentieth century. Pope Pius IX invited the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the Vatican I (Roman Catholic Ecumenical) Synod (1870), but Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory VI did not accept the invitation.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate was always on the alert to meet the efforts of the Latins to proselytize the people within its own ecclesiastical jurisdiction and to help the other Orthodox Churches as well to meet this particular challenge. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries we see the exchange of encyclicals between the Church leaders of the two Churches. In the above-mentioned correspondence of Patriarch Joachim III (1902-1904) reference is made to relations between Orthodox and Roman Catholics and to the proselytism that was carried out by the Westerners.

#### *d) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Old Catholics*

Old Catholics, immediately after their break with Rome (1870), invited friendly and official ecclesiastical contacts with the Orthodox Church, including the Ecumenical Patriarchate, aiming at uniting with her. The two Union Conferences in Bonn (1874, 1875) exposed the lines of rapprochement between these two Churches. The Ecumenical Patriarchate sent delegates to the second conference. This common desire for union was kept alive through official pronouncements, correspondence, visits, theological conferences, offering of scholarships, and special writings. The existing relations were favorably commented upon in the Orthodox correspondence of Patriarch Joachim III (1902-4). At the preparatory conference of Faith and Order in Geneva (1920) the Orthodox and the Old Catholics met unofficially; and this was to be repeated later on as well.

*e) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and Anglicanism*

Contacts between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Church of England began after the Reformation. With the passage of time they have taken various forms and developed in a positive way.

In the seventeenth century a correspondence began between the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Ecumenical Patriarch. The Anglican chaplains in the British diplomatic and commercial delegations and the visitors from England helped the West to understand the East. The contacts of the Non-jurors with the Eastern Churches constitute the most important event in the eighteenth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century relations of the Anglican Communion with the Ecumenical Patriarchate were resumed after an interval of interruption that lasted a century and a half owing to proselytism. The main reason for this change was the Oxford Movement and also the conferences in Bonn and Lambeth, the establishment of Anglican communities within the Orthodox ecclesiastical territory and vice versa, the foundation within the Anglican Communion of associations on the Eastern Churches, the exchange of visits, and the commencement of an official correspondence (1899).

Contacts during the twentieth century show a substantial degree of improvement, together with some stagnation, for external reasons. The two principal sees of Constantinople and Canterbury usually take the initiative in promoting mutual relations.

In the beginning (1901-1914), contacts were academic and theoretical in character with a degree of ignorance existing on both sides. Anglicans fervently wished the realization of inter-communion. In 1903 Androustos, professor in Chalkê at that time, wrote his classic study on the validity of Anglican Orders. In the inter-Orthodox correspondence of Patriarch Joachim III favorable comments were made concerning Anglican Communion. In 1907, the same Patriarch appointed as his *apokrisiarios* to the see of Canterbury an archimandrite but in 1922 the newly appointed Metropolitan of Thyateira acted in this capacity and so did all his successors to the present. 1922 was also the year when the first Anglican student entered the School of Chalkê.

World War I (1914-18) opened a new era in this area (until 1930), due to the assistance the Anglicans rendered to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the existence of several strong personalities, the eccle-

siastical character of the contacts already made and the development of mutual interest. From the Ecumenical Patriarchate the names of Patriarch Meletios IV (1921-23) and Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira (1922-1951) deserve particular mention. The Ecumenical Patriarchate sent, for the first time in history, an official delegation to the Sixth Lambeth Conference (1920), which engaged in theological conversations. In 1922 the Ecumenical Patriarchate decided in favor of recognizing the validity of Anglican Orders and in 1925 it was represented in the commemoration of the 1600th anniversary of the First Ecumenical Synod in Nicaea that was held in London (325/1925).

*f) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and Protestantism*

Protestantism being a movement, which sprang from Roman Catholicism, was not of immediate interest to Orthodoxy and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Protestants, in their fight against Rome, tried to win the Ecumenical Patriarchate to their side. In order to realize their plans they used the diplomatic delegations that were in place in the East, the chaplains serving therein, as well as deeds of philanthropy, exchange of correspondence, publications and contacts, both personal and ecclesiastical. In facing those contacts the Patriarchate maintained a position of reserve, accepted and cultivated friendly relations with Protestants, explaining at the same time Orthodox doctrine in comparison with Protestant thought and condemning Protestant heterodoxies.

In the sixteenth century the relations of Protestants with the Ecumenical Patriarch rather bear the form of an academic exchange and are characterized as serious and as laying down the lines that ought to be followed in subsequent centuries. In the seventeenth century the clash between Latins and Calvinists was particularly felt within the boundaries of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. A certain group of Orthodox theologians and ecclesiastical leaders found themselves under Protestant influence. The Calvinists tried in all sorts of ways to infiltrate the Ecumenical Patriarchate, causing commensurate reactions. At the end of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth centuries the Protestants engage in proselytism against the members of the Patriarchate, establishing Evangelical (Protestant) Churches. For this reason relations between the two sides became very tense. In the twen-

teenth century the ecumenical movement played an important role in helping Orthodox and Protestants, more or less, to regain normal relations.

The first official contact of the Patriarchate with Lutheranism took place between Melanchthon and the deacon Demetrius Mysos, who came to Wittenberg in 1559 on behalf of Patriarch Joasaph II in order to acquire first-hand knowledge of the faith and customs of Protestants. Mysos, who seems to have fallen under the influence of Lutheranism, brought back upon his return a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession and a letter of Melanchthon to Joasaph. The Patriarch, as it seems, did not send an answer to Melanchthon.

The second instance of a Lutheran-Orthodox contact was the correspondence of Patriarch Jeremias II with the theologians at Tübingen (1573-1581), in which the most important Christian doctrines were discussed. For the first time in history Orthodox and Protestants met each other on an official theological level, and this stands as a starting point for all forthcoming confrontations between the two parties.

One of the tragic figures in this area of Protestant-Orthodox contacts is Patriarch Cyril Loukaris (1572-1638), who could be better understood within the wider context of the struggle for supremacy between Roman Catholic and Protestant powers in the East. In the seventeenth century two ecclesiastical parties emerged within the Ecumenical Patriarchate and took the form of pro-Roman and pro-Protestant supporters respectively. Loukaris thought that the salvation of his Church depended on the Protestant world and so he became the leader of the pro-Protestant party. In facing the Orthodox he acted like one of them, while in his dealings with Protestants he was lenient with them. His Protestant *Confession* seems to have been written by him as a personal document in order to please the Protestants. Protestant influence on other Orthodox theologians can also be found in the same period. Thus, several synods that were held in the seventeenth century in Istanbul dealt with Protestantism.

Beginning in the eighteenth century and continuing afterwards, those relations were unfortunately obscured, because of missionary work undertaken by several Protestant bodies within the territories of the Orthodox Church in general and of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in particular. Patriarchs like Gregory VI and Joachim III tried their best to confront these disruptive Protestant tendencies.

*g) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ecumenical Movement*

The role of the Patriarchate in the Ecumenical Movement has been considerable, when it is seen from different angles. One, however, may stress two points in particular, a) that the Patriarchate was one of the few Christian Churches which initially proposed and worked for the formation of this movement, and b) that it was and still is one of the most faithful members and ardent supporters of the Ecumenical Movement.

In the patriarchal encyclicals of 1902-4 relations between Orthodox and other Christian Confessions were touched upon and favorably commented upon. In the Second Encyclical of 1920, "*Unto all the Churches of Christ wherever they may be,*" the formation of a league or a council of Churches was proposed, and a scheme containing the appropriate practical steps to be taken was given. Indeed the Patriarchate and other Orthodox Churches participated in this movement from the very start, i.e. from the Preliminary Conference on Faith and Order in Geneva (1920).

Factors that influenced these relations were perhaps the following: church-state relations in the Ecumenical Patriarchate; the supranational character of the Patriarchate; the ecumenical and universal character of the Ecumenical Patriarchate from a geographical point of view; the manner of operation prevailing in the Patriarchate; the presence of outstanding personalities and the preparation of worthy personnel; the right of the Patriarchate to take initiatives within the structure of the Orthodox Churches.

### 3. HERETICAL BELIEFS; RELIGIOUS DISPUTES; SCHISMS

The external conditions within which the Patriarchate lived and the formulation of dogmas in the past did not form suitable ground for the birth of great heresies and theological discussions in the old sense. Nevertheless, we come across some heretical tendencies, theological discussions and ecclesiastical schisms that were due to influences coming from the West, to the existence of some heretical or schismatic tendencies from the past, to the lower level of education, and to the awakening of nationalistic spirit.

Joannikios Kartanos (sixteenth century) expounded in his book called *Anthos* some pantheistic and anti-Trinitarian doctrines.

The monk Matthew from Melenikon (sixteenth century) denied



that Christ died on the Cross.

Theophilos Korydalleus (1563-1645), one of the great teachers of his time who belonged to the circle of Loukarês, was accused of holding Calvinistic opinions. The same can be said of John Karyophyllês who, in addition, fought against the use of the term "*metousiôsis*."

During the seventeenth century the Orthodox Church, as we have already noted, found herself between two firing squads, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Orthodoxy resisted this danger from the West in a double way; on the one hand by firmly upholding her faith, and on the other hand by articulating the commensurate Orthodox doctrine against the innovations of the West and especially of those of the new Reformation. Thus, we have a series of synods and composition of Orthodox confessions, which address in the best possible way this particular aim. For this reason the ecclesiastical history of the seventeenth century could be called the century of symbolic texts. The local synods summoned during this century are the following six:

- a) The synod of Constantinople (1638);
- b) The synod of Constantinople (1642);
- c) The synod of Iasi (1642);
- d) The synod of Constantinople (1672);
- e) The synod of Jerusalem (1672);
- f) The synod of Constantinople (1691).
- g) The synod of Nicossia in Cyprus (1668) may be also included here.

Methodios Anthrakites (eighteenth century), a teacher, was accused of being a pantheist and an extreme mystic.

Christodoulos Akarnan (eighteenth century), following the tenets of pantheism and the teachings of the French Encyclopaedists, denied the basic Christian doctrines.

After the heated discussions and events which had taken place in the diocese of Izmit (Nicomedia) and under the leadership of a monk called Auxentios (on the rebaptizing of the Latins and Armenians), a decision on this, as previously stated, was taken by the Synod at Istanbul in 1756.

On Mt. Athos, on the other hand, we come across some disputes, touching matters of worship, such as the practice of holding services (*mnêmosyna*) for the commemoration of the dead and of taking frequent communion (eighteenth century), the sacredness of the name

of Jesus Christ and the old calendar dispute (twentieth century). The Ecumenical Patriarchate duly dealt with these above-mentioned disputes, taking the appropriate measures.

The doctrines of Theophilos Kairês (1784-1853), who was a member of the Church of Greece, were of interest to the Patriarchate because it had to deal with his pupils.

The Church of Bulgaria remained in a state of schism from the Patriarchate and some Orthodox Churches from 1872 to 1945. This was due to the appearance among the Orthodox of the spirit of *phyletism* (nationalism) and the tendencies of the Bulgarians to create an autocephalous Bulgarian Church not only within the boundaries of their state, but also to include all Bulgarians found in it within the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and thus create a new Orthodox Church within the boundaries of another. The Bulgarian schism was officially announced in the Great Synod of 1872 in the Phanar and was finally healed in 1945. From 1953 to 1961 there was once more an anomaly in the relations of these two Churches, but this ended with the recognition of the patriarchal status of the Bulgarian Church by the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

#### 4. ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION

##### a) *The Patriarch, etc.*

Church government in the Patriarchate did not undergo any great changes, but some important readjustments were made to meet the new needs.

At the head of that Church was the Patriarch. Until 1923 a special electoral assembly, composed of metropolitans, officials and laymen conducted his election. This was done on three names by a majority vote or by the exclamation *axios* (worthy). From 1860 to 1923 the synod of metropolitans had the right of electing one among the three names presented by the special assembly. Since 1923 the *endêmousa* synod has carried out the whole process of election, without the presence of any lay participants. The general rule has evolved of electing the Patriarch from among the metropolitans. There are examples, though, of Ecumenical Patriarchs having been elected from other patriarchal or autocephalous sees. Once elected, a Patriarch is enthroned or ecclesiastically installed. This is done by a ceremony that involves the pronouncement of the "lesser" (*mikron*) and the "great message"

(*mega mênyma*), the delivery of an appropriate address and the handing over of the patriarchal staff to the new Patriarch by the Metropolitan of Heracleia. Another ceremony of presentation or installation of the new Patriarch also took place before the Sultan. During the period 1657-1834 the new Patriarch appeared before the Grand Visier. From the middle of the seventeenth century and afterwards the presentation to the Sultan preceded the enthronement.

The Patriarch's residence followed the wanderings of the patriarchal cathedral churches: 1) the church of the Holy Apostles (1453-1455); 2) the Pammakaristos (1455-1586); 3) the Panaghia Paramythia or Wallach Saray (1586-1597); 4) St. Demetrios Xyloportês (1597-1599); and 5) St. George in the Phanar (1600-to the present). Another residence of the Patriarch was in *Xêro-Krêne* and in the *Mega Reuma* of the Bosphoros. At present (and throughout the nineteenth century) the patriarchal summer residence is in the Theological School of Chalkê.

The Patriarchate, being a Monastery, had the Patriarch as its Hegumen. Furthermore, the Patriarch as Archbishop of Constantinople had at his disposal his cathedral church. This is applicable to this day, since the patriarchal church is St. George in the Phanar, where the main acts of worship are celebrated with the Patriarch as the chief celebrant. Although the Patriarch presided over the services in the patriarchal church, he also celebrated in other churches of the holy Archdiocese of Constantinople, because there was no *chorostasia* at that time. At the patriarchal church in the Phanar the Patriarch stands at the head of the chorus (*chorostatei*) in all Saturday Vesperal Services, on the Sundays of the entire year and at the Vesperal Services of Feast days, when patriarchal and synodical *chorostasia* and sometimes synodical liturgy (of the endêmousa synod) liturgy was observed. The Patriarch presides in similar services and on extraordinary circumstances, among which we may include the blessing of the Holy Myron. Since 1860 the blessing of the Holy Myron was celebrated twelve times at the Phanar. The first time was in January 1865 under Sophronios III and the last one, in 1992 under Bartholomaïos. The Patriarch visits every community at least once a year and presides in *chorostasia* in their churches. He also celebrates a patriarchal and synodical liturgy in other sacred churches besides the patriarchal church, e.g. at the Holy Trinity in Chalkê, at the Entry of the Theotokos in Peran and at the sacred Monastery of the

Zôodochos Pêgê at Balouklê.

The revenues of the Patriarchate were of two kinds, the regular and the irregular ones, i.e. the revenues of the Patriarch and those of the Patriarchate. All these were not enough to cover the greatly mounting debt of the Patriarchate (*chreos tou koinou*). A positive step to meet this was the establishment of a committee of finance (first in 1564), which started functioning regularly from the middle of the eighteenth century.

#### *b) Offices and Ranks*

Until the middle of the eighteenth century the Patriarch had absolute authority in dealing with church affairs, because of the absence of the regular synodical regime. The only body in this period existing besides him was that of the officials, who had assumed a real power, stronger than that of the endêmousa synod. Since the nineteenth century, however, these offices have almost entirely lost their real meaning and have become honorary. Their catalogue at the present has been greatly augmented.

#### *c) The Synodical Institution*

During this period and at least until the eighteenth century, the Ecumenical Patriarchs ruled all church affairs with absolute authority, because there was no permanent synodical authority beside them. Yet, the synodical institution continued to exist even during this time because the Patriarchs did summon and presided over *ad hoc* synods.

Thus, we have the appearance of extraordinary synods, which brought together hierarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate for the purpose of resolving serious problems. We also have "great," or "greater," or "local synods," which were summoned in Constantinople and included not only representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate but also of other Orthodox Churches. These synods, which constitute a broader synodical form within the Orthodox Church, dealt with issues of a more general nature, ecclesiastical, dogmatic, canonical, and other.

The most usual synodical form, however, continued to be the "endêmousa synod" as in the past. This synod was summoned to deal with common issues of the Patriarchate, but its character was extraordinary and rather consultative. By the middle of the eighteenth

century the *endêmousa* synod became constant and regular, the number of its members varying, but reaching twelve by the nineteenth century. It was summoned regularly at first twice a month and later once a week and even beyond that on extraordinary occasions. There were various causes that led to this development.

During the period of “gerontism” (middle of the eighteenth – middle of the nineteenth century), which falls within the period of the “phanariots,” there was a regular synod composed of metropolitans of distinguished gerontic metropolitanical thrones that ruled with absolute authority. Gerontic metropolitans were those of the Sees of Caesarea, Ephesus, Heracleia, Cyzicus, Nicaea, Nicomedeia, Chalcedon and Derkoi. These metropolitans were the permanent members of the *endêmousa* synod (of “gerontes”) that sat first and by special right, but other hierarchs who happened to sojourn in Constantinople also joined them. These “gerontes” dealt rigorously with all ecclesiastical matters, including the election of candidates for the patriarchal throne and the other hierarchical chairs. They were also guardians of the metropolitans at the sacred patriarchal center and, therefore, exercised great authority. This system had its advantages and disadvantages. Today the gerontic metropolitans continue to be first in the seniority line of the *syntagma*tion of the metropolitans of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but “gerontism” is rather a relic of history having only symbolic significance.

The “general” or “ethnic regulations” (1858-1862), prepared by a special assembly in the Patriarchate and confirmed by the Ottoman state, put an end to “gerontism.” These conditioned church life until 1922. Some articles, not affected by the political change, are still in force. Those regulations deal with the Patriarch, the Holy Synod, the mixed council, finances, personnel of the Patriarchate and the monasteries.

Ecclesiastical affairs were separated into spiritual and material. The Synod, which came to be called “Holy Synod,” took care of all spiritual affairs. It had a permanent and regular character and met three times a week. The president that summoned it was the Patriarch. Members of it were twelve metropolitans, according to their position in the *syntagma*tion. A parallel form of the synodical institution, of clergy-laity texture, was up until 1923 the (ethnic) mixed council, which dealt with the material affairs of the Patriarchate. It consisted of four synodical metropolitans and eight lay people, and its president was the most senior of the metropolitans. For the most

important affairs of the Church and the Christian nation (*genos*) the two bodies (making up 20 members) met jointly under the presidency of the Patriarch. This ceased to exist in 1923, and thus the participation of the laity in the government of the Church became a dead letter. Since then, the only regular body is the permanent Holy Synod, which has different synodical committees, consisting of clergy and some lay-people.

Finally, apart from the cathedra of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, we can mention again the eparchial synod of Crete, the Metropolis of Thessalonica (up until 1924) with the somewhat peculiar institution of the ecclesiastical archdiocesan council of Thessalonica that functioned during 1917-1920 and the eparchial synod of the sacred Archdiocese of America, North and South (1922-1931 and 1979-the present).

There are also the cases of election of hierarchs, which were done apart from the cathedra of the Patriarchate in other parts of the world by local conferences of hierarchs. They took the form of eparchial synods, and occurred in Venice, the Peloponnese, Walachia, Moldavia, Mytilênê (Lesvos) and elsewhere.

The Ecumenical Patriarch had the juridical authority, which, due to the privileges that had been recognized as his, extended not only to spiritual but also to secular matters. It was exercised through the endêmousa synod and the other forms of the synodical system.

#### *d) Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*

After the fall of the city, the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate covered a wide area. All Orthodox Christians within the Empire and others outside of it were under the Patriarchate, leaving out those of the ancient Patriarchates and the Church of Cyprus. This jurisdiction covered the areas of the Balkans, the Ionian and the Aegean islands, Asia Minor and parts of Russia. The independent Archbishopric of Tirnovo seems to have become a province of the Patriarchate after the Synod of Florence (1439). Beginning with the year 1448, the Metropolitan of Moscow was appointed by the Russian State. The elevation of that Church to the rank of a Patriarchate was the decision of the Great Synod in Istanbul (1593), presided over by the Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremias II. The Patriarchate continued to send Metropolitans to the Ukraine. Financial difficulties and the

need for protection should be accepted as reasons for the subjection of the independent archdiocese of Pech (1766) and Ochrida (1767) to the Patriarchate. In the nineteenth century, the era of the rise of nationalism in the Balkans, new Orthodox Churches were reestablished following the example of the newly established States. This continued in the twentieth century. The Ecumenical Patriarchate bestowed by means of patriarchal and synodical Tomes (acts) an autonomous, or autocephalous, or even a patriarchal status to those Churches. The exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece in 1922 left the Patriarchate with hardly any members in Asia Minor. But with the continuous immigration of Greek Orthodox Christians to the Americas, Australia, and Europe and the establishment there of new dioceses, exarchies and communities depending on the Patriarchate, the jurisdiction of the Great Church of Christ was extended all over the world. Thus, geographically speaking the Patriarchate enhanced its ecumenical status.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Patriarchate delegated for a period of time (1908-1922) the government of the Greek Orthodox in the Diaspora to the Church of Greece. It resumed its responsibility with the foundation of the Archdiocese of North and South America and the Metropolis (Archdiocese 1954-1963) of Thyateira (and Great Britain since 1964) in 1922. In 1923 the Ecumenical Patriarchate granted autonomy to the Churches of Finland, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, and Latvia-Lettonia, which continued to be under its jurisdiction.

## 5. THE HIERARCHY AND THE CLERGY

Metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops were the highest ecclesiastical leaders in their dioceses. In this third order of the priesthood, the episcopate, we see an evolution from the lower to the higher administrative level. The bishoprics that depended on metropolitans eventually acquire the name of archbishoprics and some are directly promoted to the rank of metropolises. In the Ecumenical Patriarchate we see the emergence of titular hierarchs. These were bishops, and sometimes metropolitans, who usually acted as assistants to the Patriarch and were employed in the service of the sacred archdiocese, the *gerontes* and the other metropolitans of the Ecumenical Throne. In the nineteenth century the deans of the Theological School and of the Great School of the (Christian) Nation (*ἡ Μεγάλη τοῦ γένους*

Σχολή) were promoted to titular metropolitans. The names of these Metropolitans were not entered into the *syntagmation*. Manuel Gedeon considers Matthew of Myrea as the first titular Metropolitan, but the Metropolitans Gennadios of Hélioupolis and Paul of Sweden have questioned this opinion.

Clergy serving the communities came from the ranks of the people and, therefore, fully participated in the conditions of life that applied during those times. After the captivity much illiteracy was developed. As a result all those chosen for the ranks of the clergy were those that had had the greater possible education. Parish clergy were usually married, but there were also monastic clergy serving in the parishes. The maintenance of the clergy was based on the contributions of the Christians, the celebration of various religious ceremonies, payments of free or regular dues and personal work.

## 6. INTER-ORTHODOX RELATIONS

Since the eleventh century the Ecumenical Patriarchate possessed primacy or seniority of honor amongst the other sister Orthodox Churches and the Patriarch of Constantinople was regarded first among equals. This primacy of honor does not have a mere theoretical or academic character, because in point of fact it comprises certain rights and duties that are recognized to it by the ecumenical synods, history and generally the praxis and the traditions of the Church. The right of the Ecumenical Patriarch to take the initiative in matters pertaining to the relations between the Orthodox and other Christians or to matters of Pan-Orthodox character has been always recognized by the Orthodox Patriarchs and the Leaders of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches.

More particularly the Ecumenical Patriarch has the following specific rights and duties: 1) to hear appeals by the clergy under him and by all the rest of the Orthodox Churches; 2) to initiate any inter-Orthodox correspondence on one or more important issues of inter-Orthodox or inter-Christian, or even international texture; 3) to summon broader or pan-Orthodox synods, as well as to preside over them and to specify the place, the time and the manner of their operation; 4) to grant autonomy, autocephaly and patriarchal status to ecclesiastical regions previously being under him provided that these regional churches have the prerequisites that are needed for the said ranks and that the unanimous opinion of the other sister Orthodox



Churches is in place; 5) to deliberate on issues of exceptional nature that are the concern of one or more Orthodox Churches and are related to faith, ethics, ecclesiastical law, administration, etc., either directly from the Phanar, or through the dispatch of patriarchal exarchs or exarchies; 6) to name on a permanent basis hierarchs of the Ecumenical Throne that reside abroad as exarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate; 7) to consecrate the holy Myron and to send it to the sister Orthodox Churches as a sign of the spiritual ties that exist between them and the Ecumenical Patriarchate; 8) to recognize new saints that fought the good fight not only within the boundaries of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but also outside it, following an application on the part of the Church concerned; 9) to take precedence in con-celebrations with other patriarchs and leaders of autocephalous Orthodox Churches; 10) to establish stavropegiac monasteries.

Until the nineteenth century the Ecumenical Patriarch took care and at times interfered in matters of external and internal concerns of other Churches. It was through the Ecumenical Patriarch that other Patriarchs came into contact with political leaders and civil authorities. Furthermore the Patriarchate of Constantinople helped the other sister Orthodox Churches in their struggle against proselytism and the expansionary tendencies of the Western Churches. It also intervened in matters of ecclesiastical justice, election, resignation or dismissal of other patriarchs and hierarchs of the other patriarchal thrones, as well as in matters of canon law and dogmatic nature or faith.

On the other hand, patriarchs, hierarchs and other clergy and monks of other Orthodox Churches, sojourning in Constantinople participated many times under different capacities in the endêmousa and in other synods of the Patriarchate of this city and got thus involved in the internal governing of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

All of the above should not be regarded as an attempt of the Patriarch of Constantinople to acquire a *de facto* primacy of power over the other Orthodox Churches, but rather as an endeavor deriving from his duty to help the other Orthodox Churches in their difficulties.

The arrival of a great number of Orthodox people in various parts of the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought into the bosom of Orthodoxy a new phenomenon and situation, that of the Orthodox diaspora. This matter received three solutions during the stages of its development: a) organizing ecclesiastically all

Orthodox living outside the boundaries of the local Orthodox Churches under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, in accordance with Canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451); b) organizing various Orthodox jurisdictions, under their mother (local Orthodox) Churches; and c) organizing indigenous Orthodox Churches.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Ecumenical Patriarchate issued two important documents. The first document, issued in 1908 under Joachim III, yielded the canonical ruling right of spiritual oversight over the Orthodox diaspora to the Church of Greece. The second document, issued in 1922 under Meletios IV (Metaxakês), revoked the validity of the previous document (of 1908) and restored the perennial canonical order, i.e. the spiritual ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate over the Orthodox diaspora.

One can draw a long list of pan-Orthodox or other synods held in Istanbul during this period. The Ecumenical Patriarchate recognized the Church of Russia as a Patriarchate in 1589/1593; and gave autocephalous status to the Church of Greece in 1850; it gave autonomy to the Church of Serbia in 1831, raising it to autocephaly in 1879, and patriarchal status in 1922; it gave autocephaly to the Church of Rumania in 1885 and patriarchal status in 1925; it gave autocephaly to the Church of Bulgaria in 1945 and patriarchal status in 1961. In 1990 (March 3) the Ecumenical Patriarchate declared the Church of Georgia autocephalous and was granted patriarchal status. The Patriarchate also recognized the autocephaly of the Church of Poland in 1924. In 1937 the Church of Albania was declared autocephalous by the Ecumenical Patriarch Benjamin I and in 1992, thanks to the initiative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate this Church was reconstituted following the persecution to nearly total extinction that she had suffered since 1976. The Church of Czechia and Slovakia was declared autonomous in 1923 and Autocephalous in 1998. Other autonomous Churches under the Ecumenical Patriarchate are the Church of Finland (1923), and the Orthodox Church of Esthonia (1923 and 1996).

The famous correspondence initiated by Joachim III (1902-4) constitutes a good beginning in inter-Orthodox relations during the twentieth century. Matters that needed to be studied together were connected with: a) the inter-relations of the Orthodox Churches, b) the (common) calendar and c) the relations of the Orthodox to the Western and to the ancient Oriental Christians.

A second important event of inter-Orthodox character was the pan-Orthodox conference that was summoned in Constantinople by Patriarch Meletios IV (Metaxakês) in 1923. This Conference led to decisions on correcting the Julian calendar, on the marriage of priests and deacons after ordination, on second marriage due to death of a widowed priest or deacon, certain other matters of canonical nature, the celebration of the 1600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea, etc.

## 7. MONASTICISM

Monasticism continued to exist during this period as well. Apart from the payment of certain taxes, monasteries enjoyed the respect of those in government. Monastic life was regulated in accordance with the rules of St. Basil the Great and other masters of Eastern monasticism. Apart from the ancient systems, the coenobitic and the eremitic, there is now a great development of the idiorrhythmic system of governing monasteries, especially since 1400. Monasteries are called royal (patriarchal), stavropegiac and eparchial.

The most important center of monasticism during this period is the Holy Mountain, which constitutes an autonomous brotherhood. Up until 1912 it was under the Ottoman state. Since then, it has remained part of the Hellenic Republic. The highest spiritual authority of the Holy Mountain is the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The Great Church of Christ exercised her canonical duties and rights that are derived from her spiritual jurisdiction, respecting the self-governing status of the Holy Mountain. On the other hand the Holy Mountain in its turn offered much to the Mother Church. It constitutes the most important chapter of her history, as a living expression of Eastern monasticism. It gave the Church patriarchs, bishops, teachers, authors, preachers and confessors. The Holy Mountain was an ecclesiastical embassy of the Church of Constantinople for the other Orthodox Churches. It is also the most important treasury of Eastern Orthodox Monasticism for the Great Church.

There were monasteries in almost all regions of the Ottoman Empire and outside it. According to R. Janin in 1453 there were 18 monasteries and approximately another dozen, the existence of which cannot be clearly documented. These monasteries included, that of Pammakaristos, as well as the other patriarchal churches, such as that of the Zôodochos Pêgê in Balouklê and those in the Princes Is-

lands: the Divine Transfiguration in Ptôtê, Christ the Savior the Theokoryphôtês in Antigonê, the Holy Trinity and the All-holy Theotokos Kamariôtissa in Chalkê, Christ the Savior and St. Nikolaos in Pringêpos, the Forerunner in Sôzopolis by the Black Sea (up until 1623), the monastery of Mavros Môlos (up until 1713), the All-holy Theotokos of Soumela in Trebizond, the Honorable Forerunner in Kastoria, St John the Theologian in Patmos, the Mega Spêlaion and the Hagia Lavra in Peloponnese, the Meteora in Thessaly, the Divine Transfiguration of Vtateoi in Thessalonica, St. Anastasia in Chalkêdikê. In the *Syntagmaion* of 1902 there were altogether 72 stavropêgiac monasteries that belonged to the Ecumenical Throne.

The Ecumenical Patriarch had the right, which was derived from his seniority of honor, as before, to establish stavropegiac monasteries mainly within the territory of his jurisdiction and to renew or to grant anew this status to existing monasteries. The Ecumenical Throne, as well as some Metropolises of the Throne, had property and institutions with churches in them in various parts of the world, the so-called *metochia*. The nineteenth century saw in Romania the so-called monasteries issue. Since the general regulations (1860) there was a monasteries committee in the Patriarchate, which dealt with issues relating to the operation of the sacred monasteries.

## 8. DIVINE WORSHIP

Worship at this period lost its external magnificence. Few churches remained in the hands of Christians and those built on the foundations of the old were made of wood, lacking a dome. From the middle of the eighteenth century and especially in the nineteenth century, thanks to the prosperous position of the Greek Orthodox and the permission of the authorities, many new churches were built and others rebuilt from the old. Church bells started again to be heard. Newly built churches were of the basilica or the cross-type with domes.

Holy sacraments and religious services were continuously being conducted. In the first centuries immediately after the captivity the liturgy was performed during the night. This stopped in the nineteenth century. Preaching was done where and whenever there were men able to do so. Many names of eloquent preachers fill the catalogues of this period. Preaching became more regular after the foundation of theological and ecclesiastical schools. Byzantine church music was influenced by the Turkish and later the European music. Several pa-

triarchs tried to establish schools of Byzantine music in the Phanar. Several cantors of the Patriarchate are among the most famous experts of this music. The church calendar is being enriched with the addition of neo-martyrs and confessors, and by bringing back feasts from the past. At the pan-Orthodox congress of Istanbul (1923) the Ecumenical Patriarchate introduced in its ecclesiastical life the new or Gregorian calendar, but without changing the celebration of Pascha.

## 9. PHILANTHROPY

During these years, in which help was badly needed by almost all church members, the Patriarchate took the lead in the sphere of philanthropy, by establishing different houses, helping the poor and the sick, and freeing the captives. Mention of the first hospital in Istanbul is made in 1520, but hospitals in the modern sense were founded in different parts of the city in the eighteenth century. In 1836, with the construction of the new hospitals in Baluklê outside the walls, all former hospitals were moved to this new site, where they still exist and are efficiently run to this day.

In the sphere of ethnic philanthropic institutions Germanos IV founded the orphanage (1853-1863), which in 1903 was transferred to Pringêpos (1915-1916). Later on it moved to the Commercial School in Chalkê (September-12 December 1916), to the Theological School of Chalkê (1916-july 1918), to Prôtê for girls (1918-1919), again to Pringêpos (-1964). The orphanage for girls was founded in 1904 in the monastery of Christ in Prôtê through the donations of George Siniosoglou and Syngros. In 1919 it was transferred to the building of the former Commercial School of Chalkê. In 1942 it moved to Pringêpos to the same building with the orphanage for boys (-1964).

The world of philanthropy was pursued not only at the patriarchal center, but also in the eparchies and throughout the world.

## 10. ECCLESIASTICAL-THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

After the capture of Constantinople (1453) education in general continued to bear its ecclesiastical character. The period up until the middle of the nineteenth century is known in education as the period of theocracy. After that time, through the foundation of universities, education took on a secular and humanistic character (second period of ethnicities). During the first period, the first centuries of captivity,

the Christian nation was accused of illiteracy. A careful consideration, however, of existing life conditions, schools, men of letters, published and unpublished literature, puts to question this accusation. Besides, about the end of the seventeenth century a literary renaissance emerges which is extended to all spheres.

Clergy and theologians in general received their education either in grammar or secondary schools, where education was mostly based on ecclesiastical books and teachers were either priests or monks. In secondary education, theological courses formed a part in the regular curriculum. The most famous of all the secondary schools was the Patriarchal school or academy, founded by Gennadios Scholarios. Monasteries continued to serve as centers for learning either in general or in an organized way through ecclesiastical schools that were established within their grounds (e.g., the Athonias Academy, 1753, the Patmias Academy, 1713). Education in general remained under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and was reorganized during the twentieth century. Under Gregory VI (1836) an educational and spiritual committee was formed that was charged with the inspection of books and schools. Education was greatly assisted by the Hellenic Philological Association of Constantinople (1861). At the time of World War I, Greek schools within the Ottoman Empire were put under the direct supervision of the Turkish Ministry of Education.

During the first centuries after the captivity theological schools disappeared from the ecclesiastical scene. The vacuum was filled by the higher schools, monasteries, and the ecclesiastical cathedrae and up to a point by the universities of the West. There was, however, a notable production of theological literature, which, of course, could not be compared to that of the earlier Byzantine centuries. On the other hand it can be claimed that during the second half of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century the Ecumenical Patriarchate, with the Phanar at its center and the environment of the theological school of Chalkê, witnessed a significant theological movement, which continues to the present time.

There were various currents and factors that influenced the development and growth of theology in the Ecumenical Patriarchate: a) political change; b) relations between Roman Catholics and Protestants with the Ecumenical Patriarchate; c) new ideas and new systems that came from the West; d) the literary renaissance that emerged

between the middle of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century; e) the appearance of strange doctrines, theological discussions, disputes, schismatic tendencies and actual schisms; f) the presence of monasticism; g) the foundation of theological schools around the middle of the nineteenth century, when theology begins to take on a scientific (academic) character; and finally, h) the commencement of theological discussions and dialogues on a new basis between Orthodoxy and the Churches of the West around the middle of the nineteenth century, including the appearance of the ecumenical movement since the beginning of the twentieth century, etc.

The main feature of our theology after the captivity, as was the case with the later Byzantine period, is its attachment to the tradition and to the traditional forms. Up until the sixteenth century it is possible to talk about the continuation of Byzantine theology, which is marked by a flourishing of polemical theology against Latin dangers.

In the seventeenth century the presence of the Protestants also becomes felt within Orthodox circles. Thus, several new works make their appearance, which positively expound the Orthodox viewpoints and polemically oppose Protestant doctrines. Nevertheless Orthodox theologians of this period are by and large unconsciously influenced by Latin and Protestant theologies. At the same time, however, Orthodox theology begins to acquire a more scientific (academic) character. There is also a tendency to purge this theology from Western influences. The need to preserve from falling into oblivion important ecclesiastical events led to the production of works of ecclesiastical history. In the practical sphere it was the sermon and the composition of lives of saints and *synaxaria* that were particularly pursued.

A polemical or antirrhetical character marks Orthodox theology during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but this does not imply that other theological branches are completely neglected. The composition of teaching manuals begins to appear in order to cover the needs of the theological schools.

During the twentieth century Orthodox theology turned to new directions, especially to purging itself from the new elements that had intruded into it during the years following the captivity and the restoration of the ancient patristic theology. This, however, does not mean that theological advances made in the West were ignored. Inter-Church and Inter-Christian contacts, and especially the ecumenical movement, forced Orthodoxy to feel the need to reconsider her own

self-consciousness and to take appropriate measures in order to express her own position.

The more recent history of Orthodox theology can be divided into two periods, that preceding and that following the year 1840. An important turning point for the Ecumenical Patriarchate was the foundation of the Theological School of Chalkê in 1844 by Patriarch Germanos IV. This School met the needs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate by training academically educated priests for the Patriarchate and the other sister Churches. Besides, it gave expression to the new theological currents within the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The theologians of this period are the same persons as in Byzantine times, with the only exception of the Byzantine emperor. There is a long series of Orthodox theologians and theologizing clergy, monks and lay people, who cultivated the various branches of theological science.

The libraries and the archives, with their publications and manuscripts, of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, of the Great School of the (Christian) Nation, of the Metochion of the All-holy Sepulcher, of the Hellenic Philological Society, of the Monasteries of the Holy Trinity in Chalkê, of the Holy Mountain, of Patmos, etc., constitute a few of such examples.

At the same time presses appear in the context of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which greatly enhance the theological letters. We meet such presses in Venice (end of the fifteenth century), in Rome (beginning of the sixteenth century), Iassi (1639), Bucarest (1690), Moschonêsia, Smyrna, Kydônai, Chios, etc. The most notable of them all was the patriarchal press that was founded by Cyril Lukaris and operated only for a little while (1627-1628). Patriarch Samuel Chantzerês reconstituted it (1767) and so did again Patriarch Gregory V (1797) and Patriarch Joachim III (1880-1923).

Here we should also mention the known academic and theological periodicals of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, namely: "The Ecclesiastical Truth" (*Ἡ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*) which comprised volumes 1-43 (1880-1923); "The New Pastor" (*Ὁ Νέος Ποιμὴν*), volumes 1-5 (1919-1923); "The Regeneration" (*Ἡ ἀναγέννησις*), vols. 1-3 (1919-1922); "The Ecclesiastical Affairs or Ecclesiastical Bulletin" (*Τὰ Ἐκκλησιαστικά*, or *Τὸ Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Δελτίον*), vols. 1-6 (1869-1871); and "The Ecclesiastical Review" (*Ἡ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἐπιθεώρησις*), 5 periods, 5 tomes (1871-1885).



### PART III

#### THE TURKISH REPUBLIC (1923-1990)

##### 1. CHURCH AND STATE

After the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) the Ecumenical Patriarchate continued to pursue its task as a religious and spiritual establishment. The external rights that were accorded to it by the Ottoman Turks ceased to exist. In other words, there was a return to the situation before the captivity. The exchange of Turkish and Greek populations meant that from that period onwards Roman (Greek) Orthodox Christians would only exist in the city of Istanbul and the Aegean Islands of Imvros and Tenedos, corresponding to the Turkish Moslem Turks of Western (Greek) Thrace.

According to the regulations of the Turkish state all the citizens of the Turkish Republic are considered equal before the Law. Minorities are no longer considered to be ethnic but religious groups. The state granted certain privileges for the operations of religious and educational institutions of minorities not to their religious authorities but directly to the communities. Within the Turkish Republic the Ecumenical Patriarchate is regarded as a public institution bearing the form of a Free Church in a people's state, which is religiously neutral, and the members of which are by majority Moslems. Patriarch Athenagoras (1948-1972) paid visits twice to Ankara (1949-1952) to the Presidents of the Republic and to other political leaders and received the President Adnan Menderes (1952) at his See. Patriarch Demetrios (1972-1991) visited Prime-minister Turkut Ozal twice in Istanbul (1988) and once in Ankara (1989) when he served as President. Patriarch Bartholomaios visited President Süleyman Demirel (1992).

On the other hand, the Eparchies of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Europe, Asia, Australia, New Zealand and America, exist as free churches within states of the same type or bear the image of free churches in states which ascribe official status to either the Roman Catholic or the Anglican or the Lutheran Church, or acknowledge ethnic churches, i.e. Greece, Finland and Cyprus.

##### 2. MISSIONS

The appearance of the Ecumenical Movement, which has involved the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the other Orthodox Churches dur-

ing the twentieth century and from its beginnings in the nineteenth century, is connected with missions. This is because the pursuit of missions was the initial factor in the birth and formation of the ecumenical movement. The missionary zeal began to be strengthened in the schools of theology operating under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, i.e. those of Chalkê (1844), St. Serge in Paris (1926), Holy Cross in Boston (1937) and St. Andrew in Australia (1986).

The topic of missions was examined in three conferences of Orthodox Theology that met in Athens in 1936 and 1976 and in Thessaloniki in 1988.

A contemporary phenomenon of external mission is the appearance of Orthodoxy in Uganda and more widely in East Africa, Tanzania, Kenya and other parts of Africa, which is of particular fraternal interest to the Ecumenical Patriarchate through the local Church of Alexandria.

As far as the Church of Constantinople is concerned the missionary activities of the Sacred Archdiocese of America are particularly notable. These activities concentrate and offer help to the missionary Churches of Africa, Alaska, Korea, Mexico and Latin America.

Another organization that is particularly concerned with missions is *Syndesmos*. This is an international organization of collaborating Orthodox Youth Movements that enjoys the blessings of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Missions are one of the topics introduced in the agenda of the forthcoming Pan-Orthodox Synod at the pre-synodal meeting of Rhodes (1961).

We are not in a position to say much about the cooperation of the Orthodox with other Christian Churches on the subject of missions. The missions of the Westerners were connected with proselytism of Orthodox Christians. Thus the Orthodox Churches with the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the helm have been accustomed to making reactions against such activities.

In the correspondence of Patriarch Joachim III (1902-1904) there is ample talk about such activities on the part of the Westerners and the need of vigilance on the part of the Orthodox faithful. The same message was repeated in the 1920 Encyclical of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In almost all the meetings of Orthodox with other Christians and within the Ecumenical Movement and the World Council of Churches, the Orthodox have pointed out the proselytism pursued against them. A

result of this was the publication of certain ecumenical texts on this issue (New Delhi 1961 and 1971). Orthodox interest and reaction at the preparatory stage for the incorporation of the International Missionary Council into the World Council of Churches (New Delhi 1961) was quite intense. The new Department and later Sub-unit of the International Mission and Evangelism also comprised an office for Orthodox Studies and relations, whose Secretary was Ion Bria, and at present George Lemopoulos of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This Office was responsible for organizing Conferences on Orthodox Missions and publishing relevant materials (Neapolis, Thessalonica, Greece 16-24 April 1988). Theme: "Your Will Be Done." The Ecumenical Patriarchate was active in the establishment of an Orthodox Missionary Station in Athens in 1989 for the facilitation of the Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, Cyprus, Greece and Finland.

### 3. ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

#### *a) The Patriarch, etc.*

The Patriarch continues to bear the same official title, "...(*Name*)... by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch."

From 1923 onwards, when no mixed council existed any more, the election of the Patriarch is carried out by the endêmousa synod, which comprises all the metropolitans resident in Constantinople under the presidency of the hierarch who is first in seniority (1923). After the election, the ecclesiastical installation or enthronement of the Patriarch takes place. The political installation is no longer observed.

The seat of the Patriarch continues to be the Patriarchate at the Phanar, where the patriarchal church of St. George is located (1599). The Patriarchate functions like a monastery. The entrance is like the capital Greek letter Π in shape with three gates, one on each side, leading through the east gate to the patriarchal church and through the west gate to the patriarchal house. The center gate, where Patriarch Gregory V was hanged in 1821, remains closed, bearing on the inside the icon of the martyred Patriarch. The Patriarchate up until the fire of 1941 was divided into three great buildings or departments: a) The department of the patriarchal and synodal halls and offices of the serving staff, b) The department of the patriarchal special envoy, and c) The department of the former ethnic council with its various branches.

The first department, housed in the center of the wooden patriarchal edifice, was burnt down in 1941. The architect Aristeides Pasadaios restored it to the exact shape externally, thanks to the donations of the late grand benefactor Panagiotes Angelopoulos. The inauguration (*engainia*) took place on Sunday, the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1989, during the patriarchal term of office of Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios. The patriarch's summer residence is at the sacred monastery of the Holy Trinity at Chalkê. Ruling patriarchs also had and continue to have their own private residences or retreat quarters.

The Patriarch receives a regular salary. He continues to wear the same traditional ecclesiastical garb as religious leader within the Turkish Republic, alone enjoying the privilege of appearing publicly in this way even outside sacred church buildings and other sacred places (1935).

#### *b) The Synodal Institution*

After 1923 a permanent and regular synod (*holy and sacred synod*) continued to exist around the Patriarch. Up until 1941 it held its meetings at the small *synodikon* of the patriarchal office and since 1941 at the new *synodikon*, which was constructed for that purpose at the Ecumenical Patriarchate. When the Patriarch resided at Chalkê, the sacred and holy synod met there at the Theological School. Up until the time of Patriarch Photios II (1929-1935) it met three times a week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and subsequently once a week, every Tuesday, and also exceptionally on other days. The Patriarch continues to be the one who summons and presides over it. The members of the holy and sacred synod are the metropolitans of the hierarchical registry (*syntagmaion*) who are active within the Turkish Republic. They must be Turkish citizens, twelve in number, or more on certain exceptional occasions, as for instance during the time of Patriarch Demetrios, when the number of the synod's members was fifteen (26 March 1985). This synod continues to have the same jurisdiction since 1923. The ethnic permanent mixed council no longer exists. Thus, the laity does not engage directly in the administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. There are also synodal committees, which are linked to the synod. These committees consist of clergy and lay members and are chaired by a Metropolitan who is first in order among the members of the committee. The Patriarch is the natural chairman of all these committees.

At present there are twenty-three committees in operation.

The endêmousa synod continues to operate even after 1923. This synod meets on two occasions; first, when the ecumenical throne is widowed and second, on special occasions when serious matters arise.

There are also synods, or other bodies with synodal character at the various eparchies of the patriarchal throne, as for instance, the local archiepiscopal (metropolitan) or mixed councils, consisting of bishops and lay members, either of mixed character, or even of clergy-laity conferences. There is the synod of the hierarchs of the autonomous Church of Finland, which is in operation. There is the eparchial synod of the Church of Crete, which continues to operate on the basis of the new Law 4141/25 February 1961. There is the charter of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, which was issued by the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the 29<sup>th</sup> of November 1977 and re-introduced the institution of the synod as an eparchial synod of this Archdiocese.

Finally, the Ecumenical Patriarchate also put in operation the institution of the sacred hierarchical meetings (*synaxeis*) of certain ecclesiastical regions in its jurisdiction, under the presidency of the first among the region's hierarchs, i.e. a special patriarchal exarch, or the Patriarch himself. Such hierarchical meetings are the following: a) the two meetings of the metropolitans of the Dodecanese and of the patriarchal exarch of Patmos at Rhodes, the first one in 1971 under the presidency of Metropolitan Spyridon of Rhodes, and the second in 1978 (5-7 February), under the presidency of the patriarchal exarch Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon; b) the four hierarchical meetings of the European hierarchs of the ecumenical throne, i.e. 1) the 1-3.2.1976 meeting at Chambésy under the presidency of the patriarchal exarch Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon, 2) the 24.9.1987 meeting at Chambésy under the presidency of Patriarch Demetrios, 3) the 16-17.10.1989 Phanar meeting at the Phanar (Istanbul) under the presidency of Patriarch Demetrios, and 4) the 18.12.1989 meeting at the Phanar under the presidency of the same Patriarch.

During the twentieth century the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which enjoys seniority of honor among the sister Orthodox Churches, made use of the duty and right of taking the initiative for summoning a pan-Orthodox or ecumenical synod, which was finally named "*The Holy and Great Synod of Orthodoxy*." The most important stages specified for this synod, under the initiative and participation of the

Ecumenical Patriarchate, were as follows:

1. The patriarchal and synodical encyclical of 1902 and the documents related to it, during the office of Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim III (1902-1904).

2. The pan-Orthodox conference of Constantinople summoned in 1923 under Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios IV.

3. The preliminary meeting of the Holy Orthodox Churches that was summoned on Mount Athos in 1930, under Ecumenical Patriarch Photios II.

4-7. The four pan-Orthodox consultations – the three that were summoned in Rhodes (1961, 1963, 1964) and the fourth that was summoned in Chambésy (1968) – under Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras.

8. The first inter-Orthodox preparatory committee meeting of the Holy and Great Synod that was summoned at Chambésy in Geneva (1986) under Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios.

9-11. The three pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conferences that were summoned at Chambésy in Geneva (1976, 1982, 1986) under Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios.

12. The second inter-Orthodox preparatory committee meeting of the Holy and Great Synod that was summoned at Chambésy in Geneva (1986) under Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios.

Although adequate steps have been taken and various gaps have been bridged, the Orthodox Church continues to move on the path of preparation of this Great Synod.

Finally, synodal procedures include the collaboration of local Orthodox hierarchs, which is expressed by the establishment and organization of local conferences, usually under the initiative of the local hierarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, who preside over them as exarchs of the ecumenical throne. Such Conferences are:

1) The Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in America (1943/1960).

2) The Inter-Orthodox Episcopal Committee in France (1967).

3) The Permanent Council of Canonical Orthodox Churches in Australia (1980).

### *c) Ecclesiastical Offices or Titles ("Offikia")*

During this period the ecclesiastical titles that are given to the la-

ity lost their real character and became honorary. Apart from certain exceptions, only the clergy and some lay members that work at the patriarchate have such titles or offices, which correspond to their ecclesiastical ministry. Patriarchal ecclesiastical titles are granted to Orthodox believers who belong to the patriarchate, or to metropolitanates of the ecumenical throne and to other Orthodox Churches. Under Patriarch Athenagoras such titles were also given to non-Orthodox. In our days, their number, which rises to hundreds if not thousands, has increased considerably in comparison with the past. It would be valuable if a comprehensive catalogue could be composed with all the names, like those of M. Gedeon and V. Th. Stavrides.

#### *d) Eparchies*

The Ecumenical Patriarchate comprises today the following eparchies: There are four active eparchies in Turkey, i.e. those of Chalcedon (Gerontic), Derkoi (Gerontic up until 1977), Princes Islands, and Imvros and Tenedos – There are also several other active metropolitans who bear titles of the metropolises of the hierarchical charter (the *syntagmation*) for Turkey, although they have no flocks.

There are the eparchies of the Throne in Greece, the so-called eparchies of the New Lands, which are administered for the time being by the Church of Greece according to a patriarchal and synodical act that was issued in 1928. The Metropolitans of these eparchies commemorate the name of the Archbishop of Constantinople in their sacred services.

There is the semi-autonomous Church of Crete, which consists of the sacred Archdiocese of Crete (which was a Metropolis up until 1969), and its seven Metropolitanates.

There are the Metropolitanates of the Dodecanese.

There are the various eparchies in the world wide Diaspora:

The Sacred Archdiocese of North and South America (1922 – made Gerontic on 21 October 1975 and renamed Archdiocese of America in 1996), comprising eparchial and assistant Bishops.

The Sacred Archdiocese (Metropolitanate) of Australia, founded in 1924 as a Metropolis and renamed Archdiocese in 1959, comprising assistant Bishops.

The Sacred Metropolis of New Zealand (1970).

The Sacred Archdiocese of Thyateira (and Great Britain – was a

Metropolitanate during 1924-1954 and 1963-1968), comprising assistant Bishops;

Central Europe was a Metropolis during 1924-1936 and 1950-1951. A great section of the Sacred Archdiocese of Thyateira was taken away to form the Metropolitanates of France, Germany and Austria (1963), Belgium and Sweden (1969), and Switzerland (1982). The above European eparchies, apart from that of Sweden, have assistant Bishops.

There is the sacred Archdiocese of the Russian Orthodox émigré communities of Western Europe (1931-1965 – autonomous in 1971) with Assistant Bishops (Eulogij, Vladimir, Georgij, Georgij).

There is the permanent Delegation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the World Council of Churches in Geneva (since 1955), which was led successively by Iakovos of Melita, Emilianos of Selybria, Georgios Tsetsis).

There is the Autonomous Archdiocese of Finland (1923) comprising metropolitanates (bishops up until 1972) and bishops.

There is the Autonomous Archdiocese of Estonia and Metropolis of Latvia and all Lettonia, which were incorporated into the Patriarchate of Moscow (1945) after the annexation of their lands by Russia. The same Patriarchate, ignoring the autonomy of the Metropolitanate of Czechoslovakia that was granted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1922) granted this Church without any canonical basis the status of autocephaly (1951), which was not recognized.

There is also under the Ecumenical Patriarchate the monastic community of the Holy Mountain of Athos and the patriarchal exarchate of Patmos. There are also the stavropegiac monasteries of St. Anastasia Pharmakolytria in Chalkêdike and of Vlatades in Thessalonike, of St. John the Forerunner in Essex (England), of the Entrance of the Theotokos in Alabama (USA), of St. John the Forerunner in Melbourne (Australia).

The year 1926, after the changes in the body of the hierarchy, the number of hierarchs, including the Patriarch, the metropolitans, the archbishops and bishops reached 117. In 1957, it was about 110. In 1966, it became 105. Finally in 1985, it reached 133. Thus the number of hierarchs is a little over 100 and that of the clergy about 6,000. The total number of the faithful that belong to the Ecumenical Patriarchate is about five million.



## 4. INTER-ORTHODOX RELATIONS

The Ecumenical Patriarchate continues to hold the same position in the seniorities of honor within the canonical structure of the Orthodox Church.

As regards the organization of the Orthodox Churches, which were previously placed under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the following can be said: The Patriarchate recognized the autocephaly of the Church of Poland in 1924, raised the autocephalous Church of Romania to patriarchal status in 1925, granted autocephaly to the Church of Albania in 1937, lifted the schism of the Bulgarian Church in 1945, granting it at the same time autocephaly, and raised it to patriarchal status in 1961. The Church of Russia confirmed the autocephaly granted to the Church of Poland by the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1924) through her own act in 1948, thus joining the other Orthodox Churches who had been in agreement with this from the beginning. The Church of Russia restored the independence of the Church of Georgia in 1917, which had been abolished in 1811 by the Russian Tsar. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1990, thanks to the initiative of Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios, the Church of Georgia (Iberia) was declared autocephalous and was granted Patriarchal status through a patriarchal and synodal tome. In 1998 the Ecumenical Patriarchate granted autocephaly to the Church of Czechia and Slovakia, which had been made autonomous in 1923. In 1996 The Ecumenical Patriarchate through a patriarchal and synodical act reactivated the autonomy of the Estonian Orthodox Church, which had been originally granted in 1923, but became inactive after WWII when Estonia was annexed by the U.S.S.R. In 1999 at the request of the clergy-laity congress of the Estonian Orthodox Church the Ecumenical Patriarchate elected and enthroned the present Metropolitan Stephanos (formerly bishop of Nazianzus) of Tallin and All Estonia.

As it appears in the diptychs that are currently used, the Ecumenical Patriarchate recognizes the Orthodox Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Moscow, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, Metschete & Tbilisi and the autocephalous Churches of Cyprus, Greece, Poland, Albania and Czechia & Slovakia.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate summoned various pan-Orthodox conferences.

a) The pan-Orthodox conference of Constantinople in 1923, un-

der Patriarch Meletios IV, the decisions of which have been already mentioned.

b) The preliminary committee meeting of the Holy Orthodox Churches in the Holy Mountain, during 8-23 July 1930, under Patriarch Photios II, which specified the agenda of the future pro-synodal meeting.

c) The first pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1961) under Patriarch Athenagoras, which dealt with the agenda of the future pro-synodal meetings.

d) The second pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1963) which deliberated on the issue of sending or declining to send Orthodox observers to the Roman Catholic Council of Vatican II (1962-1965), and on the inauguration of "dialogue on equal terms" with Rome.

e) The third pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1964), which dealt with the dialogue of love with Rome and the institution of inter-Orthodox theological committees for the inauguration of theological dialogues with parallel theological committees of Anglicans and Old Catholics.

f) The fourth pan-Orthodox consultation of Chambésy in Geneva (1968), which dealt with the dialogues with Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Old Catholics, Post-Chalcedonians, Lutherans and with the World Council of Churches.

g) The first meeting of the inter-Orthodox preparatory committee of the Holy and Great Synod, which met at Chambésy in Geneva in 1971 and heard preliminary communications on the six topics of the agenda constructed by the first pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1961): 1) divine revelation, 2) the laity, 3) fasting, 4) impediments to marriage, 5) the calendar issue, 6) economy.

h) The first pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference of Chambésy in Geneva (21-28 Nov. 1976), which dealt with the process of the preparation of the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church and especially with the following topics: 1) revision of the agenda of the Holy and Great Synod, 2) examination of the methodology pertaining to the preparation of the synod concerning the particular topics of the agenda, 3) The state of the relations and dialogues of the Orthodox Church with other Churches and with the WCC and the appointment of an inter-Orthodox committee for the dialogue with the Lutherans, and 4) examination of the issue of a common date for the celebration of Easter by all Christians.

i) The second pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference of Chambésy in Geneva (3-12 Sept. 1982), which worked on three out of the ten topics of the agenda that was specified by the first pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference (1976) – 1) impediments to marriage, 2) readjustment on the ecclesiastical regulations on fasting on the basis of demands made by contemporary science, and 3) The calendar – and also on the topic (outside the agenda) raised by the Church of Bulgaria as to the possibility of ordaining bishops from the ranks of monks who simply received the prayer of *rasophoria* and not the *megaloschêma*.

j) The second meeting of the inter-Orthodox preparatory committee of the Holy and Great Synod, which met at Chambésy in Geneva during 15-23 February 1986, and heard preliminary communications on the following topics: 1) readjustment of the ecclesiastical regulations on fasting, 2) relations of the Orthodox Churches to the rest of the Christian world, 3) Orthodoxy and the ecumenical movement, and 4) contribution of the local Orthodox Churches to the establishment of the Christian ideals of peace, freedom, brotherhood and love among the peoples and lifting of racial discriminations.

k) The third pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference of Chambésy in Geneva (26 October—6 November 1986), which worked on the following four topics of the formerly agreed agenda: 1) regulations pertaining to the operation of pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conferences, 2) introductory communication of the special committee for the construction of the daily order and the preparation of the topics of the fourth pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference, i.e., i) Orthodox diaspora, ii) autocephaly and the way it is declared, iii) autonomy and the way it is declared, and iv) diptychs.

Apart from these inter-Orthodox events, the Ecumenical Patriarchate organized the pan-Orthodox celebrations of the Millennium of the Holy Mountain (1963) and marked with panegyric celebrations the following:

a) The 1600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the First Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea (AD 325-1931).

b) The 1500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Third Ecumenical Synod of Ephesus (AD 431-1931).

c) The 1500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (AD 451-1951).

d) The 1600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Second Ecumenical Synod of

Constantinople (AD 381-1981).

e) The 1200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea II (AD 787-1987).

On 27-28 February 1987 celebrations were conducted at the Phanar on the Millennium of the Baptism of the Russians.

On Sunday 17 December 1989 the Inauguration (*Engainia*) of the new Patriarchal House was celebrated.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate was represented (through the Theological School of Chalkê) in three pan-Orthodox theological conferences (Athens 1936, Athens 1976 and Boston USA 1987) and in all the important celebrations or anniversaries that were observed by the sister Orthodox Churches.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate officially received from 1923 onwards the patriarchs and leading hierarchs of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches. The Ecumenical Patriarchs traveled abroad:

Maximos V (1946-1948) traveled to Switzerland (19 May – 3 August 1947).

Athenagoras (1948-1972) visited the three Patriarchates of the East (1958), the Holy Mountain and the Church of Greece (1963), Jerusalem and pope Paul VI (1964), the Orthodox Churches of Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria, and also the Church of Rome, the Church of England and the World Council of Churches (1967), Sofia in Bulgaria, and Austria for health reasons (1969) and died before visited Russia and the USA as he had planned.

Demetrios continued the example of his predecessors. He visited Switzerland for reasons of health (4 October – 9 December 1982, and 9 July – 9 August 1986), the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the Sacred Monastery of Sinai and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (22 May – 6 June 1987), the Churches of Russia and Georgia (18-30 August 1987), the Churches of Serbia and Romania (11 –21 September 1987), Chambéry (unofficially, 21-28 September 1987), the Churches of Greece and Poland (13-22 November 1987), the Churches of Czechoslovakia and Finland (21-30 June 1988), the Sacred Monastery of St. John at Patmos for its 900<sup>th</sup> anniversary (25-28 September 1988), and Zurich in Switzerland (privately, 24 June – 13 July 1989).

Bartholomaios visited the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Russia, Serbia, Romania (multiple), Bulgaria (multiple) and Georgia; the Churches of Greece, Poland, Albania, Czech and Slovak Republics, Finland, Crete (twice); Mt. Athos, the Monastery

of St. Catherine's on Mt. Sinai; His Holiness the Pope at the Vatican; The Roman Catholic and Evangelical Churches in Germany; His Holiness Patriarch Paulos of the Church of Ethiopia; His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. George Carey and the Anglican Communion; The Lutheran Church of Sweden; the 1000<sup>th</sup> Anniversary in Norway; The Orthodox communities and missions in Korea; His Eminence Bishop Hans Gerny and the Old-Catholic Church in Switzerland; the World Council of Churches; the Conference of European Churches; the Lutheran World Federation; the Alliance of the Reformed Churches; The Orthodox Patriarchal Center of Chambésy; the Sacred Monastery of Xenophontos on the Holy Mountain of Athos on its 1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary; the Greek Orthodox Community of Venice on its 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary; the Ancient Patriarchal See of Antioch; the Archdioceses of America (Twice), Canada, Thyateira and Great Britain, Imvros and Tenedos, Sweden and All Scandinavia, Germany Italy, The Dodecanese, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Hong Kong, Australia, New Zealand and Leros and the list goes on. Patriarch Bartholomaios is perhaps the Patriarch of communications, inasmuch as he has already traveled in a short period of time more than any other of his predecessors. Apart from his ecclesiastical visits, the list of his visits to countries and political leaders is even lengthier. The list of the official visitors, political and ecclesiastical leaders who visited the Patriarch at the Phanar is most impressive.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate has been the spiritual supporter of the International Orthodox Youth Movement *Syndesmos* (1953), which has held general assemblies at the Ecumenical Institute in Bossey (1948), Servas near Paris in France (1953), Bier in France (1954), Kefissia of Athens in Greece (19-23 September 1956), Thessalonike in Greece (4-7 September 1958), Beirut in Lebanon (September 1961), Kuopio in Finland (30 July – 6 August 1964), Rattvik in Sweden (21-27 July 1968), Boston in the USA (18-24 July 1971), Valamo in Finland 7-10 August 1980, Kastelli of Crete in Greece (14-19 August 1983), Effingham in England (17-24 August 1986), Boston in the USA (26-30 June 1989).

The problem of the Orthodox Diaspora continues to be serious and to project the three aforementioned solutions. A new development in this area has been the formation of the Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas (1943/1960), the Inter-Orthodox Episcopal Committee in France (1967) and the Permanent Council

of Canonical Orthodox Churches in Australia (1980) are similar church bodies.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate, as well as other Orthodox Churches, did not recognize the autocephaly that was granted by the Church of Russia to the Russian Archdiocese (Metropolia) in America (1970) which came to be known as Orthodox Church in America (OCA).

### 5. HIERARCHY – CLERGY – MONASTICISM

The jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate comprises metropolitans and archbishops (metropolitans or leading hierarchs of semi-autonomous or autonomous churches). Apart from the hierarchy of the Sacred Archdiocese of America, where the institution of active bishops made a return since November 29, 1977, all bishops within the jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople (Crete 25 September 1962, Finland 1 February 1972) are now titular and serve as assistants to the Patriarch and the metropolitans or archbishops. The institution of titular metropolitans is also present in today's Church.

The election of all hierarchs belonging to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, apart from the metropolitans of the Church of Crete, takes place in the Phanar. From 1935 onwards, all the clergy within the Turkish Republic with the exception of the Patriarch wear civilian clothes outside church edifices.

The same canonical prerequisites, as before, continue to apply to those who enter holy orders. Clergy are free to choose the marital or the celibate life before they are ordained.

Monasticism in the Ecumenical Patriarchate presents the same image as it had at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Ecumenical Patriarchate has a broader committee on monasticism and a special committee on the Holy Mountain of Athos. All monasteries in Constantinople and the Islands continue to be as before, apart from the Byzantine monastery of the Most Holy Theotokos Kamariotissa at Chalkê.

There are several patriarchal and stavropegial monasteries abroad, as it was previously noted (in the chapter on *eparchies*).

The Holy Mountain of Athos has come, since 1912, under the political dominion of Greece, but its highest spiritual authority continues to be the Church of Constantinople. The monks live today in sacred

monasteries, *scêtes*, *kellia*, *kalyvas*, *hêsychastêria*, and *kathismata*. There are 20 sacred monasteries, out of which 17 are coenobitic and 3, *idiorythmic* and also 17 are Greek and 1 Russian, 1 Serbian and 1 Bulgarian. In 1963 the Ecumenical Patriarchate celebrated the Millennium of the Holy Mountain of Athos. In 1988 it celebrated the 900<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the sacred monastery of St. John the Theologian at Patmos and the 1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Holy Monastery of Xenophontos on Mount Athos.

There are also eparchial monasteries, as well as *metochia* of other churches or monasteries within the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

## 6. DIVINE WORSHIP

From 1963 onwards repairs of church buildings have been undertaken within the territory of the Turkish Republic. Outside Turkey magnificent church edifices have continued to be raised according to Byzantine or modern prototypes, as is the case in the USA and in Europe. The inner decoration of these edifices is in the hands of specialist iconographers (hagiographers).

The celebrations of holy sacraments and other sacred services (*acolouthies*) follow by and large the rubrics of the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople. The divine preaching is cultivated, more or less, by the graduates of Chalkê and of other Theological Schools. Byzantine music still holds the ground in the Phanar and in most places throughout the jurisdiction. Particular care is taken in the Ecumenical Patriarchate for the continuation of this characteristic and great tradition and, therefore, an "Association of lovers of Byzantine music" has been in existence since 1953.

The patriarchal synod has continued to canonize new feasts and saints. Such canonizations include:

a) Under Patriarch Benjamin (1936-1946): the feast of the translation of the holy relics of St. Gregory Bishop of Assos in Lesbos on the 20<sup>th</sup> of October 1936;

b) Under Patriarch Athenagoras (1948-1972) the following: St. Nicodemos the Hagiorite on the 31<sup>st</sup> of May 1955; St. Cosmas the Aetolian and St. Nectarios of Pentapolis on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1961; St. Arsenios from Paros on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1967; St. Raphael the abbot, St. Nicholaos the deacon and St. Eirene the virgin martyr from Lesbos,

and St. Pelagia of the sacred Monastery of Kechrovounion in Tenos on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1970;

c) Under Patriarch Demetrios (1972-1991) the following: St Lydia from Philippi on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October 1972; St. Anthimos (Kouroukês) the monk from Lexourion of Cephalonia on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July 1974; the Saints, George, Angeles, Manuel and Nicholaos from Melampi of Rethymne in Crete on the 14<sup>th</sup> of April 1981; St. Eugenios Hieromonk the New from Aetolia on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1982; St. Nicholas Cabasilas from Thessalonica on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July 1983; the Saints, Emmanuel, Theodore, George, Michael and another George from Samothrace on the 17<sup>th</sup> of May 1985; St. John of Carpathos on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August 1985; St. Panages (Typaldos-Matsias) the priest from Lexourion of Cephalonia on the 4<sup>th</sup> of February 1986; St. Arsenios the Hieromonk from Farassa of Cappadocia on the 11<sup>th</sup> of February 1986; St. Silouan the Hagiorite on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November 1987; St. Maximos the so-called Greek, the Illuminator of the Russians, on the 31<sup>st</sup> of May 1988; St. Eustathios Archbishop of Thessalonica on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1988; St. Alkison Metropolitan of Nicopolis on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1988; St. Nicholaos the New in Metsovon of Epirus on the 28<sup>th</sup> of November 1988.

d) Under Patriarch Bartholomaïos (1992-) the following: St. Savas the New of Kalymnos, on 6/7 February 1992; St. Christodoulos and St. Anastasia the Martyrs of Achaia, on 14 August 1992; St. Anthimos the Hieromonk of Chios, on 14 August 1992; the 150 Fathers of the Sacred Monastery of Daou Pentelê who were martyred, on 14 August 1992; St. Nicholas Planas of Naxos, on 23 July 1992; St. Makarios Kalogeras the Hierodeacon of Patmos, on 4 March 1994; St. Rostislav, the Great Illuminator of Moravia, on 15 October 1994; St. George the Hieromonk from Neapolis of Asia Minor, on 9 January 1995; St. Athanasios the Hieromonk of Patmos, on 9 January 1996; Osios Xenophon, founder of the Holy Monastery of Xenophontos on the Holy Mountain of Athos, on 24 November 1997; St. Joachim the Monk of Vatopedi from Ithaca, known as "Papoulakês," on 19 March 1998; The four Holy Martyrs Andrianos, Polyeuktos, Platon and Georgios, on 5 May 1998; The six Holy Martyrs Dorotheos, Sarantês, Iakôvos, Seraphim, Dêmêtrios and Vasileios, on 5 May 1998; The Holy Mothers of our Holy Fathers, Basil the Great, and John Chrysostom, Emmeleia and Anthousa, on 1 December 1998; St. Theophanes, Bishop of Peritheônion, on 11 April 2000; St. Dionysios the osiomartyr of Vatopedi, on 11 April 2000; St. Hierotheos, Bishop



of Turkey (Hungary), Illuminator of Hungary, on 11 April 2000; St. Stephen I, King of Hungary, on 11 April 2000.

The Patriarchate also sanctioned a religious annual celebration to be observed on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September for the Protection of the Environment (1<sup>st</sup> September 1989).

The consecration of the holy Myron (Chrism) occurred in 1928 by Patriarch Basil III, in 1939 by Patriarch Benjamin, in 1951 and 1960 by Patriarch Athenagoras, in 1973 and 1983 by Patriarch Demetrios.

## 7. THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

The task of organized philanthropy within the context of the Turkish Republic continues to be pursued. The various philanthropic institutions are not directly under church rule but under the Orthodox community. Thus, the Baloukles hospitals, with geriatric, psychiatric, and other updated departments, continue their invaluable work. The same must be said about the medical clinics operating within the grounds of some parishes, particularly that of the Holy Trinity of Peran (founded in 1947). As regards the orphanages, that for girls was transferred in 1942 from the Commercial School of Chalkê to the building complex of the Orphanage for boys in the island of Pringepos. In 1964 this building complex was evacuated as deemed dangerously exposed to the hazard of fire. The orphans were housed in the sacred monasteries of Christ the Savior and of St. Nicholas in Pringepos and attended classes at the city school of the community of Pringepos. Other Christian institutions of social concern in the territory of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Turkish Republic include the summer camp of "The working youth of Christ" and "The Paidopolis of Christ," both of which are situated in the island of Prote. In addition to these, there is in operation in each organized church community a "Sisterhood for the poor" (*Philoπτώχος Adελφότης*), free meal services and various associations for the youth and the rest of the community.

Such philanthropic community structures also exist in each eparchy of the Ecumenical Throne and in some places there is greater innovation and variety of services.

## 8. ECCLESIASTICAL-THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

In the sphere of education and within the context of the Turkish Republic the Orthodox population was granted certain rights, which

relate to their communities and not to their ecclesiastical authorities. Thus, there are Orthodox community-schools, which include in their syllabi various Greek classes, along with the compulsory Turkish classes in language, history, geography and history of the Turkish state, sociology and military studies. Each community sustains a primary school. There are six secondary schools (of the type of gymnasium/lyceum), three for boys and three for girls (not all in operation): the Gymnasium/lyceum of the *Sacred School of Chalkê*, the *Great Scholê tou Genous*, the *Zographeion*, the *Joachimion School for girls*, the *Zapeion* and the *Kentrikon Parthenagôgeion*.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate sustains both in the center and in the vast territories of its eparchies various ecclesiastical and theological institutions, which cultivate theological education and assist greatly in the fulfillment of the educational objectives and aspirations of the Great Church.

There are in the first instance ecclesiastical seminaries for the training of clergy under the direct supervision of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in various parts of the world, such as the *Athonias Ecclesiastical Academy* in the Holy Mountain of Athos, the *Patmias Ecclesiastical Academy* in the Island of Patmos, the *Ecclesiastical School of Chania* in Crete, the *School of St. Anastasia* in Chalkêdikê which has been discontinued and various others within the eparchies of the New Lands in Greece.

There are in the second instance several Theological Schools at University level, such as that of Chalkê in Constantinople (1844-1971), that of St. Serge in the city of Paris in France (1962-), that of the Holy Cross in the Hellenic College in Brookline (Boston), Massachusetts USA (1937-), that of St. Andrew in the sacred Archdiocese of Australia (23 February 1986). There is also in Thessalonica, the Metropolis of the New Lands, a School of Theology within the Aristotle University of the city.

Three additional educational Institutes were founded under Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras (1948-1972): a) The Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Chambésy, near Geneva in Switzerland (1966), b) The Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies within the Sacred Monastery of Vlatades in Thessalonica, Greece (1968) and c) the Orthodox Academy at Gonia in Kissamos of Chania, Crete (1968).

There are two Libraries at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Turkey, one at the Phanar, which has been renovated, and the other at Chalkê,

which continues to be maintained and enriched with new acquisitions, books, periodicals, series of monographs, etc. There are additional libraries in the eparchies of the Ecumenical Throne and in the sacred monasteries under its jurisdiction, as well as in the Theological Schools that have been mentioned. Equal significant are the archives of these ecclesiastical and educational centers.

Under Patriarch Athenagoras (1948-1972) the patriarchal press was revived and operated for a number of years (1951-1964). This press was responsible for the periodicals of the Throne and for various reprints and new prints, which exceeded one hundred.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate published two periodicals during this period: 1) *Ὁρθοδοξία*, vols. 1(1926)–38(1963), which was a continuation, as it were, of the earlier periodical *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, vols. 1(1880)–43(1923), and 2) *Ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας*, which was a patriarchal weekly news release run under Patriarch Athenagoras during the years 1951-1964. These two periodicals ceased to be printed at the center. Their tradition was taken up by eparchies of the Ecumenical Throne outside Turkey.

The periodicals published in the eparchies of the Ecumenical Patriarchate during this period are as follows:

- Ἀπόστολος Τίτος (Herakleion, Crete)* 1 (1951)ff,
- Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία (London)* 1(1980)-( ),
- Δελτίον (Stockholm)* 1 (1976)ff,
- Ενημέρωσις (Geneva)*, 1(1985)-( ),
- Ἐπίσκεψις (Geneva)* 1(1970)ff [in Greek and in French],
- Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς (Thessalonica, Greece)* 1 (1917)ff,
- Κληρονομία (Thessalonica)* 1(1969)ff,
- Orthodox Herald (London)* 1(1965)ff,
- Ὁρθόδοξος Μαρτυρία καὶ Σκέψις (Paris)* 1(1976)ff,
- Orthodox Observer (New York)* 1(1934)ff,
- Ὁρθόδοξος Παρουσία (Bonn)* 1(1981)ff,
- Phronêma (Sydney, Australia)* 1(1986)ff,
- SOP (Rome)* 1(1979)ff,
- Στάχυς (Vienna)* 1(1981)ff,
- Synodika (Geneva)* 1(1976)ff,
- Texts and Studies (London)*, 1(1982)-( ),
- The Greek Orthodox Theological Review (Brookline, MA USA)* 1(1954)ff,
- Θησαυρίσματα (Venice)* 1(1962)ff.

The pursuit of orthodox theology is in the hands of the patriarchs, the hierarchs of the Throne and several among the clergy, the monks and the laity pursue orthodox theology, apart, of course, from the professors of the aforementioned Theological Schools of Chalkê, St. Sergius, Holy Cross, St. Andrew and the University of Thessalonikê. The characteristics of this theology can be summed up by means of the following concerns or themes: a) identification and projection of the basic orthodox theological principles which lie at the center of the historic heritage of Christian faith; b) delineation of church-state relations from a variety of forms; c) seniorities of honor within the Orthodox catholic tradition; d) recovery of orthodox self-consciousness and doctrine from inauthentic, outside influences; e) attachment to the Holy Tradition and the Fathers of the Church; f) theological appraisal of the conciliar tradition in the Church; g) projection of the traditional orthodox spirituality of the Holy Mountain and of the other monastic centers of the Church; h) pursuit of irenic, as opposed to polemic, theological discourse; i) closer, critical examination of the of theological developments in the West and throughout the world; j) closer evaluation of new ideas and philosophical systems in other religious contexts and in technological developments.

## 9. INTER-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

### *a) General comment*

The Ecumenical Patriarchate pursued during this period new or continued and enhanced old relations with the other Churches. This is in line with the theological concerns and themes that were mentioned above, but is also due to various old and new factors. Such factors include, a) changes in church-state relations, b) the ecumenical or supra-ethnic and universal character of the patriarchate, c) the new manner of operations in the patriarchate and its eparchies, d) the spirit of consistency and firmness in the line pursued, e) the presence of many well trained and able persons, f) the right to taking initiatives in inter-Orthodox and inter-Christian affairs and issues of the Church of Constantinople as the most senior Throne in the Orthodox family, g) the sense of duty in maintaining Orthodox unity.

### *b) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ancient Oriental Churches*

During the twentieth century relations between the local Ortho-

dox Churches and each one of the ancient Oriental Churches present a notable development. It all began with friendly contacts through personal relations of the faithful of the two Churches, and moved on to exchanges of all kinds of meetings, involving even the top hierarchs of the Churches, publication of official texts that bore the character of common confessions, communiqués or announcements, exchanges of professors and students, and composition of relevant scholarly works by the theologians of the two traditions.

Contacts with the Armenians became cordial and fraternal at the center, and have developed through exchanges of regular visits of the two patriarchs and of other personalities, or through mutual exchanges of church buildings and of other means. The Catholicos of Etsiamzin Vasken I paid an official visit to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1961, and Emilianos of Meloa (now of Selybria) visited Vasken I at Etsiamtzin on behalf of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1962. Further visits of hierarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to this Church followed suit afterwards.

Regular correspondence has been sustained between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Syro-Jacobite Church of South India. Several members of that Church have visited the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In 1956 the then Bishop of Melita Iakovos (now formerly of North and South America) visited this Church on behalf of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and in 1961 the representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the New Delhi Assembly of the WCC were received at Malambar in India.

In 1959, during his pilgrimage to the Middle East, Patriarch Athenagoras visited the Syro-Jacobite Patriarch Ignatios-Iakovos III in Damascus and the latter returned this visit at Constantinople in 1963. The present Patriarch Mar Ignatios Zaka paid an official visit to the Phanar during the tenure of Patriarch Demetrios. Students from these Syro-Jacobite Churches of India and Syria have been welcomed at the sacred patriarchal Theological School of Chalkê.

Patriarch Athenagoras also visited on the same occasion the Patriarch of the Copts Cyril VI, and in October 1972 Patriarch Cyril VI's successor, Shenuda III, visited the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios – first occurrence of such an event in the history of the two Churches. Patriarch Demetrios of Constantinople returned this visit during his journey to the Churches of Alexandria, Sinai and Jerusalem (22 May–6 June 1987).

In 1956 Bishop Iakovos of Melita visited Ethiopia after Malambar. Patriarch Theophilos of Ethiopia visited the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1971. Many students from the two Churches of Malambar and Ethiopia studied theology at Chalkê.

The inter-Orthodox committee that met on Mount Athos in 1930 specified the nature of the relations from both sides in a spirit of love.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate, through its 1951 patriarchal encyclical for the celebration of the 1500<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451-1951), spoke with much love about these Churches.

Such positive mutual relations are reflected in the catalogue of the first pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1961). On that occasion the official observers of these Churches entered into unofficial conversations with the Orthodox delegates. The same Churches sent representatives to the celebrations of the Millennium of the Holy Mountain (1963) and to the 900<sup>th</sup> Anniversary celebrations of the Sacred Monastery of Patmos (1988). The third pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1964) turned with much love and honorable attention to these Churches.

Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras' encyclical letter of 9 June 1965 to the Orthodox Churches marked a significant and positive step in the relation of the two families of Churches because it called for the inauguration of an official theological and ecclesiastical dialogue. In this same spirit the fourth pan-Orthodox consultation that met at Chambésy in 1968 decided (no 4) to institute an inter-Orthodox theological committee for the study of the common points of faith and the differences between the two Churches and their future meeting by means of a similar Eastern-Oriental committee.

Ecumenical Movement Conferences from 1920 onwards offered the opportunity to the representatives of the two Churches to meet privately and to collaborate with each other. Four unofficial theological consultations between representatives of the two Churches took place within the context of the World Council of Churches (WCC): a) Aarhus, Denmark (1964), b) Bristol Great Britain (1967), c) Chambésy, Switzerland 1970, and d) Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 1966.

On the other hand, in January 1965 the Addis Ababa consultation of the Primates of the ancient Oriental Churches ascribed priority to the relations of the Oriental with the Eastern Orthodox Churches, in

the presence of visitors and delegates from the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and stipulated the appointment of a special committee for mutual relations. This committee met three times: 1) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1971, 2) in Antelias, Lebanon in 1967 and 3) Atsana, Lebanon in 1972.

Meantime, the counterpart committee of the Eastern Orthodox Churches also held plenary meetings twice, first in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1971 and secondly in Chambéry, Switzerland in 1979. The first meeting decided that the preparatory stage of the dialogue with the Orientals had come to an end, that the Orientals should be asked to appoint a theological committee like that of the Eastern Orthodox so that the dialogue may be officially and jointly undertaken and that a three-member committee be commissioned to prepare the theological dialogue. Actually the Orientals responded at the Atsana meeting (1972) by appointing a three-member Oriental committee to deal with the preparation of the dialogue. The three member committees of both Churches met jointly twice, at Penteli in Athens Greece in 1973, and at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia in 1975.

The first plenary meeting of the joint committee for the theological dialogue of the two Churches took place from 10 through 15 September 1985 at Chambéry in Geneva, Switzerland. The meeting evaluated the materials that had been already and unofficially produced as to their usefulness and also discussed matters of procedure. It was determined that the next meeting would study the topic, "Towards a common Christology."

The second plenary meeting of the same kind took place at the sacred Monastery of Abba Bishoi in the Nitrian desert, Egypt, from 20 through 24 June 1989. It dealt with three themes: Christological terminology, a common text and appointment of a joint committee for pastoral issues.

The third meeting took place at Chambéry in September 1990 and produced an "*Agreed Christological Statement*." On that basis it decided to recommend that steps be taken for establishing ecclesiastical union between the two families of Churches.

### *c) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Roman Catholics*

Relations between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople (Orthodoxy) during the twentieth century can be divided into two periods:

a) the period up to the time of Pope John XXIII and Patriarch Athenagoras and b) the period that follows after that time.

During the first period no official relations between the two Churches existed. One could see formal, and sometimes more fervent relations of local representatives of these two Churches, either theologians or simple believers. Sometimes there were conferences that brought together members of these Churches, and even common theological writings and other related statements made their appearance. Theologians of the Church of Constantinople attended classes in Roman Catholic Schools. The Ecumenical Patriarchate, however, was obliged to find ways of combating Roman Catholic proselytism of Orthodox Christians.

In the catalogue of topics of the meeting of the Holy Mountain in 1930, the relations between the two Churches are characterized as relations of resistance and defense.

The twentieth century saw the light of papal encyclicals that were addressed to Orthodox, or others that referred to matters of common interest with the Eastern Christians.

The presence of Orthodoxy (especially of the Ecumenical Patriarchate) in the ecumenical movement, from 1920 onwards, was followed with much attention and was often interpreted by Roman Catholic authors or circles as a witness to the Roman Catholic Church.

The restoration of relations between Roman Catholics and Orthodox and the speedy developments that occurred in this area is a contemporary phenomenon, which has startled many Orthodox on-lookers. It has become customary to see pope John XXIII (1958-1963) and Patriarch Athenagoras (1948-1972) as the starting point of this change, which has not ceased to develop to the present day. The reasons usually adduced for this change include, the concurrence of enlightened church leaders and of others concerned with church relations, or the general tendency of the Western Church towards renewal, or the signs of the times, or the movement of the Holy Spirit.

In 1952 Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople made, for the first time in history, an official visit to the headquarters of the papal apostolic legate in Constantinople who also returned the visit in the same official way. Since then similar official visits have been mutually exchanged in Constantinople, in Rome and elsewhere. The climate of relations between the two Churches changed for the better especially after the exchange of messages between John XXIII (Christmas



1958) and Athenagoras (New Year's Day 1959).

Collaboration between the two Churches grew more during the tenure of Paul VI (1963-1978), and regular correspondence was exchanged between them. The meeting of Paul VI with Athenagoras in the Holy Land in January 1964 has gone down as a great historical event. A notable follow up of this historic meeting was the visit to the Phanar (from 2 through 4 April 1965) of Augustine Cardinal Bea, president of the secretariat for unity (and of the pontifical council since 1989). The other notable event in the relations of the two Churches, is the lifting of the anathemas of 1054 "from the memory and the midst of the Church," both in Rome and in the Phanar on the 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1965. The pinnacle of these developments was the exchange of visits on the highest level, i.e. the visit of Pope Paul VI to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the return visit of Patriarch Athenagoras to Rome in 1967, and also the visit of Pope John Paul II (1978-) to the Phanar in 1979 and the return visit of Patriarch Demetrios to Rome in 1987.

Thus, the custom was established to have annual regular visits from the Phanar to the Vatican on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June, the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, and from the Vatican to the Phanar on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November, the Feast of St. Andrew.

We may now turn to the broader relations between the Roman Catholics and the Orthodox Church in general, including, of course, the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

During the proceedings of the Central Committee of the WCC in Rhodes Greece (19-27 August 1959), which was hosted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, an unofficial meeting took place, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August, between the Orthodox delegates that were present there, under the presidency of Metropolitan Iakovos of Philadelphia (later of Germany), and certain Roman Catholic clergymen who were there in their capacity as observers or representatives of the press. The Roman Catholic Church had just begun, from pope John XXIII onwards, to change its attitude (from negative to positive) towards the ecumenical movement and the World Council of Churches.

The four pan-Orthodox consultations of Rhodes (1961, 1963, 1964) and Geneva (1968) raised the issue of the relations of Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy. This issue appeared in the list of topics of the Agenda of Rhodes I (1961). Rhodes II decided that the Roman

Catholic Church should be invited to participate in a dialogue “on equal terms” and that each one of the Orthodox Churches will be free to send observers to the Roman Catholic Council of Vatican II (1962-1965), or to refuse to do so. Rhodes III repeated the same proposal, which was finally executed through a visit to Rome of a special patriarchal delegation consisting of Metropolitan Meliton of Elioupolis and Theirai (later of Chalcedon) and Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra (14-15 February 1965). Consultation IV of Geneva (1968) spoke about the dialogue of love and of the necessity of preparation.

The Patriarchate began to send official observers to the Vatican II Council (1962-1965) from its third session (1964). It must be said that this Council was particularly important for Roman Catholic and Orthodox relations. Among others, this Council set up the Secretariat (Pontifical Council since 1989) for the promotion of Christian unity (1960/1965) which is the coordinating institution on matters of unity.

All these developments led to the inauguration of an official theological dialogue between Roman Catholics and Orthodox. It all began with an Encyclical Letter of Patriarch Demetrios, dated 4 November 1974, to the leading Hierarchs of the Orthodox Churches, which proposed the institution of a special inter-Orthodox technical theological committee that would undertake the task of the dialogue. In December 1975 the Ecumenical Patriarchate announced to the Church of Rome through Metropolitan Meliton the formation of an inter-Orthodox technical committee for the preparation of the theological dialogue with Rome. In response to this the Pope appointed a Roman Catholic committee (1976) to serve in this task.

The arrival date of Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon to Rome happened to be the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the lifting of the anathemas between the two Churches (1965-1975). On this occasion a ceremony was observed both in capella Sistina in Rome and also in the Phanar on Sunday the 14<sup>th</sup> of December. At the ceremony in Rome the pope welcomed the patriarchal exarch, Metropolitan Meliton, by going on his knees and kissing his feet – an unprecedented act which was indicative of the new attitude of the old Rome to the new Rome!

The first pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference (1976) that met in Geneva decided to activate the inter-Orthodox technical committee that had been already appointed for the dialogue. This committee met at Chambésy (near Geneva), in July 1977, in November 1977 and in June 1978. Meanwhile, the relevant Roman Catholic commit-

tee also met in Rome in October 1976 and in May 1978. The joined coordinating group that was formed out of the two committees met in Rome from the 29<sup>th</sup> of May through the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1978 to examine the decisions reached by the two committees and concluded with the submission of a plan for the inauguration of the dialogue.

The first joined committee meeting for the dialogue between the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Church met at Patmos in Rhodes from the 29<sup>th</sup> of May through the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1980, thus inaugurating the official dialogue between the two Churches. The president of the Orthodox Committee was and continues to be Archbishop Stylianos of Australia. The topic for discussion was, "*The Mystery of the Church and the Eucharist in light of the mystery of the Holy Trinity.*"

The second joined committee meeting met at Munich in Germany from 30 June through 6 July 1982 and examined the topic that had been previously determined for it, and decided that the topic for the third meeting of the joined committee would be, "*Faith, Sacraments and Unity.*"

The third meeting of the joined committee took place at Ghonia of Chania in Crete, Greece, from 30 May through 8 June 1984. The topic of the discussion was the one that had been predetermined: "*Faith and Communion in the Sacraments.*" The Sacraments of initiation and their relation to the unity of the Church, led to the next topic, "*The sacrament of ordination in the context of the sacramental structure of the Church and especially the importance of the apostolic succession for the sanctification and the unity of the people of God.*"

The fourth meeting was at Bari in Italy, from 29 May through June 1986. The committee continued the study of the topic of "Sacraments, and Unity," and discussed the topic of "The sacrament of the priesthood in the sacramental structure of the Church." Other topics discussed on that occasion were those of "Proselytism" and "Uniatism."

The fifth meeting was at the sacred Monastery of Valamo in Finland from 19 through 27 June 1988. On this occasion a common text was issued on "*The Sacrament of Priesthood in the Sacramental Structure of the Church.*" The next topic agreed for discussion was that of "Ecclesiastical and canonical consequences of the sacramental structure of the Eucharist." At the same time a sub-committee was appointed to examine "Uniatism." They met in Freising in 1990, for

their 6<sup>th</sup> session, and rejected Uniatism as an unacceptable “model for union,” and denounced its illicit proselytism and other activities. Meanwhile June 1990 marked the Pan-Orthodox decision to interrupt temporarily the Dialogue with the Vatican until the resurfaced problem of Uniatism was satisfactorily dissolved. In November 1991 the newly elected Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew warned boldly in his Salutation Address to the Roman Legates at the thronic feast of the See of Constantinople (St. Andrew’s) that the Bilateral Dialogue between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism run the risk of being totally abandoned. On 15 March 1992, the Sunday of Orthodoxy, an unprecedented *Synaxis* of the Orthodox Patriarchs and the Heads of the Autocephalous Orthodox Churches took place in Constantinople and issued a momentous *Message* which denounced Roman Catholic Uniatism and Protestant Proselytism in the new (post-Communist) Eastern Europe. In 1993, the 7<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the Joint Commission of the Dialogue took place at Balamand (Lebanon), but the Balamand Statement was unclear and did not settle the crisis, which has continued unabated to this day. The latest meeting of the Joint International Commission, held at Mount Saint Mary’s College and Seminary in Emmitsburg, Maryland USA during July 9 through 19, 2000, did not deliver any Common Statement of rapprochement of these Churches.

Theological dialogues were also conducted on a narrower level between local Roman Catholic and Orthodox (Ecumenical Patriarchate representatives) committees in the USA, Germany, France, Switzerland, and elsewhere.

Collaboration in the sphere of theological study was expressed in various ways, especially in joined authorship and publications, exchanges of students, joined committees or associations, and institutes of either joined character or unilateral, stemming from one of the Churches, as well as conferences, symposia, meetings and consultations, and cooperation on the practical level.

An act of good will is the return of sacred relics on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to Eastern Churches to whom these relics originally belonged. These include the relics of St. Andrew to Patras (1964), of St. Savva to Jerusalem (1965), of St. Titus to Crete (1966), of St. Isidore to Chios (1967), of St. Nicholas (in part) to the sacred Archdiocese of America (1972), of St. Cyril (in part), the illuminator of the Slavs to Constantinople and Thessalonica (1974) and of St. Demetrios to Thessalonica (1980).

*d) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Old Catholics*

During the Lausanne 1<sup>st</sup> Assembly of the World Council of Churches (1927) the Orthodox delegation, under the chairmanship of Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira, held a meeting with the Old Catholic delegation. The Old Catholics briefly explained their doctrine concerning the church, the priesthood, the creeds, the sacraments and the honor paid to the icons. Furthermore they confirmed that they had already removed the *Filioque* clause from the creed. Thus, a decision was made to form a joined doctrinal committee from the two Churches to continue this dialogue.

The inter-Orthodox conference of the Holy Mountain (1930) described the relations of the Orthodox Church with the Old Catholic Church as relations in a spirit of love.

The joined doctrinal committee with representatives of the two Churches that had been formed in Lausanne was constituted and met its first meeting through the initiative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Bonn of Germany on 27-28 October 1931. The topics that were discussed were: Doctrinal standards of the Old Catholic Church, creeds, Holy Tradition, the canon of Holy Scripture, the canons, the marriage of the clergy, customs and legislations, the meaning of the term church, sacraments, eschatology, veneration of sacred icons, sacred relics, fasting and apostolic succession.

A matter of special concern to the Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in particular was certainly the sacramental communion that had been agreed between Old Catholics and Anglicans in 1931.

In the list of topics that were discussed at the first pan-Orthodox conference in Rhodes (1961) the issue of the relation between the two Churches was presented in a positive way. The third pan-Orthodox conference in Rhodes (1964) decided to proceed immediately to the formation of an inter-Orthodox theological committee and to the commencement of discussions with a similar counterpart committee from the Old Catholic Church. The inter-Orthodox committee met three times, in Belgrade (1-15 September 1966), in Chambésy of Geneva (16-24 October 1970) and in Bonn (22-30 June 1971). The Old Catholic (Union of Utrecht) counterpart committee met twice, in Bonn (19-20 April 1971) and in Lucerne of Switzerland (1974).

The joined stirring theological committee of Orthodox and Old Catholics met for the first time in Penteli of Athens, Greece (5-14 July 1973) and subsequently in Lucerne (1974) where it declared that the preparatory stage of the theological dialogue between the two Churches had reached its completion. After that, the work of the joined theological committee of the two Churches made steady progress. They held seven meetings, the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> at Chambésy during 20-28 August 1975 and 20-23 August 1977 respectively), the 3<sup>rd</sup> in Bonn during 24-28 August 1979, the 4<sup>th</sup> at Zagorsk in Moscow during 15-22 September 1981, the 5<sup>th</sup> at Chambésy during 3-10 October 1983, the 6<sup>th</sup> at Amersfoort in Holland during 30 September – 5 October 1985, and the 7<sup>th</sup>, which declared the conclusion of the dialogue, at Cavalla in Greece during 12-19 October 1987. The Orthodox co-chairmen of this joined theological committee were Metropolitan Irenaeos of Germany and Metropolitan Damaskênos of Switzerland. The momentum for the dialogue was preserved through mutual declarations, correspondence, visitations, regional theological meetings, scholarships, and composition of relevant literature.

*e) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Anglicans*

The first Metropolitan of Thyateira Germanos Streinopoulos (1922-1951), being both an ecclesiastical diplomat and theologian, achieved much in the sphere of relations between Orthodox and Anglicans. The same hierarch represented the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the Anglican celebrations in London of the 1600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325-1925).

From 1930 onwards relations between the two Churches bear the seal of the joined theological discussions pursued in 1930/1931, although they go through various phases due to different historical circumstances. This has meant cordial and fraternal contacts, as well as mutual efforts towards understanding one another.

The inter-Orthodox committee that met on the Holy Mountain of Athos in 1930 spoke of Anglican/Orthodox relations as “*relations in a spirit of love.*”

Ecumenical Patriarch Photios II sent Orthodox representatives to the 7<sup>th</sup> Lambeth Conference (1930) under the leadership of Metropolitan Germanos. This delegations contacted serious theological discussions with the Anglicans, as a result of which the Ecumenical

Patriarch and the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a mixed Anglican-Orthodox doctrine commission to carry on the dialogue. This commission that met at Lambeth during 15-20 October 1931 and whose Orthodox co-chairman was Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira, ascertained that there were both points of agreement and disagreement between the two Churches.

These contacts were continued and progress on certain points was achieved at two further consultations, one between Anglicans and Romanian Orthodox (Bucharest 1935) and another between Anglicans and Russian Orthodox (Moscow 1956).

In 1939 the Archbishop of Canterbury Cosmo Gordon Lang visited the Ecumenical Patriarchate and was welcomed by Ecumenical Patriarch Benjamin, thus establishing a first contact of this type between the two Churches. From then on Orthodox representatives from the Ecumenical Patriarchate attended all Lambeth Conferences. Lambeth VIII (1948) was attended by Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira and Archimandrite Emilianos Timiadis (now Metropolitan of Selybria), Lambeth IX (1958), by Metropolitan Athenagoras (Cavadas) of Thyateira and the Bishop of Melita Iakovos (now former-Archbishop of the Americas, North and South), Lambeth X (1968) and XI (1978), by Archbishop Athenagoras (Kokkinakis) of Thyateira, Lambeth XII (1988) by Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira and Metropolitan John of Pergamos.

Notable visitors to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople were: the archbishops of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher (1960), Michael Ramsey (1962) and Robert Rancy (1982). Their visits were reciprocated by visits to London of the Ecumenical Patriarchs, Athenagoras I (1967) and Demetrios I (1987). At the visit of Archbishop Michael Ramsey to the Phanar (1962) the subject of re-constituting a joined Anglican-Orthodox doctrine commission was duly discussed.

Anglican-Orthodox relations were also discussed in pan-Orthodox consultations. At the 1<sup>st</sup> pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1961) the subject was given a positive response. The 3<sup>rd</sup> pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1964) decided positively on the re-constitution of the mixed Anglican-Orthodox doctrine commission. The decision was communicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury by a patriarchal delegation, consisting of Metropolitan Meliton of Elioupolis and Theirai (later Metropolitan of Chalcedon), Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra and Archbishop of Thyateira and Gt. Britain

Athenagoras Kokkinakis, which visited London (17-20 February 1965). The 4<sup>th</sup> pan-Orthodox consultation of Chambésy (1968) and the 1<sup>st</sup> pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference of Chambésy (1976) took further positive decisions on the subject.

The inter-Orthodox theological committee for the preparation of this dialogue met on four occasions, at Belgrade during 1-15 October 1966, at Chambésy in Geneva during 1-7 October 1970, at Helsinki in Finland during 7-11 July 1971, and at Chambésy during 7-11 September 1972. The Anglican counterpart committee met twice in its full constitution, in Jerusalem during 15-19 September 1969, and at Heyworth Heath in England during 26-30 July 1971.

The 4<sup>th</sup> inter-Orthodox theological committee that met at Chambésy in 1972 declared the closure of its preparatory work, and thus made possible the immediate summoning of the mixed Anglican-Orthodox sub-committee, during 11-14 September 1972, which had the task of determining the procedure to be subsequently followed.

The 1<sup>st</sup> meetings of the mixed Anglican-Orthodox theological commission were held at Oxford in England during 6-13 July 1973 and determined the topics to be discussed and the subcommittees, which were assigned the elaboration of these topics.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> round of meetings of the full commission was held at Moscow in the USSR, during 26 July – 2 August 1976. On this occasion an agreed text was issued and the Anglican members of the commission agreed that the *Filioque* addition to the Creed should be removed.

A 3<sup>rd</sup> round of talks of the mixed commission were held at Cambridge in England during 25 July – 1 August 1977. A 4<sup>th</sup> session was held at Athens, Greece, during 13-14 July 1978 and dealt mainly with the issue of the ordination of women to the priesthood, which was going to be on the agenda from then on.

The 5<sup>th</sup> session was at Llandaff in Wales during 14-21 July 1980, the 6<sup>th</sup> at Chambésy in Switzerland during 20-27 July 1981 and the 7<sup>th</sup> at Christ Church College Canterbury in England during 12-19 July 1982, the 8<sup>th</sup> at Odessa in the USSR during 13-19 September 1983 and the 9<sup>th</sup> at Dublin in Ireland during 13-20 August 1984 where an Agreed Statement was issued with three sections.

The Orthodox-Anglican dialogue retained a positive character in spite of difficulties under the guidance of all three of its Orthodox co-chairmen, Archbishop Athenagoras (Kokkinakis) of Thyateira and



Gt. Britain, Archbishop Methodios (Fouyas) of Thyateira and Gt. Britain and Metropolitan John (Zizioulas) of Pergamos.

It should also be noted here that a regional Orthodox-Anglican dialogue was sustained for some time in the USA along with other similar regional dialogues with Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Reformed, Southern Baptists and others.

*f) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Protestants (Lutheran and Reformed)*

The inter-Orthodox correspondence that was exchanged under Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim III at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1902-1904) also referred to the issue of Orthodox-Protestant relations and to the proselytism that had been pursued by Protestants amongst Orthodox. The Orthodox brought this particular issue of proselytism to the forefront of discussions that were held in the context of the ecumenical movement from 1920 onwards. The ecumenical movement created a new atmosphere of understanding and cooperation between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Protestants and this led to the formation of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, which brought the two together, especially at Athens in Greece (1959) and at Montreal in Canada (1963).

Relations between these Churches were cultivated on the practical level through aid and support offered by the Evangelical Church of Germany to the Orthodox of Germany and to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and through the regional communications of the eparchies of the Ecumenical Throne with the local Lutheran Churches. Among these Churches of the Lutheran Confession, the first to establish closer relations with the Ecumenical Patriarchate was the Church of Sweden. It all began under the Lutheran Archbishop of Uppsala Nathan Söderbom (1914-1931) and continued under Archbishop Gunnar Hultgren (of Uppsala), who paid a visit to the Ecumenical Patriarchate during 4-8 February 1963 – an event that took place for the first time in history.

Eight sessions of theological discussions between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Evangelical Church of Germany were held during the twentieth century. The 1<sup>st</sup> session took place at the Phanar in Istanbul during 16-19 March 1969 and comprised introductory papers from the Evangelical side on the themes, dialogue of faith and

love, and Pneumatology. The 2<sup>nd</sup> session was at Arnoldstein in Germany during 4-8 October 1973 and dealt with the topic of Soteriology. The 3<sup>rd</sup> was at Chambésy in Switzerland during 2-5 October 1973 and dealt with the topic of anthropology. The 4<sup>th</sup> was at the Freidebald Academy near Bonn during 6-10 October 1975 and dealt with the theme of the Eucharist. The 5<sup>th</sup> was at the Sacred Metropolis of Germany in Bonn during 20-25 February 1978 and dealt with the topic "*Eucharist and Priesthood*." The 6<sup>th</sup> met at Stapelage in Germany during 2-7 October 1981 and discussed the topic "*Gospel and Church*." The 7<sup>th</sup> met at Cavalla in Greece during 3-11 October 1984 and discussed the theme "*Gospel and Divine Eucharist*." The 8<sup>th</sup> met at Hovenbart in Pforzheim of Germany from 28 September through 7 October 1987 and discussed the topic "*the operation of the Holy Spirit in the experience of the Church*." The 9<sup>th</sup> was held at the Academy of Crete in Chania, Greece, from 26 May through 4 June 1990 and dealt with the topic "*Life by the power of the Holy Spirit*." The Orthodox co-chairman of these discussions was Metropolitan Augustinos of Germany.

The autonomous Orthodox Church of Finland, which is under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, has been in dialogue with the Lutheran Church of Finland officially since May 1989. The dialogue of Orthodox and Lutherans in the USA began in 1967 and continues to operate to this day.

The topic of relations between Orthodoxy and Lutheranism (Protestantism) was first mentioned at the Conference of the Holy Mountain (1930) and was characterized as a matter of self-guarding or defense. It was included in the agenda of the 1<sup>st</sup> pan-Orthodox consultation in Rhodes (1961) and was discussed again at the 4<sup>th</sup> pan-Orthodox consultation in Chambésy, Geneva (1968). The 1<sup>st</sup> pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference that met at Chambésy during 21-28 November 1976 decided to set up an inter-Orthodox committee for the preparation from the Orthodox side of the official theological dialogue with the Lutherans. Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon, together with Metropolitan Damaskenos of Switzerland, visited the General Secretary of the World Lutheran Federation (founded in 1923/1947) Dr. Mau at his headquarters in Geneva and announced to him the pan-Orthodox decision. This was an important event in the development of the dialogue between Orthodoxy and Lutheranism, but it presupposed earlier mutual visits of representatives of the World

Lutheran Federation and the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the Phanar and to Geneva respectively (24-27 March 1967 and 4-8 May 1974). The inter-Orthodox preparatory committee met three times, at Sygtuna of Sweden during 4-9 November 1978, Hanover of Germany during 16-26 September 1979, and Island during 6-13 September 1980. The Lutheran counterpart committee met at Chambésy during 30 April – 4 May 1978, and at the Orthodox Academy of Crete, near Chania, during 4-10 March 1980.

The 1<sup>st</sup> joined meeting of Orthodox and Lutherans that marked the beginning of the official theological dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Lutheran Federation, took place at Espor in Finland during 27 August – 4 September 1981. The theme of the meeting was, *“Participation in the mystery of the Church.”* A sub-committee met in the following year in Athens during 27 March – 2 April to probe deeper into the topic *“What is Church (?)”*. The 2<sup>nd</sup> joined meeting took place at Limasol in Cyprus during 23-29 May 1983 and the 3<sup>rd</sup> at Allentown Pa in the USA during 24-30 May 1985 and issued a common statement on *“Divine Revelation.”* The 4<sup>th</sup> joined meeting was at the Orthodox Academy of Crete in Chania during 28 May – 2 June 1987 and discussed the topic *“Scripture and Tradition.”* The 5<sup>th</sup> met at Bad Segeberg in Germany during 1-8 September 1989 and discussed the topic *“The Canon and inspiration of Holy Scripture.”* The 6<sup>th</sup> joined meeting was held at .... in 1991. The Orthodox co-chairman of this dialogue was Metropolitan Emilianos of Selybria.

#### *g) Dialogue with The World Alliance of Reformed Churches*

The topic of relations between Orthodoxy and the Protestants, which was brought up at the Holy Mountain Conference (1930) and at the 1<sup>st</sup> Pan-Orthodox Consultation in Rhodes (1961), included the Reformed Churches. The Reformed Churches have held discussions with the Orthodox at various times, as for example in the USA with SCOBA (Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas), or in France and Switzerland.

The commencement of an official dialogue was requested by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) from the Ecumenical Patriarchate through the then permanent representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Geneva Metropolitan Emilianos of

Selybria. The next step was the visit of Dr. Thomas Torrance, Professor of the University of Edinburgh and Moderator of the Reformed Church of Scotland, to the Phanar (8 March 1977) – the first visit of its kind in the history of the two Churches. On this occasion Dr. Torrance handed over a letter from the WARC, dated 18 February 1977, to Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios of Constantinople, through which an official proposal was made for the commencement of a theological dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the above-mentioned Alliance.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate responded positively to this request and a round of preliminary discussions began under the chairmanship of Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Alliance. The first meeting was held at the Phanar in 1979 and its character was preliminary. Two further meetings were held in Geneva (1981, 1983) and dealt respectively with the topics, *“Authority in the Church”* and *“The Holy Trinity.”* After these preliminary meetings the Ecumenical Patriarchate decided to broaden the dialogue to a pan-Orthodox level and took the necessary steps to bring this about. The inter-Orthodox preparatory committee for this dialogue, and the mixed committee, met at Chambésy in Switzerland during 2-6 March 1986 and decided to invite the Orthodox Churches to send representatives for the official commencement of this dialogue.

The first official meeting of the mixed theological committee met at Leunberg in Switzerland during 7-11 March 1988 and dealt with the following topics: a) Church description of Orthodox and Reformed families, b) Evaluation of the local dialogues held hitherto between Orthodox and Reformed, and c) Contributions to the theme: The Dogma of the Holy Trinity on the basis of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. The last topic led to the decision to pursue the dialogue on the basis of the Nice-Constantinopolitan Creed. Accordingly meetings followed on a regular two year basis: in 1990 in Minsk, in 1991 in Geneva, in 1992 in Kappel Am Albis (near Zürich), in 1994 in Limassol, Cyprus, in 1996 in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1998 in Zakynthos, Greece, and in 2000 in Pittsburgh, USA. The results of these discussions have been Agreed Statements on the Trinity (1991), on Christology (1994), on the Church as the Body of Christ (1998). The Dialogue is continued with discussions on Baptism and the initiation sacraments.

*h) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ecumenical Movement*

The Ecumenical Patriarchate participated in the ecumenical movement in a number of ways. An important device was the issuing of encyclicals on certain occasions, which promoted policy on this matter. We have already mentioned the correspondence of Patriarch Joachim III (1902-1904). Patriarch Joachim's first encyclical (1902) referred to, i) the relations of the Orthodox Churches among themselves, ii) the relations of the Orthodox with Roman Catholics and Protestants, and iii) the problem of the calendar. The local Orthodox Churches responded positively and made special reference to the Old Catholics and the Anglicans. The patriarchal response (1904), which was written as a follow up to the responses of the Churches to the first encyclical, specified further the broad policy lines of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on this matter and as such it was of particular importance.

The second encyclical to all the Churches of Christ (1920) of Dorotheos of Bursa, *locum tenens* of the Ecumenical Patriarchal throne, constitutes a sort of constitutional charter concerning the Orthodox stance to the ecumenical movement. This encyclical was worked out by the professors of the sacred theological school of Chalkê, and comprises the presuppositions for the desired cooperation and the plan for its implementation. The importance of this encyclical lies in the fact that it was sent out to all Christian Churches before the ecumenical movement went under way, and actually represents an important initiative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate which was taken up and came to fruition in a number of ways in the development of the ecumenical movement.

A third encyclical was issued by Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras in 1952. There are two parts to it, the first one elaborating on the necessity of cooperation and the second one indicating the way forward. This encyclical specified in an official way the stance of the Church of Constantinople and of Orthodoxy in general towards the World Council of Churches (1948ff).

On the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary from the founding of the WCC (1948-1973) the Ecumenical Patriarchate sent its 4<sup>th</sup> encyclical (*Fourth Diangelma-Declaration*), signed by Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios (1973). This text expressed deep appreciation for the work of the Council and especially for the persons who worked in it with dedica-

tion for all these years. It included, however, certain points of critique and reappraisal concerning the place, the purpose and the pursuits of the Council in the common journey of the Churches towards unity. This patriarchal encyclical was regarded as most significant and met with wide publicity by being translated into various languages.

The 5<sup>th</sup> encyclical (*Mênyma-Message*) of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the occasion of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the WCC (1948-1988) constitutes the natural continuation of the previous one (the *Diangelma-Declaration* of 1973). In this encyclical (1988) Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios referred again to the importance of the work of the Council, but also to the need to harmonize the vertical with the horizontal dimensions of the multifaceted activity of the Council in the context of the common Christian witness to the world. The *Message* of this encyclical also interpreted the pan-Orthodox conviction, which had been expressed during the third pan-Orthodox consultation (Geneva, November 1986), that the Orthodox Church, being conscious of the fact that she constitutes the agent of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, and bears witness to Her faith and tradition, occupies a central place in the ecumenical movement. Looking ahead towards the future of the Council and the dialogue, which is carried out in the context of the Faith and Order Commission, this encyclical underlines that every union of Churches should be based on the common faith and confession of the ancient undivided Church. This *Message* constitutes one more indication of the ecumenical care of the Church of Constantinople and of her firm resolve to promote Christian unity.

Other factors exerting various influences on the relations of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the ecumenical movement are those mentioned above in connection with the bilateral theological dialogues and with the various inter-Church movements. The history of cooperation in this area is full of significant developments.

It was early on in the twentieth century when the Ecumenical Patriarchate began to be involved in one of these areas, the area of the Christian youth movement. The occasion was the international conference of the world Christian student federation that took place in Istanbul in 1911. Patriarch Joachim III of Constantinople gave his blessing to this event and sent the then Dean of the Theological School of Chalkê, Germanos Strenopoulos (later Metropolitan of Seleucia and subsequently of Thyateira), to address the conference. The Patri-

archate continued its cooperation in the area of the Christian youth movement within the context of the WCC. This led to the formation of the Orthodox youth organization *Syndesmos* (1953) which has been supported by the Ecumenical Patriarchate ever since.

Another area of activity that became a factor in the advancement of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's involvement in the ecumenical movement was that of publications. Apart from the contribution of the patriarchal press (-1923, and 1951-1964), there have been significant contributions by the publications of the sacred Archdioceses of America, Thyateira, and the rest of the new Metropolises founded by the Patriarchate in the course of the twentieth century, and also of the Patriarchal Institutes that have been established in various parts of the world.

In the area of confessional or ecclesiastical unions, the Ecumenical Patriarchate contributed by taking various initiatives in calling within its territories pan-Orthodox and other conferences, which dealt with the issues of inter-Christian relations and generally the ecumenical movement. We have already mentioned the pan-Orthodox conference of the Holy Mountain (1930), the three of Rhodes (1<sup>st</sup> 1961, 2<sup>nd</sup> 1963, 3<sup>rd</sup> 1964), the 4<sup>th</sup> of Chambésy (1968) and those that have been preparing the way for the Holy and Great Synod of Orthodoxy.

The agenda of the 1<sup>st</sup> conference of Rhodes (1961) included the articulation of the topic of the ecumenical movement in a positive way. This was reaffirmed by the 4<sup>th</sup> conference (1968), which followed after the entry of all the Orthodox Churches into the WCC. The 1<sup>st</sup> pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference of Chambésy (1976) expressed the same line of thought supporting the contribution of the Orthodox Church to the efforts of the ecumenical movement (the WCC). The same positive tone was echoed in the decisions of the two Geneva conferences of 1986, i.e. a) that of the 2<sup>nd</sup> (15-23 February 1986) and b) that of the 3<sup>rd</sup> inter-Orthodox preparatory committee for the...Synod (28 Oct – 6 Nov 1986).

A new pattern of inter-Orthodox cooperation vis-à-vis and within the WCC was the inter-Orthodox preparatory consultations for the 5<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the Council (Nairobi, Kenya 1975). These consultations were summoned through the cooperation of the Orthodox offices in the Council along with the Orthodox working group in the WCC, in Geneva and in the local Orthodox Churches. This pattern has been followed to this day.

As regards the position of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and of the entire Orthodox Church on organizational unions of Churches or confessions one needs to consider those bilateral dialogues that have been mentioned above which have concluded with such recommendations, e.g. the dialogue with the Old Catholics and the dialogue with the Oriental Orthodox Churches. Such recommendations suggest that this matter is under development.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate, either by itself, or through its eparchies or dioceses in the various parts of the world, has participated in local councils of Churches, in Europe since 1959 (CEC), as well as in Czechoslovakia (now Czech and Slovak Republics), Finland, Great Britain, the USA, Canada, Australia, etc.

In the same manner the Ecumenical Patriarchate has been involved in all similar kinds of ecumenical activity: study circles of ecumenical issues, study travels, aid, attendance of religious services of other Churches, information media, church music events, special occasions of common prayer, literary activities, etc.

The contribution of members of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the sphere of literature relating to the ecumenical movement is not small. There are original compositions or studies, translations of official texts and reviews. Apart from the various Orthodox ecclesiastical and theological periodicals, which incorporate relevant materials, there are journals that carry a specifically ecumenical character, as for example the *Monthly Bulletin of the Delegation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the WCC* in Geneva (1956-1962), or the *Bulletin of Current Ecumenical Events Enêmerôsis (=Information)* that has been published by the Permanent Delegation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the WCC in Geneva (1985ff).

As regards missions, we have already mentioned the contacts of the Ecumenical Patriarchate with respect to this matter in the chapter on missions.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate has participated in the activities of the "World Association for the Promotion of International Friendship through the Churches" since 1920. It sent Metropolitan Germanos of Seleucia to the Conference of Baetemberg, who was elected to the central committee and organized a similar local council in the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which has continued this particular activity.

By issuing the encyclical of 1920 and engaging in the activities that followed thereafter, the Ecumenical Patriarchate pursued a pio-



neering line in the ecumenical movement, and came to be regarded as one of the Churches that founded this movement. Cooperation in this area has been continuous and consistent from the beginning, as well as modest and appropriately restraint. This is quite extraordinary if one considers the political and other historical changes that took place and the obstacles that emerged on the way. This cooperation has been full and unwavering on matters relating to the organizations of "Life and Work" and the "Association for International Friendship," but restrained through the promotion of particular terms in the movement of "Faith and Order."

The Ecumenical Patriarchate was represented at the two world conferences of "Life and Work" that were summoned in Stockholm (1925) and in Oxford (1937) by Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira, chairman of the Orthodox delegation and vice-chairman of the executive committee, and also by Archimandrite Michael Constantinides (later Archbishop of America) and the Russians from Paris, Metropolitan Eulogij and professors Serge Bulgakov, Leon Zander and George Florovsky.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate was also represented at the preparatory conference of "Faith and Order" that met in Geneva in 1920, by Metropolitan Germanos of Seleucia (later Metropolitan of Thyateira), chairman of the Orthodox delegation (from then on and until his death in 1951 – and of the head of the patriarchal delegation thereafter) and archimandrite Constantine Valiades. Germanos of Seleucia was elected member of the continuation committee and one of the four official vice-presidents. The patriarchal delegations at the two pan-Christian conferences of "Faith and Order" were as follows: at Lausanne (1927), Germanos of Thyateira, and the Archimandrites Michael Constantinides (later Archbishop of America), Theologos Paraskevaides, and Constantine Valiades; and at Edinburgh (1937), the same Metropolitan and the Archimandrites Michael Constantinides and Athenagoras Kavvadas (later of Archbishop of Thyateira), together with the Russians, Metropolitan Eulogij and the professors Serge Bulgakov, George Florovsky, Cassian Bezombrazov (of Katania) and Leon Zander. The Ecumenical Patriarchate was also represented at the two subsequent international conferences of "Faith and Order," within the WCC, i.e. those of Lund (1952) and Montreal (1963).

The Church of Constantinople is one of the three Orthodox

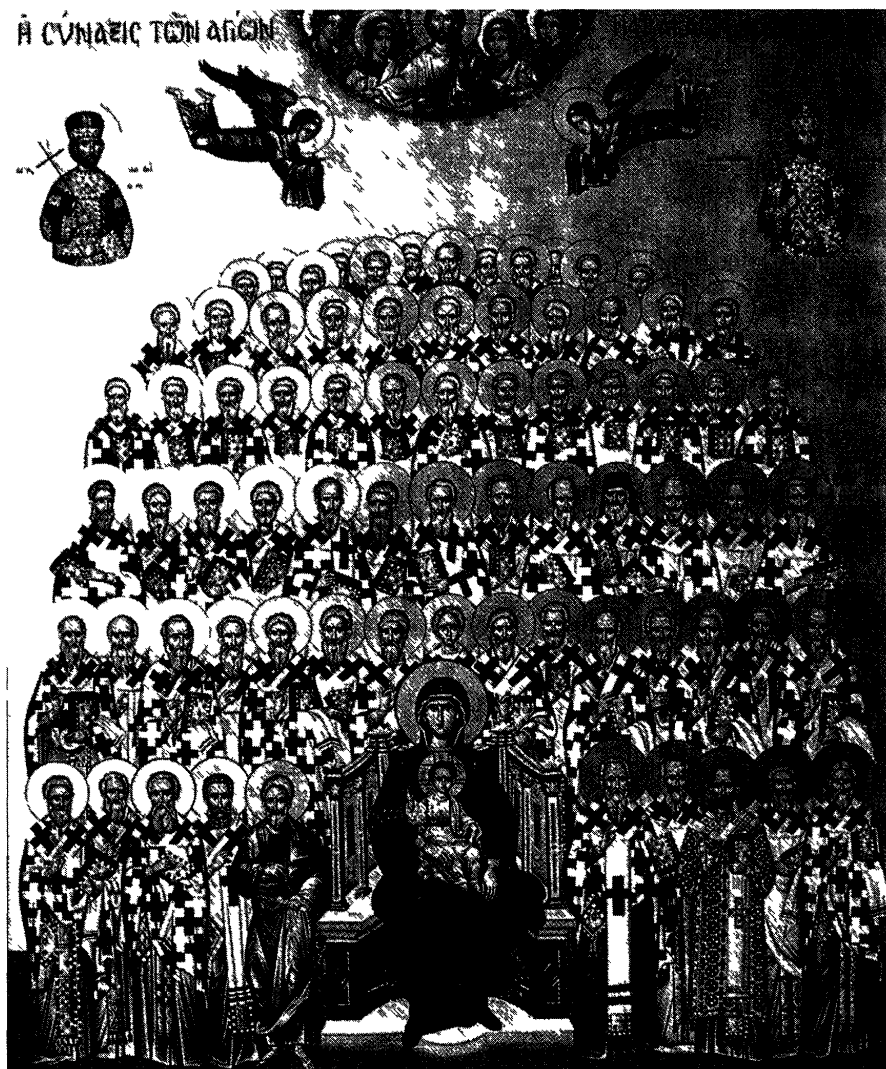
Churches (apart from those of Cyprus and Greece), which participated in the WCC from the beginning. She was represented at the six General Assemblies of the Council: Amsterdam (1948), Evanston (1954), New Delhi (1961), Uppsala (1968), Nairobi (1975), Vancouver (1983), and in the various Commissions and activities of this Council.

Since the foundation of the WCC (1948-) one of the presidents of the Council was a hierarch of the Ecumenical Throne: Germanos of Thyateira (1938/1948-1951), Athenagoras Kavvadas of Thyateira (1951-1954), Michael of America (1954-1958), Iakovos of America (1959-1968). Hierarchs of the Patriarchate also served as Vice-presidents of the Executive Committee and the Central Committee, Meliton of Chalcedon (1954-1958) and Chrysostom of Myra and now of Ephesus (1983ff). Various members of the Patriarchal delegations have also served at the secretariat and other services of the Council in Geneva. In this connection the following historic events should be also mentioned:

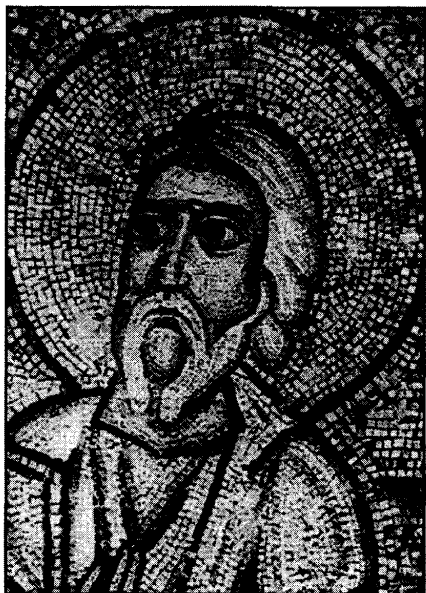
a) The establishment of an office of permanent representation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the center of the Council in Geneva under the directorship of: 1) Iakovos of Melita (later of America) 1955-1959, Emilianos of Calabria (later of Selybria) 1954-1958 and Grand Protopresbyter George Tssetsis (1985-).

b) The assistance of the Council to the Great Church of Christ at the 6-7 September 1955 riots, through the visitation of an official delegation of brotherly solidarity, consisting of representatives of member-Churches of the Council (7-14 November 1955).

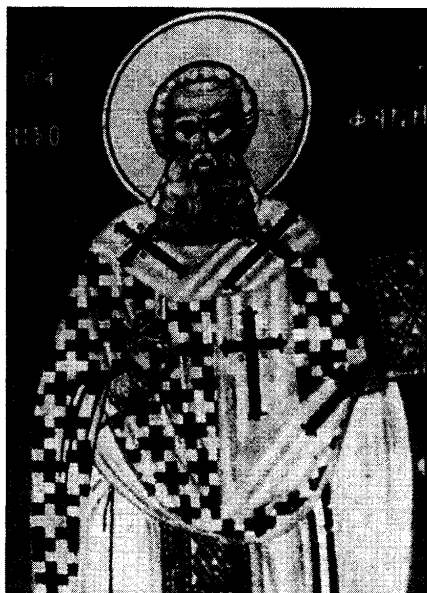
c) The summoning of meetings of the central committee of the WCC in territories of the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Rhodes 1959, and Crete 1967). Other bodies of the Council also met at different times in patriarchal territories, as, for example, the executive committee of the Council that met in Istanbul in 1987.



The Synaxis of the Holy Patriarchs of Constantinople  
 From Prof Stavrides' book *The Archbishops  
 and Patriarchs of Constantinople*, Athens 2000  
 The patriarchal portraits given in the following pages  
 are taken from the same volume

**PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE**

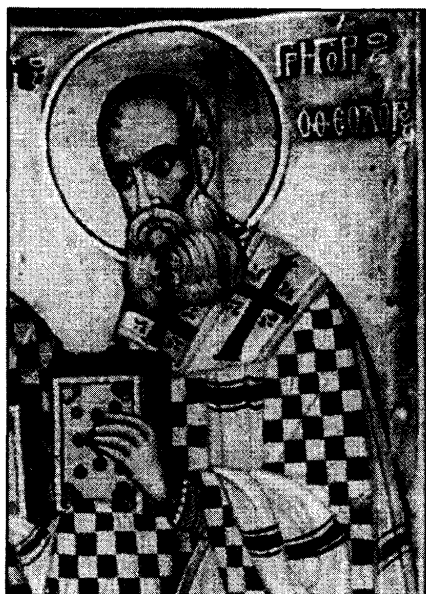
Andrew the Apostle



Metrophanes (315-325)



Paul (340-350)

Gregory the Theologian  
(379-381)



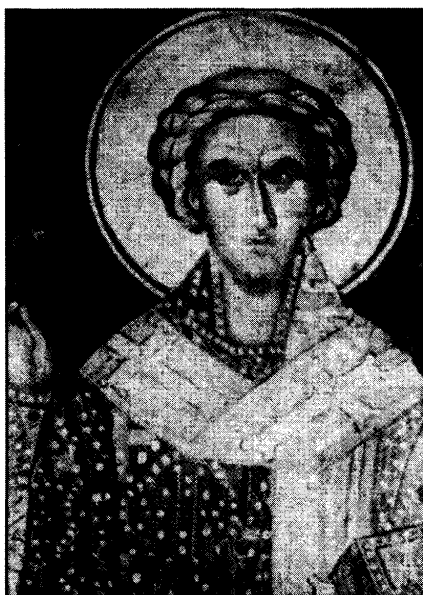
Nectarios (381-397)



John Chrysostom (398-404)



John IV (582-595)



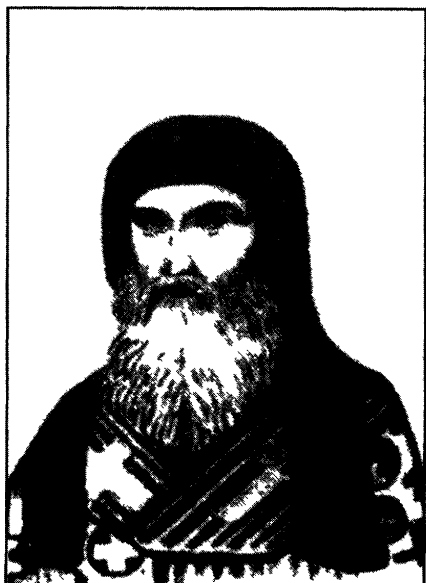
Germanos (715-730)



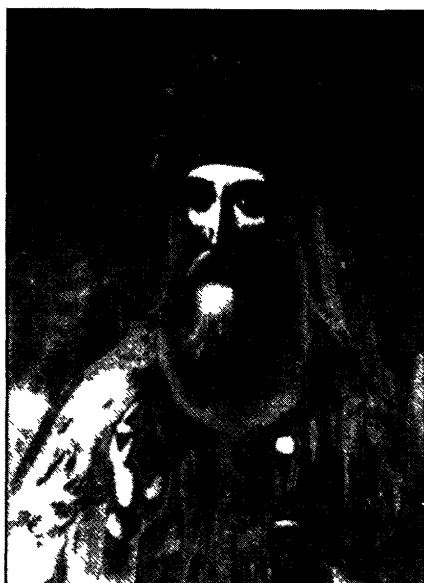
Gennadios II (1454, 1464)



Nephon II (1486, 1498)



Jeremias (1522, 1545)



Jeremias II (1572, 1595)



Cyril Lucaris (1612, 1621, 1638)



Athanasios III (1634, 1652)



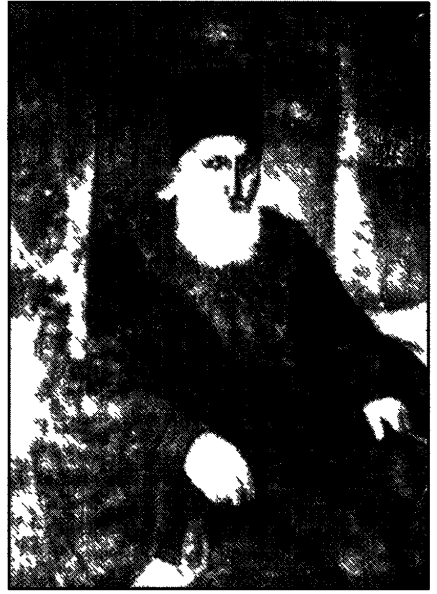
Jeremias III (1716, 1733)



Cyril V (1748, 1757)



Seraphim II (1757-1761)



Samuel (1763-1774)

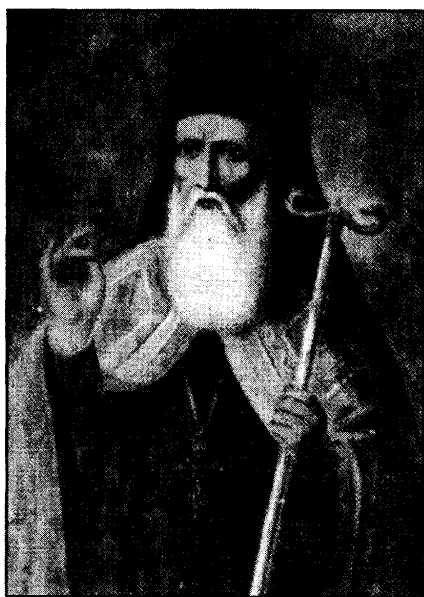


Gregory V (1797, 1821)



Eugenios II (1821-1822)





Anthimos III (1822-1824)



Chrysanthos (1824-1826)



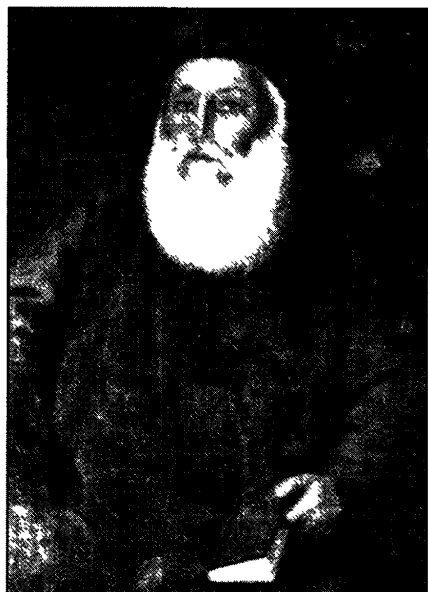
Agathangelos (1826-1830)



Constantios (1830-1834)



Gregory VI (1835,1871)



Anthimos IV (1840, 1852)



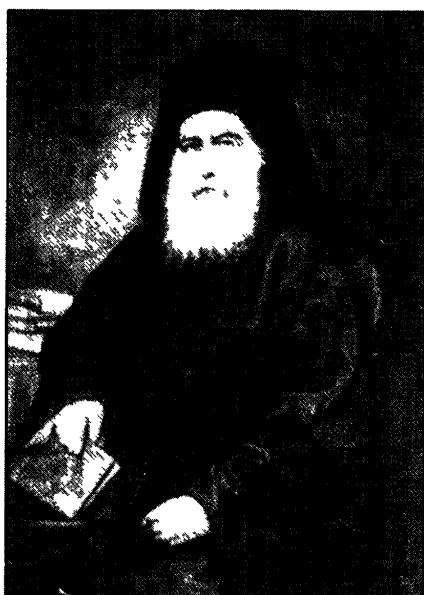
Germanos IV (1842, 1853)



Anthimos VI (1845, 1873)



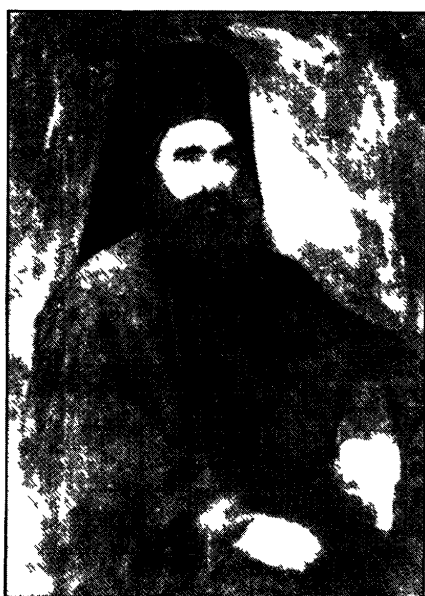
Sophronios III (1863-1866)



Joachim II (1860, 1878)



Joachim III (1878, 1912)



Joachim IV (1884-1886)



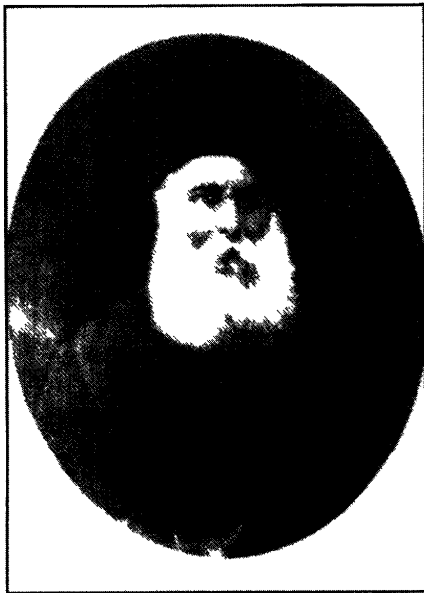
Dionysios V (1887-1891)



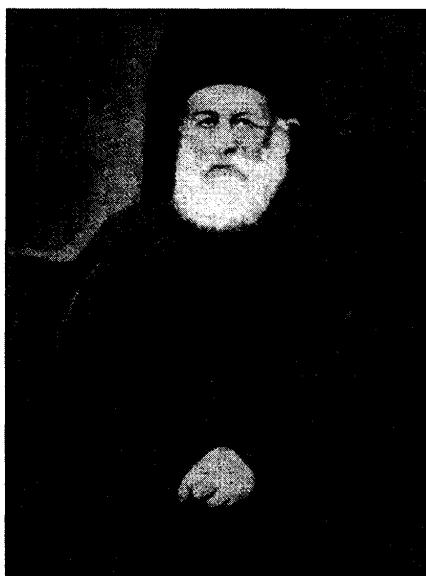
Neophytos VIII (1891-1894)



Anthimos VII (1895-1897)



Constantinos V (1897-1991)



Germanos V (1913-1918)



Locum Tenens  
Dorotheos of Brousa (1918-1921)



Nicholaos of Caesarea (1921)



Meletios IV (1921-1923)



Gregory VII (1923-1924)



Constantinos VI (1924-1925)



Basil III (1925-1929)



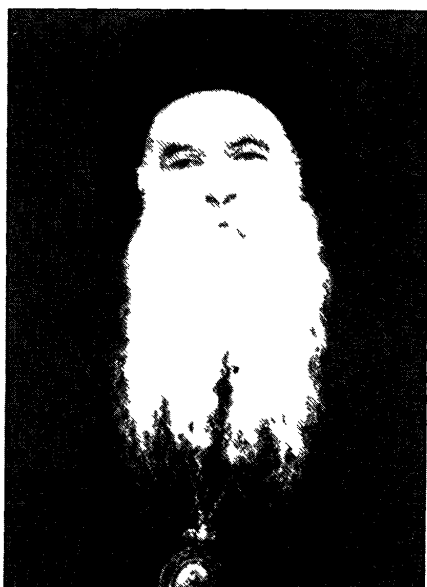
Photios II (1929-1935)



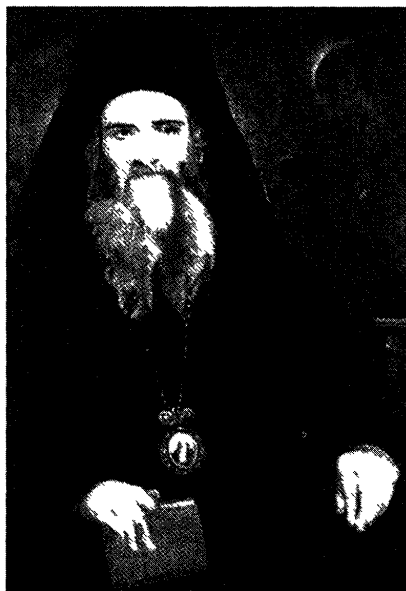
Benjamin (1936-1946)



Maximos V (1946-1948)



Athenagoras (1948-1972)



Demetrios (1972-1991)

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safety, and freedom in the mountains. At the time of Strabo (VIII, c 388, 8), the plains were almost deserted. According to Diodoros (XIX, 74, 15), at that time there were 30,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry in Eurytania that enabled them to defend themselves. This indicates that the mountainous Eurytania was thickly populated. The mountain people became brigands (*clepts*) who recognized only their own unwritten laws. The brigands would attack the Romans, and then run to the mountains to find shelter. For this reason, the Romans used local armed men (*armatoloi*) to control the area. The Romans eventually managed to control the mountainous population. Later, the Byzantines and the Ottomans used this same method.

The author is well informed and uses the classical texts and modern scholarship to prove his case. The book is rich in its bibliographic references and historical details that express the development and survival of the Eurytaniens as a "Greek nation" of northwestern Greece. The book includes numerous pictures of archeological findings that are helpful to understand the people of Eurytania. The book also includes several maps and an index.

Professor Peter K. Doorn from the University of Docent wrote the foreword to the book. Professor Doorn praises the author for his deep and wide research of the ancient Greek sources regarding Central Greece and for his historical objectivity.

I am grateful to Euripides D. Kiramaris from Petralona, Eurytania for giving me this book, which I very much enjoyed reading.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

\* \* \*

Alexander Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650-850)*, In collaboration with Lee F. Sherry and Christine Angelidi, published by "The National Research Foundation: Institute For Byzantine Research," Research Series 2, Athens 1999, xviii+447pp.

This is the last and perhaps the most exciting production before he departed from this life of this great Byzantinist, who was the force behind the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. As Professor Nikos Oikonomides, Director of the Institute of Byzantine Research (Athens), points out in his brief historic presentation of the book, Kazhdan delivered his manuscript to Christine Angelidi in 1997, who prepared

in collaboration with Lee F. Sherry the publication of the present volume. Oikonomides also gives us the distinctive character of this book in the following succinct statement: "It is a work different from the other known enterprises of the same kind. It aims at projecting the real value of a literature that has been treated unjustly for many reasons and especially because it was always compared with its prototypes in classical Greece. Kazhdan's and his collaborators' purpose in this book is to view Byzantine literature as the effulgence of a living society, with its own esthetic standards, its own esthetic demands, its own ideals and models. One has to understand it first, before evaluating it; to come to know the principles that pertain to it and the means it employs, without preconceptions."

This comment is very helpful and even crucial, inasmuch as it clearly indicates the direction that this book follows; but this direction becomes even clearer when one closely surveys the author's Preface and Introduction and, of course, the contents too. There are four particular points that he makes in the Preface by way of clarification of this enterprise. The first one clarifies what the author understands by "literature" and the second, how he defines the term "Byzantine," the third, discusses the "language" issues and the fourth deals with his conception of a "history" of literature.

Unlike his predecessors in this field, starting with Krumbacher and proceeding to Beck and Hunger, Kazhdan does not treat "literature" (*Literatur*) as simply "writings" (*Schrifttum*). His understanding of "literature" in this context has to do "not with *what* is written, but *how* it was written; not with the volume of texts available, but with the *littérarité* or the art of expression." Indeed Kazhdan launches an 'attack,' as it were, in his Preface, against the Byzantine scholars who categorized the Byzantine legacy, while being neglectful of Byzantine esthetics, and then transforming their neglect into a scholarly virtue and transferring culpability for the neglect to the Byzantines." The point he makes is the unacceptability of applying ancient literary esthetics to Byzantine literature and going on to claim on such a basis that this literature is a corrupted form, or a poor imitation, etc., of the ancient one. "We believe," says Kazhdan, "that the time has come to question this inveterate misevaluation and to make an attempt to appreciate Byzantine literature not in comparison with ancient standards but on its own terms."

As to the chronological limits of the term "Byzantine," Kazhdan

acknowledges the disagreement that exists among Byzantinists and historians, and simply opts for the mid-seventh century as the starting point and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 as the terminus *ante quem* for his own admittedly subjective view. He suggests several periods and he explicitly states that the present volume is dedicated to the first two periods (ca 650 – ca 850), which are known as the “Dark Century” and the “Monastic Revival.”

As regards the language of Byzantine literature, he acknowledges its primarily Greek genre, but he also admits to the presence of unsolvable problems arising from, either linking this Greek to different localities (Constantinople, Syria, Southern Italy, etc.), or combining it with other non-Greek languages spoken in the empire (Latin, Syrian, Coptic, etc.) – a problem that ceased to exist after the 7<sup>th</sup> century following the conquest of Byzantine territories that used Latin, Syriac and Coptic by foreign powers – or even dealing with the two basic types of it, the pure (classical) and the vernacular Greek. His general answer is: “... that it is not possible to suggest a general solution to the problem, but to recognize it and to attempt to solve it individually on a case by case basis, which is, once again, subjective.” With regard to the Greek *diglossia*, he goes against Hunger and Beck in refusing to draw a sharp distinction between these two forms of Greek language and insisting on seeing them combined together in Byzantine literature.

Kazhdan’s sense of a “history” of literature, is determined first of all by his negative attitude to what other scholars have done, namely, the “delineation of genres which seem to preserve their main features throughout time.” To him these are connected with “historicity,” because genres of this kind “live and die out.” But his sense is rather determined by his concern for “the specific features of an individual writer or period,” or “the specific traits that cross the bounds of genre” at any given time. The following statement he makes about his work in this connection is very telling: “We will attempt to build this book differently from Krumbacher and his successors –keeping in mind the particularity of the historical period and of a person within the period. According to this view, the history of Byzantine literature needs to be seen not as a development (much less a stability) of genres, but a development of *littérarité*, of the models and ways of poetical expression.” There is an even clearer programmatic statement of what Kazhdan sets out to do in this book. “This book will not be a catalogue of works divided into genres, but a history of people who imitated

their ancestors yet at the same time thought about their own problems. It will be a history of the best of these writers, of the select few."

The Introduction gives a well-researched account of the socio-political changes that took place and the new conditions that prevailed in the Byzantine state during the Dark Century that followed the Justinianic era, because of the new and extensive conquests of Byzantine lands and the shrinking of the boundaries of the empire. Central to this account are the decline of the *polis* and the disappearance of urban aristocracy, as well as their corollaries, the emergence of a rural culture and the transformation of the City of Constantinople as the center of ex-aristocrats who now became bureaucrats and as "the focal point and probably the only significant urban center of the empire after the Arab conquest of Alexandria and Antioch (Rome being quite small at that time)." The emperors now "hold their throne by force, intrigue and usurpation." The Byzantine dynasties of the eighth through the tenth century "bear local appellations: Isaurians, Amerians, Macedonians, and only thereafter is the scene taken by royal lines: Doukai, Komnenoi, Laskarides, Palaiologoi." As for the population of the empire, they are no longer delineated by citizenship but by the nuclear family, while individualism becomes a marked feature of Byzantine society. Under these conditions "the Byzantines reinforced two transcendent allegiances: toward the State and toward the Church," and what prevailed within these two parameters was "individualism on the lower level of society" and extreme collectivism on its higher level."

The effect of these socio-political changes on the spiritual life of Byzantium was quite dramatic if not devastating. There was a reduction in all sorts of spiritual products, but there was also a restructuring. This was a period of transition from the ancient to the new medieval literature. Yet, as Kazhdan puts it, "the break with Antiquity in Byzantium was less obvious than in the West ... The classical heritage survived in Byzantium more stubbornly than in the dispersed cultural centers of the West; but it is surely undeniable that beneath the antique veneer new processes were taking place, and it is with this view in mind that we shall attempt a rereading of Byzantine literary production of the Dark Age and beyond."

Following the Introduction the book comprises two Parts. Part One bears the title, *Literature of the late seventh and mid-eighth centuries* and comprises the following chapters: I) "Farewell to Historicity," II)

“Andrew, Metropolitan of Crete (660-740),” III) “Germanos I, Patriarch of Constantinople (715-730),” IV) “John Damaskenos (675-749),” V) “Barlaam and Ioasaph,” VI) “Kosmas the Melode (ca. 675 –ca. 752),” VII) “Medieval Constantine-legend,” and VIII) “The Dark Century (ca. 650 –ca. 775).” Part Two bears the title, *The Predominance of Monastic Culture (ca. 775 –ca. 850)* and comprises the following chapters: I) “The Monks and the Arabs: Martyrdom of the Sabaites (BHG 1200),” II) “The Monks and the Icon: The First Iconodulic Biography (Stephen the Younger BHG 1666),” III) “Monastic World Chronicle: Theophanes the Confessor,” IV) “Monks and Society: Theodore of Stoudios,” V) “New Hymnography: Clement and his Successors,” VI) “Semi-Secular Vitae: The Vitae of St. Philaretos the Merciful and Anthony the Younger,” VII) “Cosmic Discourse: Vitae of Leo of Catania and Pankratios of Taormina, the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai,” VIII) “The Princely Nun: Kassia,” IX) “Peaceful and Saintly Career: St. Ioannikios and his Kind,” X) “Ignatios and Pseudo-Ignatios,” XI) “The Strange Triumph of the Iconodules: the Patriarch Methodios,” and XII) “The Monastic Revival of Literature (ca. 775-850).”

There is a wealth of information in these chapters and there is an accumulation of insights, old and new, which makes the work a fascinating reading. It will be extremely useful to students and researches in Byzantine Studies and especially in Byzantine Literature and Patrology because of much relevant and scholarly information. The most welcomed feature of the book is its fresh insight, which results from accepting the integrity of the literature it surveys and they way it interprets it in light of the particular socio-political context to which it belongs. The book ends with an extensive Index to names of subjects, which is also very valuable for researchers.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

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Παρασκευάς Κονόρτας, *Οθωμανικές Θεωρήσεις για τὸ Οικουμενικὸ Πατριαρχεῖο, 17ος – αρχές 20οῦ αἰώνα* = Paraskeuas Konortas, *Ottoman Views On The Ecumenical Patriarchate: 17<sup>th</sup> – the beginnings of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Editions “Alexandria,” Athens 1998, pp. 570 including maps [in Greek]

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## Archival Research of Community History

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PAUL G. MANOLIS

Researching the history of a community, collecting documents and records, materials and artifacts, is a painstaking and time consuming task, which, if organized beforehand, becomes less daunting and very rewarding. Preparation is essential. An initial outline, a list such as the one at the end of this chapter, will help keep the researcher on track and focused. A preliminary view of some of the challenges and resources will make the way ahead clearer. While offering some insights into this type of preparation, I shall use the words “parish” and “community” interchangeably as synonyms in this chapter.

The first challenge when beginning to research the history of a parish or a Greek community is the challenge to discover accurately the time of the arrival of the first Greek immigrants in that particular area. The logical place to begin is the public library where city directories are located. City directories were published annually during the last half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. An excellent resource, they contain names in alphabetical order of the inhabitants of a city, along with addresses, occupations, spouses, children, and types of dwellings. The directories also contain a section, similar to the yellow pages of our present telephone directories, listing a variety of businesses, their addresses and owners.

The researcher will find that sifting through city directories is a laborious task, requiring hundreds of hours of searching, line by line, looking for Greek surnames, although some names will have been misspelled, omitted or changed. The research becomes less intimidating when a committee, or a group of several, conducts it together, working systematically through every year's directory, and using in-

dividual five-by-three-inch index cards on which to record all the information given for each of the relevant names that is found. This research is always amazing to me as hitherto unknown names are discovered, and as the course of the progress of individual immigrants' lives is charted; so that the laborious process of sifting through all those city directories becomes very rewarding.

The index cards — which, I emphasize, should be used to record all the information for a person's name or for a business from the city directories — can become the basis for prosopography, a very important aspect of research. A prosopography is a type of biographical record begun by making a master list of names and then adding information about each name whenever more information appears for that name in other contexts as well. This process of recording information separately for each name as soon as it initially appears, and then adding additional information for the name as more facts are discovered through further research, should be applied consistently to every primary source. For example, the minutes of the founding meeting of the Sacramento community lists the names of the founders. If each name is recorded on its own index card, then more information about each name can be added as discovered through the parish's vital statistic records. Marriage records will indicate who was married and to whom. Baptismal records will reveal children's names. Thus a more complete prosopography of each of these names will be compiled. All of this data should be entered into a computer database, which is another painstaking task but one that will provide a valuable systematic resource for future generations.

Local newspaper files, another excellent resource for information, are found in public libraries, usually on microfilm or microfiche reels. For example, the *San Francisco Call Bulletin* of Tuesday, February 1, 1898, had an article headed "A Wedding at the Russian Church." There were no Greek Orthodox Churches in San Francisco in 1898; but the article states that the bride was Greek. Another article on April 6, 1896, describing how Eastertide was celebrated in San Francisco, includes "Easter among the Greeks," celebrating and roasting lambs, etc., and lists all the Greeks who were in attendance there.

Greek newspapers published here in the United States are an invaluable resource. The two national dailies published in New York, the *Atlantis* and the *Ethnikos Kêryx*, are both available in libraries in



the East. Here in the West, the state of Utah had three newspapers: the *Ergatês* published in 1908, the *Evzona* published in 1915, and *To Fôs* published during the 1920s. In Northern California, the *Eirênikos* and its successor, the *Promêtheus*, were published between 1905 and 1934; the *Kalifornia*, which was originally printed in 1906 and renamed the *New California* in 1949, was published until 1974. Those newspapers carried business advertisements, and had local correspondents who listed the weekly events of each community. There were articles about weddings, baptisms, funerals, general assemblies, dances, elections of officers of organizations, etc., in addition to other intriguing and potentially valuable details of social history: for example, the *Kalifornia* issue of August 8, 1908, carried an advertisement for the Ellinikon Kafeneion, described as a coffee parlor and a pool room where one could meet all his fellow Greeks, at 842 Franklin Street, Oakland; and another advertisement on the same page for Chase's Red-Front, 238-340 Howard Street, San Francisco, where men's work shirts were selling for forty-cents each, pants for \$1.75 reduced from \$2.00, and hats for \$1.15 reduced from \$2.00.

Following the same tradition, today in the West we have the *Hellenic Journal*, the bi-monthly Greek-American newspaper published in Brisbane, California; it is the only Greek-American newspaper west of Chicago.

The minutes and records of the parishes are another important source. For instance, the minutes book of the parish of Sacramento, California, contains the minutes of the first meeting of the community (which I have already mentioned above). This meeting was called in order to organize a Greek community and parish, founded on January 18, 1920. The minutes list the original donors, and state that at this meeting \$1,988 and five cents was collected! Unfortunately, not all communities have kept their minutes books up to date or have not kept the old ones. The vital statistic record books of the parish record baptisms, weddings and funerals, and provide a great deal of information for compiling prosopography. For instance, in the baptismal records, the researcher will find the names of the child baptized, the parents and the godparents. The articles of incorporation of a community is another important document because it contains, among other information, the names of the incorporators. Should this document no longer be found in the archives of the community, it should be readily obtainable from the county recorder's office. If the records

of the various local societies and fraternal organizations such as AHEPA, GAPA, Pan Cretans, Pan Maecedonians, Pan Arcadians, etc., can be located, they too will provide additional information.

The Archives of the Archdiocese at 8 East 79th Street, New York, New York, 10021, is a very important resource, holding a most extensive repository of the history of the Greek Orthodox Church and of the Greeks in America. It offers its services to scholars, researchers and authors.

Historical research into our older parishes differs in process from historical research into our newer communities, of course; yet some of the problems are similar. In some cases, the records of older parishes are either missing, nonexistent, or poorly kept. In the case of missing records, there is a strong probability that they do exist and are in someone's possession, possibly having been taken for safe-keeping. As interviewees' memories are jogged, those records may sometimes be located and retrieved; and the interviewer needs to remain aware of this possibility, seeking and following leads whenever possible. Documenting the history of the newer parishes might appear to be easier for the researcher due to the fact that the records of those parishes are more recent and that individuals are still living who participated in the founding events. Yet here too, some community members might not have considered it necessary to document events or might have failed to keep detailed and substantial records; and so, here too, the process of interviewing should involve an openness on the part of the interviewer to recognize the possibility of further sources.

Oral histories are vitally important. Many people are still living who took part in the early history of our communities. Their recollections should be recorded at the earliest opportunity, for their memoirs will become documentaries of bygone eras. The recording of the experiences of the newer immigrants should not be overlooked; their stories are as valuable as those of the earlier immigrants. As in the case of the early immigrants, the life that the newer immigrants knew in Greece has changed drastically since the time of their parting, and their life in the new country has required significant adaptations. Future generations will rely on our recorded history for an understanding of these new beginnings in a rapidly changing world.

Archival research is indeed a tedious, painstaking work. However, when a researcher's curiosity is aroused while stumbling across

a chance piece of information, and as he searches further, uncovering and discovering the unknown, the rewards become tremendously gratifying. For instance, while researching the archives of the Archdiocese, I discovered a report written in 1918 by a priest named Kallinikos Kanellis in response to Archbishop Metaxakis' request for information from all the priests. This priest wrote that he had graduated from the University of Athens in 1860, was ordained, and sent to serve the Greek Orthodox Church in Calcutta, India, where he spent eight years. When he became ill, he sailed from Calcutta to San Francisco, and upon arriving went to the Russian Church where the Russian bishop had him serve as a priest. He also taught the Greek language to the children of this church's school. Father Kanellis later established several parishes in the South. He is, as far as we know, the first Greek priest in the United States. On another occasion, a chance bit of information and then some persistent research uncovered the fact that a black man from Philadelphia was ordained a Greek Orthodox priest and served in that community in 1908.

Culminating twenty years of my researching and writing in this field, *A History of the Church in America*, (volume 1), is being published and is due out towards the end of 1999. It contains approximately two thousand documents from 1860 to 1910, in two volumes. It is hoped that this work will serve as a primer for archival research and that it will stimulate curiosity and inspire the rewarding task of researching and documenting our communities' histories.

Here, now, is the outline that may assist in beginning to organize the history of a community. The outline should remain somewhat flexible, so that changes can be made when necessary as the research continues and circumstances develop, depending upon the information the researcher happens to discover.

#### PARISH/COMMUNITY HISTORY OUTLINE

1. Name of parish/community
2. Incorporated?
  - a. Date of incorporation.
  - b. Original articles of incorporation
3. Present address of church
4. Date of Founding
  - a. Original Minutes

- b. Original Location
- c. Area originally served and presently served
- 5. Church Edifice(s)
  - a. Original edifice.
    - a.i. Date of Consecration. Presiding bishop.
    - a.ii. Photographs, interior and exterior
  - b. Subsequent edifices, photographs, etc.
  - c. Current facilities (hall, school, offices, etc.)
- 6. Names of priests since founding
  - a. Years served
  - b. Photographs
- 7. Greek School
  - a. Date of founding
  - b. Teachers
  - c. Location(s)
  - d. Photographs
- 8. Choir
  - a. Date of founding
  - b. Choir directors
  - c. Photographs
- 9. Sunday School
  - a. Date of Founding
  - b. Teachers
  - c. Photographs
- 10. Philophtochos
  - a. Date of founding
  - b. Officers throughout the years
  - c. Antecedent organization
- 11. Other Parish Organizations: GOYA, FDE, Senior Citizens, etc.
- 12. Community Organizations throughout the history of the community
  - a. AHEPA, GAPA, Pan-Arcadians, Pan-Cretans, etc.
- 13. Other
  - a. Programs (religious and educational)
  - b. Community Outreach
  - c. Library
  - d. Athletic Programs
  - e. History - anniversary albums, programs, events
  - f. Publications — bulletins, newsletters

#### 14. Pan-Orthodox Activities

Such an outline should also include a list of the documents that need to be researched as well as the location of each of those documents, enabling researchers to work in a disciplined fashion.

This type of preparation — involving a well prepared outline as well as a preliminary understanding of some of the challenges and resources — can make the daunting task of research more enjoyable and can yield immense rewards.

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## Article Book Review

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FR. GEORGE D. DRAGAS

Κουτσούρη Δημητρίου Γ., *Σύνοδοι καὶ Θεολογία γιὰ τὸν Ἡσυχασμό, Ἡ συνοδικὴ διαδικασία μὲ ἀφορμὴ τὴς ἡσυχαστικῆς ἔριδος*, Ἐκδοσις τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Θηβῶν καὶ Λεβαδείας, Ἀθῆναι 1997 = Koutsourēs Dēmētrios G., *Synods and Theology connected with Hēsychasm: The synodical procedure followed in the hēsychastic disputes*, An Edition of the Sacred Metropolis of Thebes and Levadeia, Athens 1997, 312pp.

The present volume represents a successful doctoral dissertation presented to the Department of Theology of the National and Capodistrian University of Athens. The purpose of it, as the author states, is to provide “an all-round and comprehensive study of the synods of the 14<sup>th</sup> century which dealt with the dispute over Hēsychasm,” which is missing from contemporary literature. At the same time the dissertation attempts to solve the contradictions of contemporary scholarship on the subject on the basis of a fresh examination of primary sources. It is clear that the author has succeeded in his task and his volume is a most valuable addition to studies on Hēsychasm. Since the book is in Modern Greek, which is not readily accessible, this review will attempt to outline the most important of its contents.

The Introduction outlines (a) the objectives, (b) the significance and (c) the method of this research. (a) The objectives include a presentation of the historical context, the theological causes and the canonical procedure of each Synod. (b) The significance is measured against: the present need to deal with canonical and other problems of the forthcoming Great Synod of Orthodoxy; the fact that central to

this research is St. Gregory Palamas, who demonstrates that the period of the Fathers of the Church never ends; the basic theological distinction between God's essence (*ousia*) and energy (*energeia*) which is crucial for the contemporary theological dialogue; the fact that the Synod of 1351 is a good example of an "ecumenical synod" in the Orthodox Church and, finally, the synodal procedure adopted in these synods which is both canonical and uninterrupted. (c) As for the method, this is described as analytic and historical since the synods were direct consequences of historical circumstances.

Each chapter begins with a well-focused bibliography on primary sources and scholarly literature and also with a synoptic outline of the events that preceded these synods. The contents of the six Chapters are well researched and footnoted and could be summarized as follows:

I. The first chapter starts with the events that led to the two Synods of 1341. These events are related to the development of the dispute between Barlaam and Gregory Palamas. Crucial here is on the one hand, Barlaam's formal accusation against the monks through his book "Against Messalians" and especially his assertion that Palamas creates "conventicles" (*parasynagôgas*) on Athos, which issue declarations (the "Hagioreitic Tome" and the "Concurring Tome" of Thessalonica), and on the other hand, Palamas' explanations to the Patriarch and the Hierarchs which he gave in the spring of 1341 when he traveled to Constantinople with other monks to respond to Barlaam's accusations. These events lead to the summoning of the Synod in June 1341 to deal with the dispute.

Being aware of the differing assessments of the Barlaam-Gregory Palamas debate by 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars – Papamichael (1911), Schiro (1959), Meyendorff (1959), Romanidês (1960/4, 1984), Chrêstou (1977), Matsoukas (1986) – the author elaborates his own view which he bases on Palamas' *Triads* and Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos' *Dogmatic Works*. Barlaam represents Western scholasticism, whereas the Monks and Gregory Palamas represent the tradition of the Fathers and the Ecumenical Synods. The author actually discusses 10 points that differentiate Barlaam from the Monks: a) Christian experience and secular wisdom; b) the psychosomatic method of prayer and an alleged "navel-psychism;" c) the mind enthroned in the "heart;" d) the transfigured body; e) "purification" and "impassibility" as preconditions to true knowledge, f) "prayer of the mind" and the "Jesus prayer;" g) "*theôsis*" as God's energy and not a gift of nature; h)



participation in God's deifying grace and not in God's essence; i) the distinction of God's energies from God's essence; and j) the light of Tabor as an uncreated energy. His conclusion is that Barlaam denies the fullness of the saving truth in the ecclesiastical tradition and the possibility of man's perfection through hēsychasm, while he distorts the real character of the vision of God.

Turning to the Synod of June 1341, the author clarifies several details relating to the place, the time, the presidium, the members and the proceedings of it. The problems that scholars have noted concerning the proceedings are due to lack of primary data and especially to different reports on them, which he tries to explain. The Synodal decision is clearly preserved in the "*Epistolē*" which the Patriarch sent to all the Metropolises of his jurisdiction. Barlaam was condemned as having spoken in a way contradicting the Fathers; his book "Against Messalians" was to be burnt and the Monks were fully exonerated. The Patriarch's subsequent attempt to reinterpret the Tome is the main cause of confusion. Indeed, Gregory Palamas refuted the Patriarch's false explanations through his "Refutation of the Explanation" (*Anairesis Exêgêseôs*).

The next Synod of July 1341 was summoned to deal with the monk Gregory Akindynos who clashed with the monks on "the uncreatedness of the divine grace" and "the distinction between the godhead that lies beyond and the godhead that lies under – the second, being a gift of the first" (*ypheimenês kai yperkeimenês theotêtos*). Akindynos' viewpoint was expressed immediately after the June Synod. Indeed he departed from the Synod as soon as reference was made to the "uncreated grace." He actually accused Gregory Palamas of "ditheism" and of holding the view that "God can be visible to the bodily eyes." For Akindynos the grace of God is created and differs from God's essence, which supplies it. Various attempts were made to reconcile the two parties. On one occasion Akindynos met with Palamas and signed an agreement, but the next day he went back on it. As a result the monks turned to the Patriarch and asked for a Synod, which is granted to them.

The author clarifies several points relating to the place, the time the presidium, and the character of this Synod. It was an *endēmousa* synod but not as large in numbers as the earlier one of June. As regards the proceedings, he shows that the Monks accused Akindynos of being a Barlaamite; that Akindynos tried to maintain a middle position

between Barlaam and Palamas but failed and was condemned; and that Palamas reemerged once again as the defender of Orthodoxy.

This first chapter concludes with a discussion of the questions raised by the scholars concerning the Tome of 1341. The author agrees with Darrouzès and Bois, against Meyendorff, Jugie and Chrêstou, that it was composed in June and not in August and that it was signed in August. He seems to hold the view that the Tome represents both the June and the July Synods, and not one or the other as scholars contest. He also argues that the Tome is purely Palamite in spite of the attempts made by Patriarch Kalekas later to misinterpret its character through his “anti-Tomes.”

II. The second chapter deals with the so-called anti-Palamite Synods of 1342-1344. The author outlines first the historical context, which includes the civil war (1341-1347) over the succession to Andronikos III, and especially the revival of the Hêsychnastic dispute as a result of Patriarch Kalekas' acceptance of Barlaam and Akindynos and cancellation of the decisions of the Tome of 1341 (November 1341). Then, he goes on to outline step by step the events of the years 1342, 1343, 1344 and 1345, which relate to Palamas' refusal to be reconciled with Akindynos at the request of the Patriarch and the Empress and to his capture, imprisonment and condemnation.

The author turns next to an examination of various aspects of the anti-Hêsychnastic Synods of this period and makes several clarifications. He shows that initially it was Palamas' critical attitude to the violent coup d'état against Kantakouzênos that fueled the Patriarch's reactions and actions. He argues that the Patriarch was principally responsible for the anti-Palamite events of the period. Palamas remained firmly attached to the Tome of 1341, but the Patriarch tried to overturn this basis by reinterpreting the Tome. Palamas did not refuse to honor repeated invitations to attend the synod, but he simply rejected them because they were not in writing. After the imprisonment of Palamas for political reasons (September 1343) he was never invited to a synod, although he asked for it repeatedly.

As regards the anti-Hêsychnastic synods, the author notes the problems that exist about the time, the manner and the form of the synodical procedure. There are no minutes, except reports. Akindynos reports on two Synodical meetings. One that took place sometime in May-June 1342, to which Palamas was invited but did not come. This

synod condemned Palamas and delivered his writings to the fire in spite of the protests of Isidore of Monemvasia. The other Synod took place in the Palace, perhaps in September 1342, to discuss the dogmatic innovations of Palamas and to exonerate Akindynos. This is the meeting that condemned Palamas for the second time and imprisoned him. The date of this Synod is not accurately determined, but it must have occurred before the Synod of the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1344, which condemned Isidore. It is known as the Synod that exonerated Akindynos and approved of his ordination and marked the beginning of a persecution against Palamas. The fact remains that Palamas was not synodally condemned, because this synod was not canonically constituted.

The Synod of the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1344 condemned Isidore in the same way as those earlier synods had condemned Palamas. The Patriarch's design is clear. He wanted to place a person of his own in that important see, to defeat his opponents and to condemn Palamas by condemning his ally Isidore. The events of 1344 showed that the imperial court and the Church had hardened their line against their opponents.

The author also turns to other important questions. Who were the members of these anti-hēsychastic synods? There is no evidence, he says, of synodical members being present at the condemnation of Palamas. Akindynos mentions Ignatios of Antioch and other Asian bishops, including Patriarch of Jerusalem Gerasimos, but Palamas refutes this report. The Empress could not have been there either, because she reacted afterwards against the decision concerning Akindynos. The Bishops present included, the Patriarch, five old ones and 4 newly ordained ones.

Another question concerns the synodal letters of the anti-hēsychastic Synods. There are not any, except the three "anti-tomes" of Kalekas, which have no relation to the synod of 1344. The Patriarch released these in order to explain the ordination of Akindynos and to put an end to the negative reaction of the imperial court. The same applies to the "anti-tome" of Antioch, which was a gift of Ignatios to the Patriarch for the chair he was given. Palamas exposed this document both dogmatically and canonically. Thus, the author concludes that the decisions of the so-called synod of 1344 were uncanonical. The synod was not canonically summoned; no opponents or accused were invited; there was no lawful examination of the case; no decision was taken

and no decision was recorded or signed by hierarchs. Indeed, those who summoned this synod and participated in it stand condemned because they communicated with those previously condemned. The anti-hēsychastic synods are not canonical and Darrouzès' claims to the contrary are wrong. This is also clear in the Synodical Tome of 1347, which condemns not synodical decisions but letters written against Palamas.

III. The third chapter deals with the hēsychastic synod of February 1347. The author explains that the turnabout of events that took place was related to a change of imperial policy (1346). Realizing that she no longer had any influence on the Patriarch, the Empress invited both parties in the ecclesiastical dispute to inform her about their positions. Four responses were given: Akindynos' anti-Palamite confession, Palamas' confession of faith, a Memo of the Monk David Didypatos' on the events of the dispute, and Gregoras' outline of his anti-Palamite views. Besides, the Patriarch sent the Empress a "book full of writings" (Spring 1346). Several events proved decisive. On May 21, a Synod of Metropolitans and Bishops of Thrace, under the presidency of Patriarch Lazaros of Jerusalem who had been restored through the intervention of Kantakouzênos, dethroned Patriarch Kalekas. Although this Synod was uncanonical, it made an impact on the Empress. In September, six Metropolitans who had been dismissed by Kalekas sent a Report to the Empress accusing Kalekas of simony, sacrilege, heresy and the ordination of a person condemned for heresy. On October 28, a group of Metropolitans reaffirmed the Tome of 1341. In January 1347 Kalekas, being isolated in the palace, anathematized Palamas and his collaborators. The Empress had to act to meet the challenge of the situation. Her first action was to get the Bishops who had not signed the Tome of 1341 to do so. This was necessary in order to move against Kalekas as defiant of that Tome and to honor her husband who had been present at the Synod of 1341. The pro-synodal procedures, then, had one target, the clarification of the point of dispute, i.e. the interpretation and misinterpretation of the Tome of 1341. Thus, the Synod to be summoned was to be a continuation, as it were, of that of 1341.

On February 2, one day before Kantakouzênos' entry into Constantinople, the Empress called a Synod consisting of the Metropolitans devoted to her and taking a stance against the Patriarch.

Also invited were the Prôtos of the Holy Mountain and the other Gerontes, but not the Patriarch John Kalekas. The exclusion of the Patriarch was uncanonical; hence the action taken a few days later (February 7 or 8) by Kantakouzênos. He invited Kalekas three or even four times to come to a new meeting but the latter refused. The author argues that although the Empress summoned the Synod, she was not the president, but the Hierarchs took the decision as it appears from the new Tome.

The author also discusses the proceedings of the Synod and its Decision. For him this Synod is in continuity with the other hêsychastic synods, those that went before and those that followed. The first is the Synod of June 1341 and the last one is that of May 1451. In the Synod of 1347 the main point of concern was the Synodical Tome of 1341. Its proceedings began with the reading of this Tome. Then the "file" submitted by Patriarch Kalekas to the Empress was brought in along with the accusation that it represented a misinterpretation and distortion of the said Tome. It was determined that Kalekas' file was unacceptable and so the decision was reached.

The decision of the Synod was as follows: a) that Kalekas is defrocked, because he supported the strange and impious doctrines of Barlaam and Akindynos; abolished the Synodical Tome of 1341 which safeguarded the orthodox doctrine; remained attached to the doctrine of Akindynos; expelled from the Church those who fought for the truth, i.e. Palamas and the Monks. According to the Tome of 1341, unless he repents and anathematizes the doctrines opposed therein he is excommunicated. Furthermore, all the writings of the Patriarch or any other that were written against Palamas are unacceptable because they represent the devil's slander and turn against the theologians of the Church. b) Akindynos will be excommunicated unless he recants, but he is deposed from his ecclesiastical orders. c) Those who followed the leaders of the heresy should repent otherwise they stand condemned with them and will suffer the same consequences as the latter. d) Any layman who renews the attacks against Palamas or the Monks will also suffer the same penalty. e) Gregory Palamas and the Monks are recognized as being above all suspicion and as defenders of the Church and the faith. f) Finally, these decisions are authentic because they agree with those of the Holy Fathers and the preceding Synodical Tome of 1341.

The Synod of February 2, 1347 issued a new Synodal Tome and

the signatures in it bear the date February 15. The last signatures were entered in June of the same year. This Tome focuses on the essence of the matter and not on the details of procedure. The author uses Meyendorff's text as the authentic, in spite of Darrouzès' objections, and summarizes its contents. As the title shows, the main concern of this Tome is the endorsement of the earlier Tome of 1341. Thus, it provides a brief history of the two Synods of 1341, a narrative concerning the events of the civil war, the minutes of the meeting of February 2, the cancellation of the anathema of Kalekas against Palamas and his followers, the condemnation of Akindynos and his followers, the confirmation of the Tome of 1341, the date of February 15<sup>th</sup> as the conclusion of the Synod and three lists of signatures which are distinguished from each other. The author also clarifies questions relating to the signatories and the process of signing which was done between February and June 1347.

Finally the author offers a critical assessment of this Synod. He starts with Gregoras' characterization of it as *lêstrikê* (robber-synod) because it supported Palamas' impiety, but places against it the previous Synods that had acknowledged Palamas as defender of orthodoxy and especially the *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy, which still stands to this day. He also notes Darrouzès' characterization of the Tome of this Synod as uncanonical because it defends uncanonical actions and excesses committed by the members of the Synod. For the author the only accusations that can be acceptable against this Synod are the following three: a) the action of the Empress against Akindynos: i.e. his imprisonment; b) the failure of the Synod to invite the Patriarch; and c) the position of the Empress in the Synod which indicates that she trespassed on her traditional role. As a counter to these the author states: that Akindynos' condemnation was based on the decision of the Bishops; that although the Patriarch was not invited to the Synod, he was given a chance afterwards, which was designed to remedy the earlier mistake; and finally, that Kalekas was deposed not by the Empress's decision but by decision of the Hierarchs. As for the Synodal Tome the fact is that it was articulated and endorsed by Bishops and was not concerned with synodal procedure but with the declaration of the truth.

IV. Chapter four deals with the Hêsychastic Synod of August 1347. The author provides a sketch of the historical events that preceded the Synod beginning in May 1347. Central to these events is the opposition

of three Metropolitans to the election of Isidore Metropolitan of Monemvasia as new Patriarch, the election of Gregory Palamas as Archbishop of Thessalonica and the insertion of the denunciation of Barlaam's and Akindynos' error into the Tome of February 1347 and the Confession of Faith given by the newly elected Bishops at ordination. The three opposing Metropolitans, under the leadership of Matthew of Ephesus, held meetings and produced a Tome, which condemned Palamas, Isidore and their followers (July 1347). This Tome contains several accusations but its main characteristic is that it focuses on the so-called anti-hêsyhastic Synods of 1344 in order to prove that all Palamite and Isidorian actions were uncanonical. Patriarch Isidore tried to reach reconciliation with the opposing Metropolitans but failed and thus decided to summon a Synod to deal with the problem.

The Synod was held in August 1347, but the place of it is not known. There were two or three meetings and a Tome was produced which was signed on August 15. It seems that this Tome followed the July Tome of the opposing Metropolitans. In this case the opposing Metropolitans were invited several times, but they refused with haughtiness. This Synod was under the presidency of Isidore and was attended by 16 bishops and seven others were invited to express their opinion by proxy.

The Synod endorsed the canonical election of the Patriarch and rejected the claim that there was state interference. John Kantakouzênos did express his opinion and lobbied in favor of his friends but the Bishops made the decision. Questions were raised about Isidore, but the decision was taken on a majority principle according to Canon 19 of Antioch. The opposing Metropolitans did not honor the majority vote. The author argues that the accusations against Isidore and Palamas were uncanonical, because all the meetings that took place in February had established their orthodoxy and rejected the acts previously taken against them by Patriarch Kalekas. One of the opposing Metropolitans (Chariton of Apros) had actually signed these February decisions. That Isidore and Gregory did not commemorate Patriarch Kalekas was due to the latter's decision to be in communion with Barlaam and Akindynos who were condemned heretics. The Synods of 1347 restored Isidore and Palamas just as the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ecumenical restored those condemned by Nestorios (Canon 3). Finally, the Synod attempted to reach reconciliation with the opposing Metropolitans,

by inviting them to return to communion with the others, but also warned them that they would stand condemned and excommunicated if by September they failed to respond.

The Tome of August 1347 bears the title: *Tome of Deposition of the ex-Metropolitan of Ephesus who became a heterodox expositing his deviation and those who followed him*. Apart from a brief description of the events that followed the election of Isidore as Patriarch of Constantinople, this Tome is a continuation of the previous Hēsychastic Tomes and also an explanation of what these earlier Tomes stood for. It was signed at the third and final meeting, which took place on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August. The Tome lists 25 Metropolitans, but only twelve signed. The others simply expressed their approval. Patriarch Lazarus' signature at the back is a canonical act. It was only in 1350 that Matthew of Ephesus stated his regret and repentance for his earlier opposition.

In his conclusions, the author states: that this Synod was the result of a procedure for filling the vacant Patriarchal Throne of the Royal City and other vacant Metropolitan Thrones; that the opposition of Matthew of Ephesus was mainly due to his failure to become Patriarch and that his alignment with other Metropolitans who were friendly towards Barlaam and Akindynos was necessitated by his desire to fight the new Patriarch on a canonical basis; that theologically this Synod did not offer anything new, but simply repeated and clarified earlier theological points; that this Synod solved all the canonical problems that had been created by those opposing the new Patriarchal and Episcopal elections; and finally, that the accusation that the purpose of this Synod was to create a Palamite majority is without foundation.

V. Chapter five deals with the Synod of 1351. The author starts with a brief account of the events that led to it: Central to these is the entry of the philosopher Gregoras into the hēsychastic dispute (1347) and especially the resurgence of anti-Palamite activity after the election of the new Patriarch Kallistos (June 10, 1350), following the resignation of Patriarch Isidore on account of illness (February 1350) and his subsequent death (December 1350). The leaders behind this movement are the Metropolitans of Ephesus and Ganos and also Gregoras the philosopher. Actually Gregoras began to come out when Barlaam and Akindynos ceased to be strong and to enjoy imperial backing. He too argued on the basis of dialectics and philosophy. He believed that theological problems ought to be resolved not only on



the basis of the Bible and the Fathers but also on the basis of secular wisdom (philosophy), and that secular knowledge is a gift of God, which the fathers used against the heretics. The topics of the dispute at this stage remain the same and only the persons change somewhat. Gregoras emerges as the new leader of the anti-Palamite faction but he has the support of the condemned ex-Metropolitans of Ephesus and Ganos.

The Synod of 1351 was summoned in order to give a chance to people to change their mind and be reconciled. Apparently this was the king's decision as Kantakouzênos "History" states. The author offers a detailed account of the Synod, its proceedings and its Tome. Invitations were sent to 32 hierarchs and the Synod met at the "Alexiakon" Hall in the Palace (4 sessions in May-June) and finally at St. Sophia (last session in July). The last meeting was distanced from the previous ones, so that people had a chance to examine certain writings of Palamas that had been characterized as doctrinally questionable. The author argues, against Jugie, Meyendorff and Chrestou, that it was the Patriarch that presided and not the emperor and that the interference of the emperor in the proceedings was accepted by the patriarch and the members because of the theological aptitude of the emperor. It was the Patriarch and not the Emperor that removed the Metropolitan insignia from the Metropolitans of Ephesus and Ganos. The author gives a full account of the proceedings disputing a number of minor points from Meyendorff's description. What clearly emerges from this is the full-scale debate that took place in the first four sessions between the Palamites and their opponents, a debate that actually concluded with the victory of the former and the condemnation and deposition of the latter. The fifth session provided an opportunity to those condemned to repent and to return to the Church. It also expounded analytically all the doctrines that the hêsychastic Synods had propounded, namely: the distinction between essence (*ousia*) and energy (*energeia*); whether the divine energy is created or uncreated; the meaning of the composite in God; the term "godhead" (*theotês*) as referring to the divine energy and the accusation of ditheism; the transcendence of God in his essence; participation in God's essence or energy; and, finally, the uncreated light of the Transfiguration.

As regards the Tome of this Synod the author provides several details: It has the privilege of having survived in 25 manuscripts.

According to Darrouzès it includes all the subjects discussed in the previous Synods and consists of three parts, or three tomes. It was composed by the Metropolitan of Herakleia Philotheos (Kokkinos) and the Holy Synod in July and was signed on August 15 (the day it was solemnly read in St. Sophia after the celebration of the Orthros). It bears the signature of John VI Kantakouzênos (in red ink), but there are manuscripts that also bear the signatures of other emperors, namely, of John V Palaiologos and Matthew Kantakouzênos. According to Gregoras, John Kantakouzênos forced John Palaiologos to sign, but Palamas states that this is a lie because this emperor was a warm supporter of Orthodoxy. Matthew Kantakouzênos' signature was added in 1353 when Patriarch Philotheos crowned him emperor. As for the signatures of the hierarchs, they appear in two sets in two categories of manuscripts, that of Uspenskij and that of Combefis. There are problems about the signatures because of the way they were embedded in the Tome. However, what is of primary importance is the acceptance of the Tome as a standard of Orthodoxy and as having ecumenical significance.

In his evaluation of the Tome of 1351 the author states that it is the most important of all the Hêsychastic Synods because the Orthodox Church has accepted its decisions as standards of her faith. It was mainly a Synod of Hierarchs of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, but the entire Orthodox Church accepted its decisions during the course of the 14th century. He also outlines the criticisms raised against it by such critics as Gregoras and Arsenios of Tyre. But he also includes his answers to each of these criticisms.

VI. Chapter six deals with the Synod of 1368, which marks the end of the Hêsychastic dispute. Here again the author provides an appropriate account of events that led to the summoning of this Synod. The crucial event is the anti-hêsychastic activity of the monk Prochoros Kydônês of the Megistê Lavra who emerged in 1367 as a new defender of the opponents of Palamas. Prochoros had a brother, Dêmêtrios, who translated Thomas Aquinas into Greek. He was influenced by these writings and wrote six books on essence and energy identifying them as Thomas did. His fellow Monks inevitably opposed him and wrote to Patriarch Philotheos complaining against him. Prochoros was summoned to Constantinople to meet Philotheos and explain his position. The Patriarch found Prochoros' writings full of heresy and asked him to sign the Tome of 1351. Prochoros claimed that he was

not a theologian and promised to sign the Synodal Tome after reading it carefully along with the appropriate patristic literature. While in Constantinople he sent a *Pittakion* to the Abbot of the Megistê Lavra about his faith, which greatly disturbed the Monks and led them to meet and anathematize him. They also sent their decision to the Patriarch in Constantinople.

Prochoros' errors were fully exposed in his writings and especially in the *Pittakion* that he sent the Monks. He criticized the Tome of 1351 and defended the Metropolitan of Ephesus and Gregoras. The method he employed was dialectical and the errors he committed are typical of the anti-Palamite camp.

The Synod, which was summoned at the Patriarchate in April to deal with Prochoros, was an *endêmousa* Synod. It began with the Patriarch inviting Prochoros to speak and offer his defense. Prochoros asked that his writings be read, but the Synod objected to this. The topic that clearly emerged was Prochoros' contention about the creaturely nature of the light of Tabor and of that appearing in the case of Moses. The Patriarch and the Synod opposed him on this and offered him the chance to repent and to be forgiven. The Synod examined next the accusations of the Monks against him and his *Pittakion*. A similar discussion ensued about the light of the Transfiguration and Prochoros was again convicted. Then the Synod discussed Prochoros' objection to the celebration of the memory of Gregory Palamas on the Mountain before Constantinople had endorsed such an action. This provided the occasion for proceeding to the canonization of Palamas as a Saint of the Church, a matter that the Patriarch fully supported. Prochoros remained unrepentant and so the Synod proceeded to its decision.

The Synod determined that Prochoros not only supported the errors of Barlaam and Akindynos but also went beyond them. They decided to defrock him and never to restore him to the priesthood but simply accept him as a simple monk. The Patriarch agreed to this condemnation and announced it to Prochoros. He asked for a day to prepare his response and departed. After his departure the Patriarch explained that his error was based on Aristotelian dialectics, which were not acceptable to the Church. Prochoros did not return to the Synod the next day. Three days later the Patriarch sent him an official invitation. He refused and stated that he remained firm on his views. When the Synod met at a later date he was invited again and he refused

to appear. Thus, he was declared condemned especially for the new error that the humanity of Christ was not without sin.

The signing of the Tome of 1368 was done in April. The signatures placed on it were those of the Patriarch, six Metropolitans and five Bishops. The Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem also signed, along with some archons. Demetrios Kydônês complained against the condemnation of his brother because it was against Patriarch Theophilos' promise to the emperor John Palaiologos. He also objected that the trial took place in the absence of the emperor and that the procedures were unfair because Prochoros was not given a real chance to defend himself. The author characterizes these accusations as baseless against Darrouzès' opinion. For the author the fact is that the condemnation of Prochoros was included in the *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy together with that of his brother Demetrios who was condemned on the basis of his writings after his death.

The author's *Epilegomena* summarize the conclusions of his important and detailed investigation: The Hêsyhastic dispute of the 14<sup>th</sup> century was a clash of two currents, humanism and divine-humanism (the fathers). The Hêsyhastic Synods of the 14<sup>th</sup> century defended the unity of the Church and the salvation of the entire human being. The claim of the opponents of these Synods, that they could only be characterized as "robber synods," because they lacked an ecumenical dimension which is necessary in dealing with matters relating to the faith is baseless for the following reasons: a) because this is the period when almost all the ecclesiastical and political jurisdiction is concentrated in the Patriarchate and the Byzantine court; a fact that is implicitly acknowledged by the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem who did sign afterwards the synodal decisions reached in Constantinople; and b) because there is no absolute external measure for distinguishing a synod as ecumenical, but the ecumenicity of a Synod is rather determined on internal reasons; and besides, there is no evidence that the Patriarchate wanted to summon an ecumenical synod.

Internal criticism of the available data shows: that all these Synods with the exception perhaps of the last one (1368) were *Endêmousai* in a broader sense. For the author, however, the Synods of 1341 and 1351, and especially the latter, have the characteristics of an ecumenical synod, in the sense that they were summoned to deal with matters relating to salvation which is an ecumenical concern. The

faith that was confirmed by these Synods stands in continuity with the faith of the previous Ecumenical Synods. This is most clearly demonstrated in the reading of the Acts of the 6<sup>th</sup> Ecumenical Synod at the Synod of 1351. The subject matter of these Synods was a theological problem concerning the truth, hence their intensity and importance.

These Synods provide historical-canonical data, which are of special importance for establishing synodal procedures. a) These Synods were summoned in various places of sacred character like previous Synods. b) The meetings are exceptional and take place on specifically appointed dates. c) The composition of these Synods is purely Episcopal. d) The heretics are present at the meetings and remain there until they are condemned. They are even given a chance to repent afterwards (e.g. the case of Akindynos in 1347). e) The Bishops decide unanimously. f) The canonical right to summon a Synod belongs to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the invitation sent by the emperor or through imperial involvement is peripheral and non-essential, because its significance is only historical and not ecclesiological or canonical. The one who summons is also the one who presides. This point has not been adequately noted in modern scholarship, where all too uncritically a co-presidency of Patriarch and Emperor has been assumed. The fact is that the role of the emperor is a side issue and that Synodal procedure and decision are in the hands of the Patriarch and the Hierarchs. The emperor is nowhere president. The only exception is the Synod of 1347, where the Patriarch stands accused, and where the empress Anna seems to play the dominant role. But even here the Bishops finally take the decision. g) Officials and officers of the Ecumenical Patriarchate are closely connected with *Endêmousai* Synods and therefore also sign the decisions (e.g. the Synods of 1351 and 1368). h) The role of the emperor in the Synods is important not in the sense that he interferes but in the sense that he ratifies and protects their decisions.

This is indeed a very thoroughgoing piece of research, extremely valuable to the historian, the canonist and the theologian. It is written with clarity, scientific accuracy and succinctness. The errors we have noticed are rather typographical. The 7<sup>th</sup> Ecumenical Synod on page 193, line 1 should be the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ecumenical Synod. The number 3 of the chapter title of page 195 should be 4. Makarios of Ephesus on page 217 should be Matthew of Ephesus. On page 282 the Bishop of

Ephesus appears in both categories of hierarchs! Is this right? It is curious that Akindynos is never given his full name "Gregorios Akindynos." The Index included at the end of the book, which would have added an extra merit to the work, is both incomplete and inaccurate. There are not a few mistakes and it makes many omissions. For example "Prochoros" appears on many more pages in the book than those mentioned. Then, there is no consistency on entries. Prochoros' entry is based on his first name, but his brother's entry is "Kydônês Dêmêtrios." These technical problems do not affect the main body of the book, but they ought to be corrected in a second edition.

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Constantine Cavarinos, *Blessed Hermit Philaretos of the Holy Mountain*, Modern Greek Saints No. 12. Belmont, Ma: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies (1997) pp. 125.

Professor Constantine Cavarinos eloquently presents an account of the life, character and message of the remarkable ascetic and mystic, the Blessed Philaretos of Mount Athos. This hermit is comparable to the great Byzantine mystics known as hesychasts. Philaretos lived a life in accordance to the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church and especially according to the instructions of the great Orthodox classical book of the Philokalia.

Dr. Cavarinos visited several times Mount Athos and met with many monks there including hermit Philaretos. In this book he describes his meetings and interviews he had with several monks but especially with monk Philaretos. The author gives a vivid description of the setting of his dwelling known as Karoulia. He describes this place as a "precipitous cliff" where Cavarinos had spiritual conversations with Philaretos and his neighbors, the monks Nikon and Gabriel.

When Dr. Cavarinos visited hermit Philaretos in his hut, he found him "barefoot and wearing ragged monastic clothes and an old monastic hat" (p. 34). In his conversation with him the professor asked the questions and the hermit answered. The conversation was centered on the life and practice of monasticism on the Holy Mountain. The professor speaks of the beauty of the "contours of the rocks," which are seen by Philaretos "not merely as aesthetic objects, but as manifestations of God's power and goodness" and "are a source of gladness" to him. The "barefooted" Philaretos, who is reminiscent of the "barefooted" philosopher, Socrates, who had "truth" and how to live according to the truth as his primary concern, as his name reveals, was also a "lover of virtue." He was a humble, simple monk devoted to unceasing prayer and he struggled to develop and appropriate to the highest degree the spiritual life as depicted in the Bible and the Fathers of the Church.

Professor Cavarinos also includes several inspirational accounts of the conversations he had with Philaretos' neighbors. One is the Russian hermit Nikon, who was an officer in the Tsarist Russia but subsequent to the Bolshevik revolution migrated to Western Europe where he lived, especially in England where he learned English, and finally came to Athos to spend the rest of his life in prayer. Here Fr.



Nikon lived as a hermit until his death at the age of 92 years old. In his conversation with Dr. Cavaros Fr. Nikon spoke of the Philokalia and the spiritual life of the great mystical tradition of Orthodoxy. He boldly stated his conviction that, "Eastern Orthodoxy is Christianity's maximum, the only truth" (p.520).

The other monk was hermit Gabriel, an Athenian. Professor Cavaros who describes the life of Athos interviewed both of these monks. They both emphasized the need for spiritual edification of the people in the world and the dire need for hesychastic prayer (quietness, tranquility, stillness) and the practice of the prayer of the heart.

Besides the accounts of Dr. Cavaros the volume includes several other interesting accounts. Especially interesting is the account given by professor George Arnakis from the University of Texas. He felt very strongly that Philaretos was a saint and exerted every effort to have the official Church proclaim him "a saint of the Church." Other accounts included in this volume and given by people that knew Philaretos as a holy man and testify to his sanctity, include those of Archimandrite Chrysostomos Moustakis, monk Andreas Theophilopoulos, Archimandrite Ioannikios and Archimandrite Gabriel.

An interesting feature of this book is that the author includes numerous references to other personalities or thinkers in the West or in antiquity who possess the same qualities and virtues. Thus the book offers great instruction on Orthodox spiritual life, information on personalities of Mount Athos, as well as spiritual practices that uplift the reader to live a life in Christ. It is indeed an outstanding discussion on modern Orthodox monasticism as is lived by the holy man, the hermit Philaretos. The author also includes numerous definitions of Orthodox terms in articulate manners that are clarified for the English speaking reader.

The book also gives evidence that Mount Athos is a spiritual Republic that includes Orthodox Christians from many nationalities including Greek, Russian, Serbian, etc. I was impressed with the following statement, "Most of the inhabitants of Karoulia are Russians, and the rest are Greeks. Both are naturalized citizens of Heaven"(p.100) As Orthodox Christians, regardless of our nationality or national citizenship we all feel that in our baptism we are engrafted into the Body of Christ, the Orthodox Church.

The book includes an appendix of sayings of hermit Philaretos as

well as a bibliography and an index.

I highly recommend this book to scholars, clergy, students Sunday School Teachers, and to all those who are interested in Orthodox monasticism, mysticism and spiritual life.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Ioannes G. Zoumpos, *To Monastêri tôn Domianôn Eyrytanias Symantiko Mnêmeio tês Orthodoxias* (=The Monastery of Domianon Eyrytanias: Orthodox Significant Monument) Athens, Greece (1998) pp. 170.

The present study is a presentation of the history, culture, religious expression of the Evrytania village of Domianon. The author describes the area and people of this mountainous region of north-west mainland of Greece. He gives some classical data of the ancient Oihalia and some remains that give evidence of its culture and religious practice. References made to ancient authors regarding this region.

In surrounding area there are Christian monuments. One is "The Cross", that is, a steel cross where a shrine was build in 1777 by Zacharias Zoumbos and still stand and is revered by the people that pass by. Another shrine stands not to far from the village is an old post-Byzantine shrine (*proskynetari*) dedicated to Saint Paraskevi. The author also describes and has pictures of many traditional (many centuries old).

The author discusses the religious fervor of the people of Evrytania. He speaks of the numerous virtues of the people. They industrious, they love progress and dedicated to their Orthodox faith. This is evident in their commitment to maintain the church during the hard period of the Ottoman occupation of four hundred years. The church is the center of their village but also the center of their life. The church edifice is dedicated to the Dormition (Koimeseos) of the Theotokos known as the Monastery of Panagia Domianitissas.

The author presents numerous documents that this functioned as monastic center originally. He presents copies of original letters of the local bishop written in the eighteenth century regarding the construction and donors. Also the author gives a description of the

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interpreted this as a “divine sign” pointing to people the way of repentance and return to God. Fr. George points also to the negative expressions of people who felt this was a “gimmick” to raise funds or “hoax,” but as this dedicated man of God saw it and many others verified the “sign” was really from God. The Archdiocese and Ecumenical Patriarchate declared it as a “sign from God,” that is, the Panagia was weeping for humanity. This became a powerful force in the spiritual life of many people who experienced it. This book is indeed a teaching text and inspiration for all Orthodox and non-Orthodox people who yearn for God’s sign to direct their lives. I especially recommend it to the pious Orthodox Christians to read this as history of our Church in this country, and especially to share in the miracle that took place in Long Island, NY and received national publicity.

Fr. George Papadeas is to be congratulated and deeply thanked for his dedication and great effort to present a piece of history for future generations. The story is told as it happened.

In addition, he also includes a helpful glossary at the end that explains the terms used in the book. This is very useful to the reader who is not familiar with the Orthodox terminology.

I highly recommend this book to the general reader and especially to the new generation to learn the history of our in this country as lived by one dedicated priest.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Constantine Cavarnos, *Byzantine Churches of Thessaloniki*, Belmont, Ma: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies (1995) pp.88.

The present volume is a contribution to the study of the Byzantine Churches in Thessaloniki and their iconography and architecture. It contains an account of the architecture, iconography and decoration of seven Byzantine Churches of Thessaloniki of historical and aesthetic importance.

Thessaloniki is the capital city of northern Greece. It is an important administrative and cultural center in Macedonia since the Byzantine period. The author describes seven beautiful, awe-inspir-

ing Churches in Thessaloniki. The most famous is that of Saint Demetrios, the patron saint and protector of the city. The others are Panagia Acheiropoiêtos, Hagia Sophia, Saint George, Hosios David, the Holy Apostles and Saint Nicholas Orphanos. Dr. Cavarnos lovingly presents each Church with details and illustrations of each church with photographs of their structures and floor plans as well as their icons and mosaics.

The church of Saint Demetrios the martyr is widely known. The church was built ca. 412-413. Tradition has it that this is the place where Demetrios suffered martyrdom ca. 303 and was buried in the same place. During the Ottoman Turkish occupation it was converted to a mosque. In 1912 when the city was liberated by the Greek forces it was restored as an Orthodox church. The author describes the church in details especially the architectural style, the icons, the frescoes, the mosaics and the depiction of saints that inspires awe as well as aesthetic wonder.

The second church is that of Panagia Acheiropoiêtos (not made with hands) dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was built after the Third Ecumenical Council (431) which dogmatically declared that the Virgin Mary is Theotokos.

The Church of Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom) was erected to honor Christ the true Logos and Wisdom of God. This church also became a mosque during the Ottoman period. The church is a domed basilica, famous for its mosaics. The author describes the details on the depicted figures and discusses the theology of icons. In 1969 while I was visiting there with my family I was accorded the honor to celebrate the Divine Liturgy in this magnificent Church.

The church of Saint George, a circular edifice, was built by the Roman Emperor Galerius ca. 310 AD as a mausoleum. In 410 it was transformed into a Christian Church. The Turks later turned it into a Mosque. Today it is a museum. The artistic merits of the church are "unsurpassed" (p.49).

The church of Holy David sits on a hill known as the Acropolis of Thessaloniki. This church is dedicated to a holy hermit who lived a spiritual life near the city. It was built toward the end of the fifth century. The Ottomans also made this church into mosque, but in 1921 it was rededicated as a Christian Orthodox Church.

The church of the Holy Apostles, built early in the fourteenth century, contains important mosaics and icons. The church has five domes

and is the “richest, finest brick decoration to be seen in the Byzantine churches of Thessaloniki or elsewhere.” (p59)

The church of Saint Nicholas Orphanos is a small edifice that was built in early fourteenth century. The church has numerous, excellent and well-preserved frescoes that were unknown until recently. It was repaired and the iconography restored in the sixties. The church is a remarkable monument because it contains high quality of wall icons that are well preserved.

The book includes an important foreword by Sophia Ahtaridis, a native of Thessaloniki, and an appendix on the churches of Thessaloniki by the well-known iconographer Photios Kontoglou. Reading it is a must for those interested in Orthodox faith and thought and especially for American Orthodox and the general public who wish to understand Orthodoxy more fully.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Constantine Cavarinos, *Cultural and Educational Continuity of Greece: From Antiquity to the Present*, Belmont, Ma: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies (1995) pp. 75.

The present study is an elaboration of a lecture delivered by Professor Saul A. Tovar from Argentina. Professor Tovar's thesis is that the European scholars have the misperception that the first Universities were established in the 12<sup>th</sup> century in medieval Europe. He contents that, “Greek institutions of the University type existed before, during and after the Middle Ages and attained a state of splendor” (p. vi). He points out that University level centers existed in Athens, where Plato founded the Academy and Aristotle the Lyceum. The continuity of this type of educational institutions is seen in the Mouseion of Alexandria, in the University of Constantinople and in the Greek cultural and educational centers of the modern period.

Professor Tovar states as follows: “I am amazed when I read works concerning European education and the establishment of the first universities of the West, and find that they do not mention the name of the University of Constantinople. It seems that the writers of these works do not know that Constantinople is a European city – a city that lies on the continent of Europe – but think it is in Asia. Or else,

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## **Church and Social Integration of Disabled People**

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PROFESSOR LAVRENDIOS G. DELLASSOUDAS

### **ABSTRACT**

Social integration of disabled people (D.P.) is gradually becoming an even broader social welfare; its materialization, however, depends on the contribution and cooperation of the entire educational community. In such an effort the role of the Church becomes evident, more so nowadays when the social policy of the State seems to be developing tendencies of self-restraint. The Orthodox Christian Church of Greece (OCCG) has traditionally promoted the overall work of ministration and charity, primarily towards D.P. Nevertheless, self-sufficient action aiming at their social integration cannot be systematically organized. It is evident that their social integration cannot be the concern of the established church only; each one of us should have a share in the concern, to be expressed through our attitude and efforts. Consequently, the role of religious education in this particular orientation, that is, the formation of appropriate attitude and action, constitutes a major factor and, as such, it has become the subject matter of the research program: "Religious education and social integration of D.P." The first phase of the program includes: (i) recording of the degree, range and qualitative type of relevant action which has been developed so far and (ii) the OCCG proposals; the corresponding results have been published (in Greek, in 1997 by the University of Athens) and have been distributed gratis to the Holy Bishopsrics and elsewhere (if needed one may ask for them at the tel. number 01.7277514 or fax 01. 9319598). The present article includes an account of these particular results.



# 1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND AIM OF THE RESEARCH

## 1.1. *The concept and need for social integration*

Social integration in its established conceptual framework, that of “social insertion,” is the outcome of a series of socialization processes; it includes a wide range of activities such as functional rehabilitation, education, vocational guidance, vocational training, which are rounded off with vocational rehabilitation (initial or vocational re-integration). The procedures, the means and the results of socialization, as far as the content, the process and the result of “inclusion-insertion” and “integration” are concerned also include the issue of employment. According to various approaches, concerning the contribution of employment to human and societal survival and integration, employment offers, among others, the following:

a) Opportunities to cultivate and develop one’s abilities, which contribute to the development and formation of one’s personality.

b) Possibilities of developing substantial relations with the other members of the society, which,

c) entail the existence and functioning of the society and, vice versa, the existence and functioning of the society “enforces” the creation of such relations, which lead to,

d) man’s social integration.<sup>1</sup>

Despite, however, the need for people’s social coexistence, through the possibilities offered by participation in the social setting via work, many people, and more so disabled people (D.P.), for a number of reasons (either subjective or objective) are not offered equal opportunities concerning their preparation and “proportionate” participation in it (according to their abilities, skills, interests and the labor market needs). The absence of certain people from the social setting results either in these people’s failure to acquire a personal identity (free personality) and in their alienation due to their dependence on their occasional environment (family, institutional, charity, allowances etc.), or their marginalization, their degradation and their cutting off or rejection.

It is evident that the prime prerequisite in every case of social integration is the mutual acceptance and acknowledgement of the equivalence of all the members in a group, or in all sub-groups of a major group, that is, their equation concerning their participation both

in the responsibilities and the rights, which form a common basis for the functioning of a certain environment (family, school, work, social).

Consequently, the education and the educational factors ought to prepare all the members, who compose human society, in such a way that the free and responsible personality of each member can: a) "be cultivated" through the free (both in the family and the society) as well as through the systematic education (within comprehensive and vocational education units); b) be activated through the work-vocational-financial integration, in accordance with both one's interests and the existing subjective, or more so, the objective possibilities;<sup>2</sup> c) resume action in both directions, that is, both towards his/her fellow human beings, in cooperation with D.P. and their representatives<sup>3</sup> and through the mutual acceptance of D.P. and non-D.P., as well as towards one's self. Mutual acceptance also leads to removal of the inhibition of the disabled person by a non-D.P., which is expressed as deprivation of certain rights (such as of the right to education, rehabilitation, integration), as well as to the non-consolidation of allowances or other forms of assistance, which may result in some form of dependence.

Under these terms, the contribution of the Orthodox Christian Church (considered as a factor which contributes in the process of integration of D.P.), should, in our view, be manifested through religious education and the practice originating from it, coming from the whole of the faithful and not only from the Church administration. Because integration involves, among other things, the extent and the orientation of social associations,<sup>4</sup> which can be created and developed daily in the context of church life (worship, mystic, in festivities etc.). Fundamental precondition for the achievement of this aim is the acceptance and materialization of integration viewed as promotion of the idea of co-existence and cooperation between D.P. and non D.P, since Church is not simply an ideology; it is mainly and above all life...life offered... through charity, recreation, virtual transubstantiation.<sup>5</sup> The concepts of coexistence, cooperation and love, however, do not elevate the obligation and the right to work, according to both the work-related notion of the Christian doctrine,<sup>6</sup> and the demands of the industrial society, in which the profession constitutes the major factor of social recognition as well as the primary means for self-preservation.<sup>7</sup>

### *1.2. The objectives of the research program*

Nowadays, equal participation of D.P. in the social setting, is progressively increasing, a fact which does not necessarily imply an uneventful and unhindered evolution, and, consequently, the “normal” development of the phenomenon is simply a matter of time. There is still a great number of problems to be settled, which are due, as we have already noted (par. 1.1), to subjective (related to the D.P. themselves) or objective (related to the rest of the population) reasons, and their solution constitutes a major prerequisite for the social integration of D.P.

Included among these problems, which are inhibiting or restricting integration, are both the inadequate activity on the part of the whole of the educational factors (Family, School, Church, Society, State), as well as the absence of cooperation or co-ordination of their action of whatever degree.

It is evident that this particular cooperation should manifest itself in two directions: towards the preparation of D.P. for their participation on equal terms, that is, “proportionate”, but also self-reliant involvement in the social setting on the one hand, and towards the preparation of the other members of the society on the other, so that there can be progress in the effort to “transform” the societal attitude from negative or neutral to consistently positive and effective action. Consequently, religious education in general, and the Church in particular, can be effective as far as this aim is concerned since its mission is known to be dual: a) it provides spiritual, mental and “material” reinforcement in order to encourage self-reliance on the part of the subject, and b) it takes pains to prepare the social force, whose attitude (positive, negative or neutral) influences “pro-quota” the progress of the effort towards social integration.

These are precisely the aims of our research program “Religious education and social integration of D.P.” (RESIDP), whose *first phase* constitutes but a preparatory activity, as part of the whole program and includes: a) acknowledgement and simultaneous critical approach and annotation of the action assumed within the precincts of the Church by the Holy Bishoprics (H.B.) in the Greek State concerning these people’s social integration; b) recording of the relevant proposals that have been put forward, with this aim in mind, by those

involved, in various sectors or levels, in the Christian doctrine and practice; and c) annotation of their own action and proposals along with certain personal suggestions.

These aims are approached by the following partial activities: a) detection of the changes, already apparent in the broader Christian precincts, starting off from the "microclimate" in each of the Holy Bishoprics, which may not be broadly known, given that the Orthodox Church neither advertises, nor boasts of its work; b) identification of the intentions and mode of materialization, so that new or complementary action can be assumed, as well as appropriate preparation of the people who are dealing or are going to deal with D.P; c) location of new employment sectors for D.P. (These activities constitute fundamental preconditions, since the final recommendations concerning the form and the mode of contribution of religious education [second phase], should consider not only the present conditions, but also the outlining perspectives related to the development of relevant action); and d) identification and critical description of the action by the Patriarchates as well as by the rest of the Orthodox Churches.

The *second phase* includes a) detection of the broader experience related to the Christian initiatives in the European Union; b) content analysis of the school books for the subject of Religion; and c) proposals concerning the adjustment of their content, so that, even through this school-subject, the issue of attitude formation on the part of "non disabled people," concerning the self reliance and social integration of D.P., can be approached according to the current views.

It should also be noted that, the general aim of the research program, that is, the social integration of D.P., is in line with the current increasing demand not only for the systematic contribution, but also for the cooperation of all of the factors and educational means (Family, School, Church, Society, State, Habituation, Model and Teaching respectively) in dealing with the complex issue of social integration of D.P.

## 2. RESEARCH SCOPE AND APPROACH

For the materialization of the aim of the *first* research phase data were collected: a) mainly from the Holy Bishoprics (H.B.) within the Greek State, since these represent the official domain of the Church (approximately 30% of the H.B. completed the relevant question-

naire, which constitutes a cross-section sample: see Table 1; b) secondarily, from youth organization-unions (Y.O.) (14% responded out of those who have been asked); and c) also from 41% of those present at the first meeting of the program (May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1994: Church and D.P.<sup>8</sup>). Among them were clergymen, university professors, teachers in special schools and in other educational units, university students, schools advisers etc. (see Table 2).

For the collection of the research data the following means were employed: a questionnaire, which was sent (in June 1995), along with

**Table 1**  
**Number of H.B. and Y.O. questioned and**  
**corresponding number of responses.**

<b>People questioned and respondents</b>	<b>H.B.</b>		<b>Y.U.</b>	
	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
Were questioned	93	100,00	31	100,00
Returned questionnaires:				
• as unclaimed	---	---	3	9,70
• due to abolition	1	1,07	---	---
Were questioned (finally)	92	100,00	28	100,00
Responded	27	29,35	4	14,28
From the respondents:				
• completed the questionnaire	23	85,19	4	100,00
• responded without completing the questionnaire	4	14,81	---	---
Responses used in 98 and 28 cases respectively	23	25,00	4	14,28

a registered informative letter, a delivery note and a reply-paid envelope, to the H.B. and Y.O. After a certain period of time, a reminder letter was sent, in the cases of delayed response, or even a new copy of the initial letter and questionnaire, in cases of acknowledgement of non-receipt, whereas telephone contacts or reminders followed. Also used was a special form which was filled in by the participants in the above mentioned meeting.

The data, which have finally been collected, do not offer a quantitative representation of the main or of the secondary sources of

**Table 2.**

**Distribution according to the capacity of the participants in the May 9<sup>th</sup> 1994 meeting and corresponding numbers of those who completed the distributed special form.**

Item no	Capacity	Participated in the meeting		Completed the form	
		No.	%	No.	%
1.	Clergymen (metropolitans, archimandrites, priests)	6	4,6	2	3,8
2.	University professors (Faculty members)	21	16,1	5	9,4
3.	Teachers	33	25,5	11	20,7
4.	Teachers in special schools or other educational units	9	6,9	4	7,5
5.	University students	19	14,6	11	20,7
6.	School advisers	2	1,5	1	1,9
7.	Social workers	6	4,6	3	5,7
8.	Civil servants	6	4,6	2	3,7
9.	Civil servants in services for Disabled People	4	3,1	3	5,7
10.	Free professionals	2	1,5	---	---
11.	Pensioners	4	3,1	3	5,7
12.	Housekeeping	5	3,9	---	---
13.	Disabled People	3	2,3	1	1,9
14.	Parents of D.P.	3	2,3	3	5,7
15.	Representatives of D.P.	5	3,9	3	5,7
16.	Did not declare any capacity	2	1,5	1	1,9
	Total	130	100	53	100

information, and as such they cannot claim expression of the view of the majority of those who have been questioned. The quantitative dimension of the research data, however, does not raise a question of reliability, as far as the conclusions are concerned, since: (i) we are seeking strong and reliable proposals from those who have dealt in practice, too, with any theoretical conception concerning the social integration of D.P. and (ii) the general work of "spiritual and charitable ministry" offered by the Church is presented, in its entirety, in the "Church of Greece Diptychs."<sup>9</sup> (see Tables 3 & 4)

It should be noted that from the data presented below, those concerning special action assumed by the H.B. for the D.P., refer only to the 23 Bishoprics, which have completed the questionnaire, rather than to the whole of the H.B. at the time of the research.

### 3. RESEARCH RESULTS: PREVALENT CONDITIONS AND PROPOSALS

#### *3.1 Developed action for D.P.*

It is evident from the facts mentioned in the "Church of Greece Diptychs," that "ministry," that is, the services offered on the part of the Church to the people in general, is particularly developed and centers around two axes:

a) the axis of "Spiritual Ministry," which includes solidarity services, schools, summer camp sites, spiritual centers, etc. (see Table 3) and

b) the axis of "Charitable Ministry," which is manifested through extended action by the H.B. and refers mainly to the activities of the funds for the relief of the poor or the centers of parochial action. This particular action is manifested, mainly, in the frame of broader services offered to the whole of the population (accommodation, nursing, rehabilitation etc.), but, also, in the form of integral services (see Table 4).

**Table 3**  
**Kinds of rendered "Spiritual Ministry"**  
**(educational and social applications)**

Item no	Units or kinds of "Spiritual Ministry"
1.	Support, rehabilitation, prisoner /discharged /drug-addict/ alcoholic re-integration services (personal or/and extended to include their families)
2.	Services for those about to be married
3.	Parent Schools, Family support centers ( families having many children or special social e.t.c. problems)
4.	Religious Services or pastoral care services or solidarity services intended for working people, repatriating people, prisoners, discharged, drafted, hospitalized, patients, older people, holiday-makers, tourists e.t.c.
5.	Second Mass or other holy service for young people and other categories of people.
6.	Consultative stations for the solution of young people's problems.
7.	Speeches, sermon, lectures, congresses and other relevant demonstrations.
8.	Missionary action
9.	Schools and workshops for music (byzantine, mainly), hagiography, traditional dances, computer science, cutting-sewing, knitting-weaving, popular art, icon-code-work-of-art restoration, handicraft, pottery, carpet-making, house-keeping, agricultural works
10.	Schools for ecclesiastic work executives
11.	Tutorial classes for poor pupils

(To be continued in the next page)



(Table continued from the previous page)

<b>Item no</b>	<b>Units or kinds of "Spiritual Ministry"</b>
12.	Pupil and university student attendance services
13.	Lending libraries
14.	Spiritual-cultural-educational-display centers, haunts
15.	Stage organization and functioning
16.	Employment agencies
17.	Summer-time camping sites
18.	Day nurseries (infantile, baby)
19.	Information in printed or electronic form; production and free or charged disposal of goods
20.	Special educational units, special education, protection, rehabilitation centers-unions for special categories of D.P. (e.g. mentally handicapped, deaf-mute people)

Specialized action aiming at the social integration or re-integration of D.P. has not yet reached a satisfactory level of development. There has not been much progress concerning activities aiming at independent living through one's independent moving inside and outside one's home as well as through one's financial independence, which is, mainly, achieved through vocational rehabilitation. As a consequence, the action of whatever degree or range of development that has been assumed by the H.B. aiming at the social integration of D.P. is mainly realized within the framework of broader social action.

According to the data which have been collected through the responses of the H.B. to the questionnaire, the already developed special action for the D.P. includes, mainly, Medicare (65%), financial relief (61%) and psychological support (48%), home nursing (13%) and institutional care (4%). Activities related to employment are limited (17% of the H.B.), whereas activities related to educational support are worth mentioning (48% of the H.B.). These activities, however,

**Table 4**  
**Kinds of offered "Charity ministry"**

<b>Item no</b>	<b>Units or kinds of " Charity ministry "</b>
1.	Orphanages
2.	Old people's homes, guest-houses, shelters for the elderly
3.	Institutions, homes, youth shelters, boarding houses (for orphans, poor university students e.t.c.)
4.	Houses for the destituted
5.	Associations, charity and benefaction institutions
6.	Charity meals-messes
7.	Units offering accommodation to children from other orthodox countries
8.	Scholarships or financial relief offered to poor pupils, university students, families having many children
9.	Rehabilitation institutions- dowry provision to poor or orphan girls
10.	Homes for unmarried mothers
11.	Clinics for chronic diseases
12.	Homes for incurables
13.	Hospitals, clinics in medical attendance units, surgeries, health centres, first-aid stations, medicare services, sanitariums, psychiatric units, psychical hygiene centers, blood donation centers, organ donation centers, home nursing.
<b>Notes:</b> See notes at the end of table 3.	

Source: "*Diptycha tis Ekklesias tis Ellados*" [in Greek] [*Church of Greece Diptychs*], (1997): Apostoliki Diakonia tis Ekklesias tis Ellados, sel. 301-912.

cannot be considered adequate since, in any case, they constitute basic prerequisites for the social integration of all people in general and not additional activities designed for the D.P. in particular. It is noted that in the context of the broader work of the Church for the D.P., there are special units (institutions, boarding houses, centers etc.) operating in the H.B., through which various services (Medicare, accommodation, rehabilitation, reintegration, training, support, solidarity) are provided for these people.

*3.2 D.P. Categories covered by the action of the H.B.: Criteria for the support offered and number of people covered by the special action developed for the D.P.*

It is evident from the data at our disposal that "old age" is supported by the majority of the H.B. (74%), people with motor impairments and mental retardation are covered by the same, per category, percentage (48%) and people with sensory impairments (visual, acoustic) by a much lower percentage per category (9%). Finally, various other categories of special groups (Greeks from N. Epirus and the former USSR) are covered by a 30% of the H.B., whereas drug-addicts are supported by a very small percentage of the H.B. (4%). When evaluating the quality of the intervention, we notice an escalation in the interest of the Church, concerning the development of action; it starts off from those who are unable to lead an entirely independent life (elderly people, mentally retardate, people with motor impairments) and extends gradually, to cover the rest of the categories which face, comparatively, fewer problems, as far as autonomy is concerned.

Determinant criteria for the support provided are primarily the financial status of the disabled person or his/her family (57%), as well as the type of the disability (39%), whereas, in many cases (48%), there is a co-evaluation of both factors; various other criteria such as desertion on the part of the family, descent-origin (people of Greek descent, foreigners), exit from the institution as well as the possibility of training (people able to receive training) are also reported. In our view, the criterion for the distribution of support to poor and suffering people is formed on the basis of the parameters which determine the degree of autonomy and self-reliance of the person to whom the activity is addressed. That is, the basic criterion -which, in

our view, is the degree of the person's autonomy- has indicated that "old age" constitutes top priority; a considerable part of it is gradually incorporated into the category of D.P. So, priority is given to three groups, which have a typical problem in common, that is, inability for self-reliance of any kind (movement, meditation, decision-making, etc.) or degree.

Concerning the number of people covered by the action developed for them, in 43% of the H.B., it does not exceed the 100 people per H.B., whereas in 9% of the H.B., this number rises to 100-150 people. As for the rest of the H.B., 26% of them cover 150-250 people per H.B. and just 4% covers 400 people. In our view, the existence of special activities for, approximately, an average of 100 people per each one of the 23 H.B. is not an indication of adequate development of related action. Therefore, it is evident that what is needed is "to become aware" of the already existing initiatives and proposals, which could function as a source of inspiration or motivation which could broaden the circle of people who are to receive the already developed or proposed new form of action.

### *3.3. Sources of financial, educational and psychological-spiritual support provided, as well as motives of action for the D.P.*

The major source of the financial support provided, is the Fund for the Relief of the Poor (approximately 80%). As far as the people receiving the support are concerned, in more than half of the cases (52%) they are D.P., whereas in 30% of the cases support is offered not only to the D.P. themselves, but to their family as well; in much fewer cases support concerns only the families of the D.P. (13%). This means that in the majority of the cases it covers, in the first place, the person that is deprived of financial autonomy (82%) and, in the second place, that person's family (43%). In our view, this priority contributes to the social integration of the disabled person, provided that it does not ignore the perspective of gradual financial independence.

As for the educational support, which is provided by 87% of the H.B., it is primarily offered in institutions (88%), associations (50%) and spiritual centers (31%), that is, in organizations "related" to the Church and secondarily, through activities of our own initiative in units with purely educational (comprehensive education or vocational

training) or more specific aims, such as de-institutionalization. The fact that this task is accomplished by non-specialist organizations does not constitute a "particularity" which is exclusively typical of the Church; it is, though, an indication of the policy which is in effect outside the domain of the Church, where institutions, associations and unions<sup>10</sup> are responsible for the vocational education and training of the D.P.

It is generally accepted that the disabled person needs psychological and spiritual support in the effort to overcome all kinds of obstacles, which hinder his/her evolutionary process or attempt at socialization. For this reason, the Church has developed cooperation with specialized persons and organizations (specialists, institutions of medical attendance and advisory centers). The cooperating persons and organizations are: i) clergymen, laity, specialists (22%), ii) the previously mentioned people and institutions of medical attendance (17%), iii) clergymen and laity (13%) and iv) clergymen, laity and medical attendance institutions (9%).

In all but two cases, cooperation between clergymen and laity, and even, very often, between special scientists and medical attendance institutions or other units, is evidence of acknowledgement or acceptance of the need for contribution and cooperation from all sides. Equally significant is the fact that clergymen participate in almost all schemes; this is evidence that the Church has not "handed over" this particular task to others, but accomplishes it itself, in cooperation with ordinary laity or specialists and organizations.

Finally, it is worth noting that the prevalent form of spiritual and psychological support provided is a combination of voluntary and paid work (43%).

In any case, the value of voluntary giving<sup>11</sup> is evident nowadays so that the policy of the state is considered "less social"<sup>12</sup> and there is a variety of social needs, provided that this particular offer is not an expression of mere compassion, formality, display, etc., but of sympathy<sup>13</sup> and sincere love.<sup>14</sup> In fact, it is clear from the answers of the H.B. -as it was expected- that the main motives of action for the D.P. in the evangelical context are love for fellow human beings (70%), and charity (52%). These are followed by man's duty to fellow man (35%), sympathy (17%), personal need (13%) and, eventually, the demands of the D.P., which are posed by their organizations (9%).

### *3.4. Activities aiming at the vocational rehabilitation of the D.P.*

According to the data of our research study, certain H.B. have developed action for the D.P. through such activities as vocational preparation and rehabilitation, which include: placement in work-posts within or outside the competence of the Church (26%), school-and-vocational-guidance counseling (17%), tuition-fees payment (9%), pre-vocational education or vocational training (9%), search for a job, or moral support for the search for a job (9%), sheltered employment (4%) and housing in the form of accommodation in institutions (4%).

It is thus evident that more than half of the H.B. -which have developed general action for the D.P.- offer a network of vocational preparation and rehabilitation activities. Consequently, systematization and expansion of this particular activity, in a period when unemployment rates, concerning the general population of the E.U. countries, appear particularly high (during the research, the relative rates ranged from 3,3 % to 22,3%, with an average rate, on a E.U. level, approximately 11% of the work- force),<sup>15</sup> will definitely have a positive impact on the hard-hit special groups, since poverty and disability have always been closely connected,<sup>16</sup> thus forming various types of dependencies.<sup>17</sup>

As far as the employment and the vocational specialties (labor posts) within the domain of action of the Church are concerned, it is gathered that the D.P. are employed by a 30% of those H.B. which have responded to the questionnaire, as follows: sacristans (22%), gardeners (22%), hagiographers (13%), cantors (4%), Sunday-school teachers (4%) and assistant-cooks in institutions (4%). In domains outside the competence of the Church, people appointed to work-posts by the agency of the Church work as: office clerks (13%), civil servants and private clerks (9%), manual workers (13%) and assistant-cooks in institutions (4%).

This concise picture of the work-posts occupied by the D.P., within or outside the domain of the Church, offers evidence of a satisfactory dispersion in almost all sectors of employment, always, though, in the form of dependent work. What seems to be totally missing -even in general- is the form of support for self-employment. It is worth noting that subsidy programs concerning employment offered by the Organization for the Employment of Work-force (OEFF), have made

-among others- provision for self-employment. There are also favorable provisions concerning compulsory employment of the D.P. in work-posts up to a certain quota of posts, which are offered each time.

### *3.5. Recreation of the D.P.*

Some of the most important factors which help to secure the possibility of recreation for every single person, are: free time, personal views and demands related to recreation, as well as the capabilities for the organization and good use of free-time, one's cultural standard, and, finally, the objective possibilities or the prevailing general conditions.

Recreation constitutes an indispensable need, especially for young D.P. since music, role-playing and "dramatization in Education," in general, plastic arts, trips, athletic games, etc. serve therapeutic purposes as well.<sup>18</sup> In the domain of the Church, in particular, additional opportunities are offered for the development of such activities, through Byzantine music<sup>19</sup> and other relevant activities.

Recreation, thus, appears to be a group activity with various manifestations in 65% of the H.B. The dominant form is that of trips (61%), mainly of pilgrimage type, and then summer camps and cultural activities (30%), as well as watching or organizing theatrical performances (26%), celebrations or festivities (9%) common or occasional recreation outside religious areas (9%), whereas, athletics constitutes a recent form of recreation in this particular area. There are, also, lectures offered for foreigners; as for older people, recreation includes visits by children attending Sunday schools to institutions, which accommodate these people.

In conclusion, we could say that there is a considerable variety of recreation forms; however, this does not mean that similar activities should not be looked into and that the already existing ones should not receive adequate publicity. We hold that participation in summer camps greatly contributes to the efforts towards mutual acceptance and co-existence.

### *3.6. Proposals for new forms of action*

As it has already been mentioned (par. 1.2.), the primary aim of this research phase is the search for proposals and views among all

those who speak for the Church nowadays or are inspired and work in the Christian climate. Easily discernible in the proposals put forward by the Church is a "modernization tendency," when dealing with current needs and demands. Table 5 shows that almost every single H.B. has put forward a proposal concerning new forms of activities aiming at the social integration of D.P. Even nowadays, all these proposals, though familiar in the context of social welfare and private initiative, constitute, at least some of them, innovative activities in the context of the Christian Orthodox Church.

The proposals put forward by two of the Youth Organizations (Y.O.) are related to two basic prerequisites for the social integration, that is, to vocational and spiritual support, on the one hand, and on the other, to the functioning of the *agapetic* community of the faithful, of the community of God, which is effected through the sensitization and activation on the part of the Church staff.

Finally, the proposals on the part of those who participated in the meeting of May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1994 (see Table 2) can form two distinct categories: a) activities included in the ones which have been put forward by the other sources of information or are already in practice (information-sensitization demonstrations, modern technology exploitation, cooperation with foreign countries, functioning of special schools-support centers, provision for orphans, parent-counseling, census of D.P.); b) activities constituting new or original propositions: special synodal committee formation, in-service teacher-training aiming at preparing special executives, projection of talents among the disabled people, enactment of valid legislation, introduction of a relevant subject at the Faculty of Theology.

The key to effective activation of the Church towards the social integration of D.P., is considered to be the search for suitable people and their consequent appropriate specialization. People fit for the task under consideration are to be searched -according to the proposition of the H.B.- among university graduates (in general or of certain relevant specialties), nurse-men/women, special professionals, women and people with such qualities as: morals, faith, love, volunteerism, as well as a capacity for co-operation with the Church. Also recommended is the training of all those already working in the domain of the Church. Those who participated in the 9<sup>th</sup> May 1994 one-day meeting: a) maintain that the executives should be both distinguished for their knowledge concerning the Christian doctrine and voice the



**Table 5.**

**Propositions by the H.B. concerning new forms of action to be assumed by the Church for the social integration of D.P.**

Item no	New forms of action	H.B. (N = 23)	
		No	%
1.	Special clergymen and specially trained people committee-formation	1	4,34
2.	General activation	1	4,34
3.	Information	1	4,34
4.	Special institutions-schools or educational support centres (D.P. normally staying in the family environment)	3	13,04
5.	Modern services-provision organization	1	4,34
6.	The Church is the regulator-coordinator of all social integration activities	1	4,34
7.	Implementation of "open medical attendance" forms	1	4,34
8.	De-institutionalization initiatives	1	4,34
9.	Sensitization of the Church crew	1	4,34
10.	Organization of a european specifications centre	1	4,34
11.	Creation of an organization for the employment in the private and public sector	2	8,7
12.	Coordination with state and social organizations	2	8,7
13.	No answer	10	43,47

Christian spirit; b) hold that the Holy Monasteries themselves can resume such a role (for the social integration of D.P.); c) suggest that the education should extend to include the parents of the D.P. as well; and d) insist that the education is achieved through direct contact with the D.P. and dealing with their problems.

The H.B. point out that the main sectors of action to be assumed by the executives concerning the social integration of D.P. are: a)

mental support -moral, psychological and religious- (40%); b) education and vocational training (22%); c) medical and “therapeutic” intervention (13%); d) financial and social support (9%); and e) recreation (4%).

The basic proposal on the part of the Y.O. focuses, mainly, on psychological support and moral solidarity as well as on counseling and school and vocational guidance, that is, the main emphasis is on the psycho-mental sector.

### *3.8. Technical Equipment*

The existence of facilities is considered an indispensable prerequisite for the implementation of any form of support for the D.P. It is self-evident that the types of technical facilities should vary according to the nature of the support (educational, vocational, financial etc.) as well as the type of the special need. The basic needs as far as facilities are concerned, as they are defined through the answers of the H.B., are mainly: a) special building constructions (35%) and professional/technical workshops (9%) and b) the existence of appropriate equipment (26%). According to the proposals of the Y.O., apart from the need for the creation of suitable premises, individualized support should be facilitated, within a confined region, as the additional (special) support cannot be possibly provided in places shared by all people (D.P. or non D.P.). In this way, however, there is great risk of isolation and non-promotion of mutual acceptance. For this particular reason, we favor the notion of dealing with the issue as the occasion arises each time. That means that, whenever the additional-”proportionate” intervention (see note 8) requires group-work, the group dynamics will be employed. In the same way, individualized intervention will be practiced whenever this approach is required, and whenever the group-dynamics function in the frame of the broader pursued aim, to include all different cases, then the process to be implemented should be the one that is employed for the general population.<sup>20</sup>

### *3.9. Religious needs, religious education of the D.P.*

The issue of objective obstacles, hindering religious needs satisfaction, and their removal has been approached separately for each one of the three major categories of D.P. (sensory, motor disabilities

and mental retardation). This particular issue is brought into notice since certain arrangements aiming at facilitating satisfaction of religious needs have been made in order to include the whole of the faithful. As an example, we mention the two successive Liturgies on Sunday. Within this framework, it is self-evident that the issue related with the general facilitation of the D.P. in order to be able to exercise their religious duties, is a major one, and has been repeatedly raised publicly by various sides.<sup>21</sup>

Concerning the facilitation of people with motor and mental disabilities, the following means are proposed: construction of ramps (48%), special seats, lifts, handrails, provision for wheelchairs and home-visits (same rate in all cases 4%).

As for people with sensory disabilities, additional activities are proposed during the Divine Liturgy, such as "simultaneous translation" (for deaf people), special Liturgy programs, use of companions or special instructors as well as use of audiovisual means, whereas for people with mental disorders, introduction of innovative elements where involvement of other people or "means" (of technology) is recommended.

With regard to the mentally retarded in particular, three different trends can be detected: the first one focuses on the need for a preparatory stage, as is the case in other sectors, outside religious life (e.g. the area of vocational training). The second one aims at two directions and includes both the contribution of specialized clergymen and executives, as well as special celebrations of worship. The third trend focuses on the idea of dealing with the problem on an individual basis, even with the aid of companions. It is evident, however, that the whole issue cannot be attended through the use of generally applied practices; for this particular reason, its further investigation by specialists has been recommended. Undoubtedly, there is a major difficulty in dealing with this special issue in the case of the D.P.; for this reason, prayers, a suggested solution, indicate the extent of difficulty in dealing with general issues related to mentally retarded people. There is even the view (4%) that no facilitation, whatsoever, is needed, since communication with God is effected on a spiritual basis.

There are certain considerations to be made as far as the introduction of innovative elements is concerned, particularly in the case of people with sensory disabilities; they are related to their application and effects. People with auditory disabilities are incapable of attend-

ing, acoustically, the Divine Liturgy or the rest of the services. There is, however, the possibility of making up for this, up to a certain degree, by using the holy books, provided, of course, that they are capable of reading whatever they attend at any given moment. Consequently, the problem is acute in the case of people with acoustic disorders, who are incapable of reading. Nevertheless, the problem still exists, even for those who are capable of reading: it is a matter of synchronization of those portions recited or chanted with their corresponding written form. This is particularly difficult, if not impossible, for the majority of the congregation, even those with no acoustic problem.

It is exactly these two shortcomings, reading and synchronization, that, in our view, could be overcome through the introduction of technology. A possible solution could be the installation of large or small screens at various points which in the church and other places (e.g. the place used for the delivery of the sermon), where the written form of whatever the faithful listen to is projected. This could be achieved, in the first place, by the intervention of a person through the central electronic unit. It is evident that the Orthodox Church, by adopting such an innovative approach, does not distort the mentality, the character, the structure or the tradition of worship. The Orthodox Church could even pioneer by taking up a research project, to be followed by a study and practical implementation of a model of automatic translation, through which the oral form of speech would be converted into a written form or into pictures similar to those used in sign language, whenever such a practice is advisable. It is worth noting that such a model could be automatically transferred to the domains of education, mass media, recreation and demonstrations of any kind.

As far as the issue of any relative facilitation is concerned, due to the spiritual character of the communication with the divine, we argue that it does not distract the spiritual character of the communication, since sensory perception, either as a symbol or as an image or even as any other inferential element, constitutes, for the whole of the faithful, a "medium" of transition from the visible to the invisible, from the material to the immaterial, from the earthly to the spiritual sphere. So, deprivation of the sensory perception of those taking place in the context of religious life would be considered as a negative distinction, even though they are approached through the use of "substitute" visual signs. Furthermore, the effort to communi-

cate with the divine should be assumed through the occasional "shared consciousness,"<sup>22</sup> of whatever degree, of this union, always looking forward to God's grace.<sup>23</sup>

In the proposals of the Y.O. we notice coincidence of views, which, in the case of people with motor disorders, focuses on facilitation of transport only, and not on that of access or approach to the places of worship. As for people with mental retardation, the Y.O. argue in favor of the introduction of any possible innovation. In all cases, the continuous personal contribution of the clergymen is considered essential.

Based on all that has been mentioned before, concerning all categories of D.P., a general speculation may help related to the possibility of conscious participation of all Christians in worship. Should we choose to ignore the fact that the understanding of all that is heard during the Divine Liturgy, is a general problem<sup>24</sup> not related with the mentally retarded only?

Besides, we consider that any personal option on the part of the disabled person, as far as the type of conscious participation in religious life is concerned, depends, on three major factors: a) previous related education; b) subsequent formation of personal notions; and c) the training of "people without disabilities" which will serve to increase their awareness and sensitization with regard to their attitude and disposition towards the issue of facilitation of the D.P. as far as the performance of their religious duties is concerned.

In conclusion, it can be claimed that all proposals but one, concur with the notion of providing facilitation to all D.P.; they even go as far as proposing the introduction of innovative elements in case the means already in use are not considered efficient for such activities.

### *3.10. The contribution of religious education to the change in the social attitude towards the problems of the D.P.*

Nowadays, religious education is provided in the following two ways: a) in the frame of the school subject "Religion," through the corresponding textbook; and b) through the religious training from the pulpit or "as occasion arises." It follows from related views on the part of both the H.B. and the Y.O. that neither the content of the textbook (see table 6) nor that of the holy sermon (see table 7), in any form or with any objective whatsoever, seem to be providing effi-

cient indications as to the way a change in social attitude and action can be effected in order to help in overcoming the present problems of the D.P., consistent with modern theories as far as their social integration is concerned.

In particular, with regard to differences traced among related rates, referring both to the textbook for the subject of Religion and the holy sermon, we notice that: in the case of the holy sermon, the difference between negative (35%) and positive responses (22%), which is here 13 percentage units, rises to 19, if expressed as the difference of the 16 actual responses (50% negative and 31% positive). These differences however remain lower when compared to the ones, which correspond to the textbook, and they reach 30 percentage units (39% negative responses minus 9% positive) and 50 (64% negative minus 14% positive) respectively. This correlation is represented in Table 8. The negative response is prevailing in this case, too, thus leading to the conclusion that our initial research hypothesis needs further investigation.

From the corresponding answers of the Y.O., it becomes evident that none of the two (textbook and holy sermon) can, in their present form, meet the modern demands concerning the mode of dealing with the problems of D.P. Typical are such answers as : 'slightly,' 'very little,' 'not much,' 'no.' Consequently, this fact confirms the need to look for new answers to the pressing questions posed to the religious education factors (Church, school, religious unions), concerning the approach to be employed for the accomplishment of all those included in the term social integration.

### *3.11. Information*

Given the fact that efficient and broad information concerning the specialized services provision by the Church, for the people with disabilities constitutes a fundamental factor for their development, we insist that it should be granted not only on an individualized basis, but also at various places or spaces as need arises.

It follows from the corresponding answers, that relatively few H.B. have issued a special list of their institutions, a fact which is mainly due to lack of adequate financial resources (43%). The main means employed in the service of information are: information leaflets issued by each one of the institutions and, in certain cases, radio stations,

**Table 6**

**Adequacy of the content of the schoolbook for the subject of Religion in relation with the present attitude towards the problems of the D.P.**

Item No	Adequacy of school-books	H.B.			
		Which completed the questionnaire (N = 23)		Which responded to this particular question (N = 14)	
		No	%	No.	%
1.	YES	2	8,70	2	14,29
2.	NO	9	39,13	9	64,28
3.	No definite answer (depending on the case)	1	4,35	1	7,14
4.	Don't Know	2	8,70	2	14,29
5.	No answer	9	39,13	-	---
	Total	23	100	14	100

**Table 7**

**Adequacy of religious education from the pulpit or "as occasion arises", in relation with the present problems of D.P.**

Item no	Adequacy of religious education from the pulpit or "as occasion arises"	H.B.			
		Which completed the questionnaire (N = 23)		Which responded to this particular question (N = 16)	
		No.	%	No.	%
1.	YES	5	21,74	5	31,25
2.	NO	8	34,78	8	50,00
3.	No definite answer (depending on the case)	2	8,70	2	12,50
4.	Don't know	1	4,35	1	6,25
5.	No answer	7	30,44	-	
	Total	23	100,00	16	100,00

**Table 8**

**Comparison of the numerical disparities between positive and negative answers with regard to the extend that the content of the school-book and the holy sermon deal with the present problems of D.P.**

Answers	Concerning the schoolbook		Concerning the holy sermon	
	No.	%	No.	%
From those who completed the questionnaire	23	100	23	100
Expressed a negative view	9	39	8	35
Expressed a positive view	2	9	5	22
<b>Difference</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>13</b>
From those who answered the question	14	100	16	100
Expressed a negative view	9	64	8	50
Expressed a positive view	2	14	5	31
<b>Difference</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>19</b>

various religious services in hospitals etc. We consider the expansion of relevant action possible, always taking into consideration the fact that any increase or expansion of information presupposes the capability to meet the requirements in the case of increased "demand" (on the spot).

### *3.12. General comments and remarks*

General comments and remarks were gathered through a final question. Relevant H.B. and Y.O. views focus, mainly, on the following axes: a) the need for an inter-disciplinary approach and Church-State co-operation in dealing with the multi-factor problem of social integration of D.P. as far as both prevention and rehabilitation are



concerned; b) the need for specialization on the part of those already involved or about to be involved in this particular issue; c) the theological oration, with the sermon for love, which should mark any action in favor of any person, always standing out; d) the need for financial support towards the D.P.; and e) the fact that there is definitely no problem as far as liturgical attendance is concerned, as the "experience intake" is a matter of the "heart."

#### 4. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Having completed this present phase of our research as well as the description and annotation of the research data, which can be considered adequate as they come from the H.B. with relevant developed action (of whatever form or extent) and consequent experience, we hold that: the next step should be the acknowledgement, on the part of the Church and its staff, of the need to move from the stage of multi-faceted support to that of contribution to the effort of the disabled people to achieve self-reliant development in the social setting, always in line with individual abilities and skills, provided that there are no obstacles hindering their effort at carrying out their expectations. Apart from the material and spiritual support, disabled people should be given adequate chances to practice putting theoretical knowledge into practical implementation, as is the case with the rest of the members of society, since cognitive development includes empirical intellectual development, that is, man's ability to manipulate his knowledge and skills.<sup>25</sup>

Taking into account the expressed views and propositions, we regard that the following constitute feasible forms of action to be undertaken by the Church: (i) educational support (by volunteer university students, teachers, etc., either in the form of reinforcing tutorial teaching or as pre-vocational or even vocational training in Church-related sectors and vocations); (ii) counseling and vocational guidance and job placement; (iii) psycho-spiritual support and encouragement; (iv) recreation; (v) facilitation of participation in religious life; (vi) all activities aiming at limiting the rate of the dependent living conditions for the D.P., which require the existence of certain prerequisites, such as:

a) Expansion of the action developed by the Church, as far as activities of "spiritual" and "charitable" ministry are concerned, as

well as activities aiming at facilitating school or vocational integration for D.P. Furthermore, such activities should also provide for both an increase in the number of people covered and an extension of the criteria which are related to the type of support, always considering the interests and abilities of the D.P. The most significant aim is the perspective of individual self-reliance.

b) Cooperation between clergy and laity as well as creation of inter-disciplinary groups, which will look for solutions to various types of problems related to the D.P. They will function combining voluntary and paid work, always based on religious faith and love.

c) Preparation of the required manpower, suitable places and use of technical equipment.

d) Search for new sources or modes of raising the required funds either through the E.U. organs and programs, or through radio-television programs and publications on the part of the Church-related Mass Media.

e) Search for work-posts within the domain of the Church, such as office-work or professions related to ecclesiastic kinds of production (candles, holy and other utensils and holy vestments).

f) Appropriate preparation not only of the D.P. themselves, but of the broader society through religious education. [Note: At the present phase, religious education is related only to the unhindered practice of their religious duties.] It should be noted that efforts aiming at either individualized or group facilitation –through the use of innovative means–, do not refute the spiritual union with the divine through “the Descent of the Holy Spirit.”

g) Finally, there were a great variety of question-like propositions that were posed in an unequivocal manner during the meeting of May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1994, the most typical being the following:

- Will religious education, regarded as an aid, which helps the disabled person live in the context of the Church, assist his integration?

- What is the role of the Church in supporting the family surroundings of the D.P.?

- Is not the formation of an organization-service urgent, which will offer full support for the attempts of the D.P. at social integration?

- Is employment provision feasible via the Church?

- Why doesn't the Church organize special Sunday Schools, or even creative occupation groups for these people?

- On what conditions can social integration, lacking in substructure, be effected at an early age?

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See the Council Resolution of 20<sup>th</sup> December 1996 concerning the equality of opportunities for people with disabilities, O. J. C 12/13.1.1997: Guidelines, paragraph 3b, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See Dellassoudas, L. *Idikê epangelmatikê katartisê* [=Special vocational training], Parousia, Athens 1992., Pp. 30-31.

<sup>3</sup> See Dellassoudas, L. *Koinotikê koinônîkê politikê kai idikê epangelmatikê katartisê* [=Community social policy and special vocational training], Ekdosis Panepistimiou Athênôn: *Bibliothêkê Saripolou*, Athens 1991, sel. 137-138.

<sup>4</sup> See Dobbins, ?. & De la Mare, T.J. "The assessment of academic progress of students with special needs who attend regular education: a challenging problem," in Tafa E., *Synepdeusê paidiôn me kai hôris problêmata mathêsês kai symperiphoras*, [=Co-education of children with and without learning and behavioral disabilities], Editions *Ellênika Grammata*, Athens 1997, pp. 168-169.

<sup>5</sup> See Roussos, P. "Psychokoinônika problêmata kai synchronê neoi: Ê ekklesiastikê empeiria," [=Psycho-social problems and youth: The ecclesiastic experience], in *Praktika tou 2ou Panellêniou Synedriou tês Etaireias Pedagogikôn Epistêmôn Kômotinês: "Psycho-koinonika Problêmata"* [Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Panhellenic Conference of the Association of Professional Pedagogues of Komotini: "Psycho-social Problems"], Grafistas, Komotini 1997, pp. 38-39 & 41.

<sup>6</sup> See a) "...if any would not work, neither should he eat," 2 Thes. 3. 10, "...and to work with your own hands as we commanded you. That ye may walk honestly towards them that are without and that ye may have lack of nothing." 1 Thes. 4. 11-12; b) Bratsiotis, P. *Christianismos kai ergasia* [=Christianity and work], reprint from *Ekklesiâ*: Athens, 1959; and c) Savramis, D. *Ê peri ergasias didaskalia tou Apostolou Paulou* [=St. Paul's doctrine concerning work], Athens, 1962.

<sup>7</sup> See Sinopoulos, P. *Ergasia me scheseis allêlengyês oikogeneiakou typou. Ê oikogeneia ôs monada ergasias tou laou tês Palaia Diathêkês* [=Work with family-type relations. Family as a labor unit of the Old Testament people], National Center of Social Researches, Athens 1997, pp. 72 & 76.

<sup>8</sup> The minutes of the one-day meeting have been issued under the title *Ekklesiâ kai atoma me idikes ananges* [=Church and disabled people], Apostolikê Diakonia tês Ekklesiâs tês Ellados, Athens, 1999.

<sup>9</sup> *Diptyha tês Ekklesiâs tês Ellados* [=Diptychs of the Church of Greece], Apostolikê Diakonia tês Ekklesiâs tês Ellados, 1997.

<sup>10</sup> See: a) L Dellassoudas, *Idikê epangelmatikê katartisê* [=Special vocational training], pp. 31-32, 56-60, 150-152. b) Especially, in whatever relates to the role of the Church, see Spetsiotis G., "Ê symvolê tês Ekklesiâs stên antimetopisê tou problêmatos tês epangelmatikês katartisês kai tês koinônikês ensômâtosis tôn atomôn me idikes ananges" [= "The contribution of the Church in dealing with the issue of vocational training and social inclusion of people with special needs"], *Gregorios Palamas*, 76: 747 (1993), pp. 184, 190 & 194.

<sup>11</sup> The extent of the voluntary work of the Christian Church is broadly known. Nevertheless, there is always need for systematic preparation, not only on the part of the volunteers, but also on the part of any other person ready to offer service to other fellow human beings and particularly to the D.P. On social work with religious motives also see: F. Furger, "Le monde des valeurs- Les sens de l'action -Les fondements religieux," in M. Fehlmann et al: *Manuel de l'action sociale en Suisse*. Lausanne 1989: Réalités sociales, pp. 44-45.

<sup>12</sup> "The functioning of the statal social policy is indisputably related, to a great extent, with developments in the structure of complementary social protection techniques... It is argued that such an expansion is considered necessary, since there seems to be a shrinkage as far as the social protection provided by the statal social policy systems is concerned, which may result in a shift of responsibilities on to these traditional techniques" (family, charity, property, private insurance, money-saving, civic liability, mutual help). See Amitsis, G. "To thesmiko plaisio tês koinônîkês politikês se shesê me ligotero eunoêmenes omades- Ê kalypsê tôn êlikîômenôn kai tôn atomôn me idikes ananges," [= "The institutional context of social policy in relation to less favored groups - Cover for the elderly and disabled people"], in Chtouris, S. (Ed.), *Thesmoi kai rythmîseis tês koinônîkês politikês. Anergoi-Êlikîômenoi-Atoma me idikes ananges. Astikê megethynsê kai kratos Pronoias* [=Social policy institutions and regulations. Unemployed - Elderly - People with special needs. Civil magnification and Welfare state]. Editions "Praxis," Athens 1993, pp. 148-149. Provision is made in: a) Council resolution 93/136/EC, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1993 concerning the enactment of the third community program of action for the people with special needs (HELIOS II 1993-96), O.J. L. 56/30/9.3.93, article 3 case (c), article 4 case (a), 2<sup>nd</sup> section, appendix 1.1.

<sup>13</sup> Sympathy with the meaning of the Greek word "sympathia," that is, to share with someone who is suffering, to understand and participate in somebody's psychological suffering.

<sup>14</sup> "a new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another" (St. John ch.13. 34). "...And the second [commandment] is like unto it, Thou shall love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." (Matth. 22. 39-40).

<sup>15</sup> See related Eurostat data concerning the end of 1996. Greece is just below the average of the E.U. (11%), since it reaches 10% (ephêmerida "TO BÊMA," 16 Martiou 1997, p. ?43).

<sup>16</sup> See: a) *Gnômê tês Oikonomikês kai Koinônîkês Epitropês tôn E.K. Problêmata tôn anapêrôn* [=View of the Economic and Social Committee of the E.C. "Problems of the handicapped], Brussels, September 198; b) Kogidou, D., Pantazis P., "Mia bibliographikê prosengisê tês ftôheias tôn atomôn me idikes ananges" [=A biographical approach of disabled people's poverty]. Kaila et. Al. (Eds.), *People with special needs*, tom. II, Editions *Ellênika Grammata*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Athens 1995, pp. 883-890.

<sup>17</sup> See Sussman, M. "Anapêroi kai aporoi se katastasê eksartêsês: ennoiologikes omoiotêtes kai ananges gia ereuna" [=Handicapped and poor in a state of dependency: conceptual similarities and need for research], *Eklogê*, 54 (1981), 6-13,[translated and ed. by Zarnari, O].

<sup>18</sup> See: a) The Resolution of the Council of 25<sup>th</sup> February 1993 concerning the enactment of the third community program of action for people with disabilities (HELIOS II, 1993-96), where it is noted, with regard to athletic and cultural activities and recreation,

that relevant action should aim at; i) sensitization concerning the alternatives and free choice for participation in sports, recreational and cultural activities; ii) abolition of barriers on the architectural level, concerning sports centers, recreational and cultural activities; iii) promotion, to the greatest possible extent, of integration of the D.P. in local or regional sports as well as in recreational and cultural activities.

Also, in the "European Guide of Good Practice" which was issued in the framework of the activities included in the aforementioned program, it is noted that, according to the United Nations Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities, that "The states take measures which will provide equal opportunities in recreation and sports for people with disabilities," op. cit., p.132. In more analytical terms, for the United Nations Standard Rules, see *Règles pour l' égalisation des chances des handicapés*, regulation 11, UN Information Dept., New York, DPI/1424- May 1994-5M, p.p.30-31.b) Erickson, E. *Ê paidikê êlikia kai ê koinônia* [=Childhood and society], translated by Koutroumbaki ?, Editions Kastaniôtês Athens, pp. 233 and 243.

c) Ferriere, H. *Syntomos eisagê eis tên nean agôgên* [=Brief Introduction to new education], translation by Kostadema G., Editions *Christianikês Enôsis Ekpaideutikn Leitourgôn*, Athens 1958, pp. 25-30 & 69.

d) Herbert, M. *Psychologika problêmata paidikês êlikias* [=Psychological problems in childhood], tom. II, Greek editor Paraskeuopoulos J., Editions *Ellênika Grammata*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, Athens 1995, pp. 226-8.

e) G. Orff, *The Orff music therapy*, translated into English by M. Murray, Schott & Co. Ltd., London 1980.

f) Shuman, R. B. "*Dramatopoiêsê stê Didaskalia*" [=Dramatization in teaching], in *Paidagogikê kai Psychologikê Enkyklopediko-Lexiko*, Editions *Ellinika Grammata*, Athens 1989, pp. 1558-1560.

g) Stahel, N. *To shedio ôs ekphrasê psychikôn traumatôn* [=Design as an expression of psychal traumas], translated by Lambraki-Paganou, ?, Editions Epikairôtêta, Athens 1987.

<sup>19</sup> See: Bourlêl, A. "*Ê iera psalmôdia ôs meson agôgês atomôn me idikes ananges*" [=Holy psalmody as an educational means for people with special needs], in *Praktika êmeridas: "Ekklêsia kai atoma me idikes ananges*, Editions *Apostolikês Diakonias tês Ekklêsias tês Ellados*, Athens 1999, pp. 99-119.

<sup>20</sup> See: J.L Lambert (1986): *Enseignement special et handicap mental*, (12th edition.) Liege-Bruxelles: P. Mardaga, pp. 172-179.

<sup>21</sup> See also: a) relevant recommendations by the representatives of the trade unions of D.P. at the 9<sup>th</sup> May 1994 meeting: *Ekklêsia kai atoma me idikes ananges* [=Church and people with special needs], op. cit., pp. 28-30, 137-141; b) UN Standard Rules concerning equality of opportunities for disabled people: in rule 12 (concerning religion) it is mentioned that the states promote measures in favor of equal participation of D.P. in the religious life of their community: *Règles pour l' égalisation des chances des handicapés*, op. cit., pp. 31-32. A synopsis of this particular rule, along with the rest 21, has been included in HELIOS II, European Guide of good practice, op.cit., p.p. 131-133.

<sup>22</sup> By the term "*shared consciousness*" we mean the sense of the same thing, which is equally or simultaneously shared among the faithful.

<sup>23</sup> See related: a) "...they seeing see not; and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand ... But blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear."

(Matth. 13:13-16; b) "...But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world and things which are despised, hath God chosen..." (I Cor. Ch.1. 27-28).

<sup>24</sup> See related: Bambiniôtês, G.: "Ti na allaksei stê Theia Leitourgia" [=What should change in the Divine Liturgy], article in the Greek newspaper "TO BÊMA," Sunday 7.9.1997, p.. 39. In this article Mr. Bambiniôtês, Professor in Linguistics at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Athens, asks "the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece to deal with the crucial issue of Liturgy attendance. If she does not wish to ignore the fact, reason, or even excuse, that many do not attend Sunday Liturgy ... because they do not feel really involved in the Liturgy... and because they have great difficulty in grasping the meaning of the words of the priest ... etc." It may be appropriate, he argues, to follow the "sincere, well-tried effective measures" taken by other non Orthodox Churches, namely: a) to have manuals of the Divine Liturgy readily available to the congregation at the entrance of each church, which would include translation and clarification of the text; b) to have all prayers delivered by the priest pronounced slowly, clearly and loudly; c) to have the scripture passages read and not chanted so as to make them clear and meaningful; and d) to have the part that is chanted delivered in a way that does not hinder comprehension. The aforementioned measures are, to a great extent, valid for the D.P. as well.

<sup>25</sup> See Gena, A. "Vasikes arhes gia to xekinêma tês synekpaideusis stên Ellada" [=Basic principles for the onset of inclusive schooling in Greece], in *Children's inclusive schooling*, Editions Ellênika Grammata, Athens 1997, pp. 237-238 and 243.

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**Citation for Honoray Degree (D.D)  
of the Faculty of Theology of St. Clement of  
Ochrid, National University of Bulgaria  
conferred upon Fr. George Dion Dragas**

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Father George Dragas, a priest of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America and tenured professor at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline, Massachusetts, received an Honorary Doctorate in Theology from the Orthodox Faculty of Theology at Saint Clement of Ochrid National University in Sofia, Bulgaria on December 13, 2000.

On this occasion, Father Dragas lectured before the Theology Faculties of the Universities of Sofia and Veliko Tervovo and the Church Seminary in Sofia, visited several Monasteries, including the Stravropegial Monastery of Trojjan and the famed Monastery of Saint John of Rila, and was received by His Beatitude Patriarch Maxim of Bulgaria and the Holy Synod of Bulgaria.

Born and raised in Greece, Father Dragas pursued theological studies at Edinburgh University in Scotland, where he studied under the renowned theologian Tom F. Torrance, who translated the works of Karl Barth into English, and at Princeton Theological Seminary, where he studied under the great Father George Florovsky.

Father Dragas received a Ph.D in Theology from Durham University in England, where he served as a tenured professor of Patristic Theology for 22 years and advised a large number of post-graduate students in the Masters and Doctoral programs. He was ordained to the priesthood in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain and served several parishes in England and Scotland while teaching full-time at Durham. He became a member and Vice President of the International Academy of Religious Sciences in Brussels, Belgium and has represented the Ecumenical Patriarchate in



various Theological Dialogues throughout the world. He was transferred by Archbishop Iakovos to the Archdiocese of North and South America in 1995 and served as Dean and Acting President at Holy Cross and also as Ecumenical Officer of the Archdiocese under Archbishop Spyridon.

Father Dragas is currently Professor of Church History and Dogmatics (Patristics) at Holy Cross and Editor of the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*.

For a list of his publications and a full account of his academic and ecclesiastical activities see the website of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Schol of Theology, [www.hchc.edu](http://www.hchc.edu).



(From left to right) Fr. G. Dragas, Vice Rector Popov,  
Rector Biolchev and Dean Zhelev-Dimitrov.

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and is the “richest, finest brick decoration to be seen in the Byzantine churches of Thessaloniki or elsewhere.” (p59)

The church of Saint Nicholas Orphanos is a small edifice that was built in early fourteenth century. The church has numerous, excellent and well-preserved frescoes that were unknown until recently. It was repaired and the iconography restored in the sixties. The church is a remarkable monument because it contains high quality of wall icons that are well preserved.

The book includes an important foreword by Sophia Ahtaridis, a native of Thessaloniki, and an appendix on the churches of Thessaloniki by the well-known iconographer Photios Kontoglou. Reading it is a must for those interested in Orthodox faith and thought and especially for American Orthodox and the general public who wish to understand Orthodoxy more fully.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Constantine Cavarinos, *Cultural and Educational Continuity of Greece: From Antiquity to the Present*, Belmont, Ma: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies (1995) pp. 75.

The present study is an elaboration of a lecture delivered by Professor Saul A. Tovar from Argentina. Professor Tovar's thesis is that the European scholars have the misperception that the first Universities were established in the 12<sup>th</sup> century in medieval Europe. He contents that, “Greek institutions of the University type existed before, during and after the Middle Ages and attained a state of splendor” (p. vi). He points out that University level centers existed in Athens, where Plato founded the Academy and Aristotle the Lyceum. The continuity of this type of educational institutions is seen in the Mouseion of Alexandria, in the University of Constantinople and in the Greek cultural and educational centers of the modern period.

Professor Tovar states as follows: “I am amazed when I read works concerning European education and the establishment of the first universities of the West, and find that they do not mention the name of the University of Constantinople. It seems that the writers of these works do not know that Constantinople is a European city – a city that lies on the continent of Europe – but think it is in Asia. Or else,

they are deliberately, through some prejudice, keeping silent” (p.16). Tovar points out that the University of Constantinople was established in 330 A.D., whereas in Europe the first University was established eight or nine hundred years later. The ancestors of the European Universities are the Academy of Plato, the Lyceum of Aristotle and the Mouseion of Alexandria (spelled Mouseion from the classical derivation of the Muses, the guardian goddesses of the fine arts).

The Mouseion of Alexandria was not a museum containing artifacts but a research and educational center for the fine arts and sciences. In Alexandria there were two libraries that supported the educational activities of the Mouseion. This Mouseion was established in Alexandria by King Ptolemy I ca. 295 BC. It was a University institution where philosophy, mathematics, zoology, astronomy, medicine and philology were taught. It was here, too, that the critical study of texts began and, as a result, the genuine classical works were distinguished from those that were spurious. As regards the two libraries of Alexandria, that of Brocheion had a collection of 200,000 books in the beginning and by the first century it had nearly 700,000 books, while that of Serapeion had 42,800. The majority of the books were made of papyrus.

In the Christian era a catechetical school was established in Alexandria as a Christian University within the perimeter of the Mouseion. This was not only as a response to the need to catechize potential converts to Christianity but also as an intellectual challenge for the educated populace that sought to understand the truth of Christianity. This School reached its heights under the leadership of Pantainos, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Alexander of Jerusalem and others.

The successor to the Mouseion of Alexandria is the University of Constantinople. Here both humanities and sciences were taught. This was a state University that was supported by the Senate of Byzantium. There too great and illustrious professors, such as Photios the Great, who later became Patriarch of Constantinople, Boethius, Nicephoros Choumnos and others, became distinguished by their teaching.

While the University of Constantinople instructed lay candidates in secular learning, the Patriarchal Academy, founded by Emperor Heraclios in the seventh century, instructed the clergy candidates in theology. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Academy became a full University of arts and sciences.

The author also gives important information on numerous schools of higher learning equivalent to Universities that were founded throughout Greece, Rumania and the Balkans during the Ottoman occupation.

Finally after the independence of Greece (1821) the University of Athens was founded in 1834. Later on other Universities were established in Greece which the author lists in this book including important information on them all.

This chronological description of Greek educational centers of higher learning is evidence, for Dr. Cavarnos and Dr. Tovar, of the continuity of Greek paideia. "Greek education has continued without interruption in harmony with its spiritual ideals up until today, in spite of the many historic vicissitudes of the Greek people."

This book is an excellent study on Greek education on the highest level throughout the ages and up until the present time. Reading it is a must, especially for Greek American youth who wish to learn the story of their great heritage. I highly recommend it for public and private libraries.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Constantine Hionides, *The Greek Pontians of the Black Sea*, Boston (1996) pp. 394.

The author of this volume is a prominent physician and professor at the School of Medicine, Boston University. Dr. Hionides authored this book with special care and deep love for the country of his birth. The book covers the history of the Black Sea area from 1300 BC to AD 2000. It includes the cities of Sinope, Amisos, Kotyora, Kerasus, and Trapezus. Dr. Hionides researched the ancient and modern history of this area and made numerous visits to Pontos. From his visits he includes numerous photographs of ancient and modern monuments and people.

The author presents excellent illustrations from classical Greek civilization. He begins with the story of Pontos from the thirteenth century BC, the mythology of the Golden Fleece, the Amazons and other ancient mythological stories. In the chapter of Ancient Greek Pontos the author examines the culture that the Greeks developed in the area. The origin of the Greek Pontians is traced to their migration

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## Cultural Context Of Preserving Community Archives

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SPEROS VRYONIS JR.

Historical memory is the basis for all civilization. And there, where historical memory has been interrupted in the history of the human race, have followed the so-called Dark Ages. We give a great deal of attention to innovation, but still, it proceeds from memory of a historical nature. There can be no doubt that our subject constitutes a subject for very serious discussion; inasmuch as the integration of this national group to the English-speaking lands of the New Worlds has been one of the most striking features of the history of modern Greeks, and has been for over a hundred years. It has been an integral factor in the political, economic and social evolution of modern Greek society, the modern Greek state, as well as the modern Greeks living outside the boundaries of the Greek state. Thus, the very history of modern Greece has been profoundly affected by this massive immigration for over one-half of the chronological existence of the modern Greek state. Though this salient fact would, in and of itself, be sufficient to warrant serious and long term scholarly research, the immigration of the Greeks to Canada, Australia and the United States has been a part of a much larger phenomenon of worldwide immigration that brought, eventually, a bewildering array of ethnic groups from Africa, Asia and Europe to the New Worlds; and so, Greek immigration is part of a modern, cosmic phenomenon. The study of the Greek case thus helps us to understand not only the history and culture of Greece, but also of Australia, Canada, the United States and indeed, of much of the world.

The study of immigration has become increasingly a subject of scholarly interest with such relevance that governmental circles in

the New World have given considerable attention — not to say money — not only to immigrants as such, but also to their quantification, to their socialization in the new homelands, and to their cultures. This is most advanced in Australia and Canada, with their official multicultural policies. Such policies do not exist in the United States. The Civil Rights movements of the black community and the novel of Mr. Haley unleashed the “Roots” movement, which originating with the valiant efforts of the black community to obtain its human rights and its dignity, spread quickly to all Americans, from the neglected American Indians to various other ethnic groups. Thus, the American Melting Pot theory, with all its implications, yielded not completely but sufficiently to accommodate socially and culturally the many ethnic immigrant groups. And so, the black movement has, without realizing it, been of extreme significance for us. Immigration is one of the many ways of viewing the history of the New Worlds; for alongside the indigenous populations, so cruelly treated for such a long time, Australia, Canada and the United States were recipients of mass movements of immigration that enriched these countries demographically, economically, politically and culturally.

These immigrant groups thus became the crucial human element in nation formation about the all-important axis of Anglo-Saxon political institutions and the great English language. The peculiarities of these Anglo-Saxon institutions fitted, indeed remarkably so, the highly individualistic and regionally-oriented traits of the Greek society, which sent its demographic overflow to the New World, where the Greeks were able to accommodate their own cultural and political ethic to the economic needs and developments of the New Worlds. The Greek characteristics of personal initiative; self-governance; strong family ties and cultural pride; the drives for education and self-betterment; all these found rich legal and corporate underpinnings in the Anglo-Saxon legal/political system. The Greeks have the oldest recorded history that is recorded in their own language of any European people. And whereas, any historical treatment of the present must look at the contemporary motive forces in order to understand the historical present; at present, there are also more long term factors in the institutional formation of a people which must be examined.

This observation is especially relevant for such a people as the Greeks whose cultural forms since the time of Homer and Herodotus



have inserted into the basic framework of Greek society rich and diverse elements of a powerful historical memory, which though it was not always necessarily continuous, was continuously renewed. Thus, what Pericles did and said in fifth century Athens, the important cultural achievements of Justinian, the heroic defense of Constantinople by the last Byzantine Emperor are as important in modern Greek civilization as many other crucial events in the history of modern Greece.

This brings us to a further point, to wit: the Greeks, as the Jews, the Armenians, the Chinese, the Hindu tribe of the Gypsies, and a whole host of other people, are a people with a long and complex history of migration and immigration, a history of immigration not to be reckoned in terms of the last hundred years alone when the Greeks immigrated to the New Worlds; nor even in centuries, but even, in millennia, beginning with the arrival of the Greeks in the Greek Peninsula over a period of time, stretching from roughly 2000 to 1200 B.C. There followed in succession a whole series of migrations once they had arrived there; and between the years 1000 and 800, they spread even to Western Asia Minor. The second wave of Greek colonizers on their long, swift ships, settled throughout the coasts of Italy, Sicily, Southern Gaul and Spain in the West; to the southern, western and northern shores of the Black Sea, to Syria and to Egypt, eventually establishing over 120 Greek colonies or cities throughout the Mediterranean, the Aegean, the Adriatic and the Black Seas. And the third wave of this ancient immigration or colonization took the Greeks into Egypt, Palestine, Syria, what is today Turkey, Bactria, and India, and eventually during the Roman Empire, into Rome and other Western urban centers. And indeed, for the next thousand years of the Byzantine Empire, Greek speakers were free to move from the Danube to the Euphrates; whereas throughout the Ottoman Empire, one observes such a varied and complex pattern of Greek immigration for over 400 years into the details of which we shall not delve. The formation and long life of the Ottoman Empire produced two contrary migrations: one was the result of war and religious conflict, causing many Greeks to flee to the West; the other type of migration, both to lands outside the Empire and internally, was of a more peaceful nature as the Greeks here followed the line of general Ottoman and European economic developments.

It is obvious, then, that this millennium history of immigration

has as its vast background a great variety of political entities, which finally, are as dissimilar as Pericles's Athens and the absolutist theocracy of the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires. Dissimilar as these distantly-removed political institutions undoubtedly are, nevertheless, we see that immigration in a variety of forms is constant in and conterminous with all of Greek historical experience. The inescapable conclusion is that we are dealing, then, with a constant - - over 3,000 years of Greek cultural experience; and that therefore, the various political forms which the Greeks have known hide a deeper and a more profound historical reality whose ultimate institutionalization is what we call "immigration."

What are the constant factors in this historical reality, which have been as effective in the 20th Century as in the pre-Christian era, which has made of the Greeks a nation of restless and almost perpetual immigrants? I shall list very briefly at least six constants that contributed to the near-constancy and the relative success of much Greek immigration throughout 3,000 years.

First, are the geographical and economic resources of Greece, which on a large number of occasions, have proved insufficient for solutions to the problems of the greater, organized Greek community. The second is the constantly recurring cycle of population surplus. The combination of these first two factors produced socio-economic struggles within the Greek land that led to potentially explosive internal situations. The imposition of foreign rule - that of the Ottomans - introduced the element of further economic impoverisation, subsequent to the additional demands of a foreign ethnic and social group of conquerors. The very nature of Greece's physical geography and its highly irregular, indented coast lands, and the thousands of islands, very early transformed a large portion of the Greeks from a society that was completely made up of landlubbers, to a maritime society. By the time of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the Greeks had learned the secrets of the sea and lived intimately and symbiotically with it. It was the sea which provided the Greeks with the major avenues of immigration in antiquity, particularly in the Middle Ages and in Ottoman times; and preponderantly during the great immigrations of Greeks to Canada and Australia and the United States.

The fifth characteristic of Greek society that contributed so richly to the near-constancy and relative success of Greek immigration arises from the phenomenon of organization and institutions of immigrants

in the diaspora. These represent the interaction of Greek indigenous institutions with those which the immigrants found in their new homelands. Sixth and finally was the fact that the host societies receiving these immigrating Greeks found them a useful element that could function in varying capacities in terms of the social, economic or political needs of the host societies.

Thus, Greek immigration was historically functional at three levels. At the level of the society of the mother country, and that of the society of the host country, and finally, most intensively, at the level of the much smaller immigrant society. All these immigrations established a tension within the immigrant society as to its ethnic identity and as to the durability or the adaptability of its own Greek institutions. In Western industrial societies; in the so-called societies also where the Asiatic forms of production and religious segregation prevailed; as well as in the societies of antiquity and the Byzantine Middle Ages, Greek immigrant societies were subjected to forces of symbiosis, of what is called "acculturation," and finally, what we call today "assimilation." To enter into the rich plethora of historical examples is not the purpose of such an introductory paper. Many - or even most - of these characteristics and institutions of the Greek diaspora have been constant for centuries. First was a spirit and mentality that were and are adventuresome, and to a certain degree, entrepreneurial; secondly, a tightly-knit family structure that included varying degrees of kinship and a general code of behavior; third, a very marked sense of regionalization that extends beyond the bounds of kinship to the immigrants' original village of origin and to its very physical environments; fourth and lastly, there is an understanding that the immigrant belongs to a larger culture somehow or other a nation - the Greek - which originally was conceived of as united in language, religion and in a famous historical past, and that he or she has his or her own future within this past. Thus, the immigrant brought a well-integrated sense of his or her place in the world; a system of community organization based on self-rule; a religious institution for the regulation of the annual and ultimate cycles of life and afterlife; a certain literacy which tended to vary from very low to very high; and to the same degrees of variation, education.

All these mentalities the immigrant brought to the New World, where he or she formed a stabilizing force - these mentalities formed a stabilizing force in the long process of acculturation, affecting hun-

dreds of thousands of diasporic Greeks. For others, the stability of these mentalities and original institutions were insufficient, as they proceeded through the processes of acculturation to the process of outright assimilation.

Despite the powerful assimilative forces, the Greek communities of Australia and Canada have retained a very marked, ethnic identity to a degree that is much more marked than it is in the case of many other ethnic minorities. Even in the much older, much larger Greek-American community, there is still a strong sense of ethnic identity through three generations, but it is certainly much vaguer and much more watered-down.

I have perhaps dedicated an inordinate amount of time to these introductory remarks in sketching a broad series of generalities in structure, in order to provide ourselves with some type of a partial framework. And I should next like to move on to certain concrete matters and specific questions, attempting thus to isolate a few institutional and historical conditions, though by no means all. These are things which you will encounter and have already encountered, not only as existential problems, but now that you are going to enter the matter of archives, you will see them from yet another view.

The first and most obvious observation is that the selection of the two young immigrant Greek communities - those of Canada and Australia - and of the much older Greek-American community, constitutes an excellent base for study. In the first two cases, the observer can study closely and in detail the dynamics of immigration and the social tensions arising from the encounter of the first generation of immigrant institutions with those of the host country. In the case of the Greek-American community, we can study acculturation and assimilation over three, and now going into a fourth generation. My children are the fourth generation of my family in this country. In the case of acculturation, we are likely to find what I would call a certain "fossilization" of mores, of customs, that largely disappeared in the social evolution of modern Greece, while surviving archaically and understood archaically in much of Greek-American society. The case of the Greek diaspora is further complicated because the United States, as both Canada and Australia, received large numbers of Greek immigrants in the post-World War II era; whereas some 107,000- odd Greeks immigrated to Canada between 1945 and '71; - and 228,000 to Australia; 235,000 immigrated to the United States in the period

between 1950 and '80, thus superimposing a substantial number of new Greeks onto the older Greek-American diaspora, and which included a much higher percentage in the new immigrants of educated individuals than was the case in the earlier immigration to the United States. And very often, this was painfully – at times comically - obvious in the encounter of these two groups within the same community. They had to get used to each other. The first generation of Greek immigrants at the beginning of the century came to America at the time of the mass industrialization of the land; whereas the large Greek immigrations to Canada and Australia after World War II were officially recruited and stimulated by the respective governments of the two host countries, that were seeking the unskilled manpower for comparable industrial and agricultural development of their countries. Though in all three cases, the first generation suffered physical privation, cultural isolation and psychological problems; the multicultural policies of the Australian and Canadian governments helped greatly to ameliorate conditions of the post-World War II immigrants of those two nations.

In sharp contrast, the first generations of Greeks who came to the United States not only suffered the fate of all other unskilled ethnic immigrants; I remember reading that the usual sign for help wanted in restaurants in Boston had the added injunction, "Irish need not apply." So, in sharp contrast, the first generation of Greeks who came to the United States not only suffered the fate of other unskilled ethnic immigrants, but they were often treated as inferiors by an American isolationism that was fed by the racist inspiration of the Comte de Gobenaue.

The great economic Depression was a further source of demoralization. I was born at that time and the mark of conservative spending has never left my psychology. I cannot borrow money; I am congenitally indisposed the minute I know that I have a debt. That means I could never make money. With the onset of World War II and the period immediately thereafter, the Greek immigrants to a significant degree had entered the American middle class, and their children - the second generation - had to an extensive degree received higher education. In this second generation, as well as in the third, the social stratification has been thorough.

Today, they are well represented in big business, in small businesses, the professions, in labor, the university and college faculties,

and in politics, as well as throughout the rest of the American social spectrum. The accumulation of great wealth has been achieved by a significant number; and in two Presidential campaigns, members of this group have disputed, albeit unsuccessfully, the highest political office of the nation. At the level of the national legislative and the state bodies, they have been represented successfully, and their numbers do not explain their economic, political and professional success; for the Greeks of America, although numbering somewhat over a million, are nowhere so compactly located and settled as to be decisive electorally in any major or in any minor election. Indeed, any success that the Greeks have attained throughout their long history has never derived from their numbers, since they have always been a small group. Rather, it has depended on quality and entrepreneurial skills. The survival of their cultural identity is to be seen in the fact that Dukakis raised 20 percent of his campaign funds from Greek-American sources, and it was crucial as it was "money up front" - so-called "quick money" that came at the beginning of his campaign.

The social stratification and ethnic identity, more often than not in the Greek case, has been compatible rather than exclusive. A comparable social stratification, at least in its incipient form, seems to be beginning in the Greek communities of Canada and Australia, where the majority of Greek immigrants have settled into towns. It is appropriate to touch upon the organization of and some basic tensions within the Greek immigrant communities and parishes of the United States, Canada and Australia, because they are very similar, though they are at different phases of evolution. Traditionally, from their most ancient history to the era of the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman domination, into the very history of modern Greece in the 19th century, Greek immigrants have carried with them elements of their political, social, economic, religious and other cultural institutions. And whenever and wherever the immigrants were sufficiently numerous, they responded to a certain cultural determinism of their own by reproducing some complex of these institutions in the new host country. These cultural institutions have included behavioral patterns of hard work, entrepreneurial skill, upward social mobility, and a belief that their future and their immortality - as Plato had remarked - lie in their own works and in their children.

These cultural values and ideas they originally believed to lie in the Greek language and in its great civilization, in the cohesion of

family and kinship, in education, in community self-governance, and in religious institutions. Throughout history, Greek immigrants have had intense relations with the mother country, and *nostos*, the desire to return and to be reunited with kindred, the village, the city, Greek society, has a certain persistence. And all of this brought renewed contact with an evolving Greek society which despite change, remained the principal source of Hellenism, or Greekness.

I wish to end this section by pointing to a crucial development in the relations of the internal and the legal structures of the Greek communities of the New Worlds, a development which has basically altered the structures and the internal relations in the majority of the Greek-American communities, and it is a development which is a distinct probability - if not certain - in the Greek-American and Greek-Australian communities. In pointing to this development within the internal organization and administration of these communities, I do so neither to take sides, nor to blame, nor to praise. It is the duty of all researchers and students to exam and to observe; for, only by such observation can one reach any constructive understanding of what we are today. The crucial development to which I point lies in the relations of the older community forms of self-government, and the newer programs of community governance initiated by the Greek Orthodox Church in all three of these New World Orthodox Churches.

In the beginning, community governance was established by secular charters of incorporation of the state within which the community was located; be it Ottawa in Canada; New York in the United States; or in Victoria in Australia. Indeed, Sydney still has and displays its oldest community charter granted by Queen Victoria. Her picture is on it, and the entire council - I went to visit them - is made up of leftists who think the war is still going on. This charter was sovereign, and usually assured that the power to decide all crucial, non-dogmatic matters lay in the General Assembly - *genikê syneleusê* - the community which elected all its own officials, and to which all these officials were responsible. I remember as a teenager when the Treasurer and the President would give an accounting, and if the general assembly were not satisfied, there were court proceedings. It was really a kind of New England community democracy. It was these people who built the churches and the Greek schools and who hired and released priests and teachers, all of whom the community paid; while at the same time, to the degree that grudging economic

conditions allowed, they supported the Archdiocese and the Episcopal institutions.

The great alteration came especially in the decades since 1960, when the Archdiocese of North and South America gradually constrained communities to rephrase and to restructure the community charters so as to conform to the new uniform parish bylaws. Thus, after some three decades, the important institutions of self-government in the Greek-American communities passed to a certain degree - never completely - under the economic and certain political control of the Archdiocese. And what is of interest to note is that the more thoroughly that the communities became integrated into society, the greater became the power of the church. Conversely, where the immigration is still new in Australia and in Canada, these issues are still under dispute. There are many, many more interesting phenomena; I mention this one because you will undoubtedly encounter it as you begin to codify and to conserve your community archives.

There are other issues that you will find in particular. These include the controversy over the survival of the Greek language as a supposed stabilizing element in the survival of ethnicity; the significance of exogamy, that is, intermarriage. The vast majority of marriages, according to the Archdiocese and statistics in the communities are mixed. But I've never seen statistics on the marriages which take place outside. So, we must assume that the ethnic makeup of the communities is changing very rapidly.

I want to turn now in this final section to the matter of the sources for reconstructing the existential experience of the Greek Orthodox communities of the United States. The organizers of the second Bi-annual Conference on the Hellenic Diasporas of the Anglophone Lands in the New Worlds took place in Sacramento almost four years ago and which I brought as a gift to the community - prepared a three-day conference with a very large number of speakers, some of whom are present today, and who discussed an array of broad, important issues concerning many topics: Ethnicity and culture, Hellenism and the Greek Orthodox Church, Education and Greek Identity, Greek Diaspora Women in the 1990s, Linkages Between the Diaspora and Greece, the Sense of Greekness in Literature and the Arts Among the Diasporic Greeks, Issues of Greek Foreign Affairs, and Diasporic Political Activism, and so on. Each of these things is vast and presupposes a body of primary source materials, that is



archives, that is sufficiently large, detailed and variegated. I emphasized at that time the importance of the primary source materials, because without these, there can be no scholarly, systematic, examination of the Hellenic diasporic phenomenon.

Further, the initial task of diasporic studies should include the ongoing search for these primary sources, their identification, their preservation, and their functional codification. The variety of these materials is as vast as the six continents on which immigrants have spilled over to and formed communities - from Harbin, Manchuria, where three generations of my family lived; to Adelaide in Australia; from Vladivostok to Sahumi; from Cairo to Johannesburg; from Braila in Romania to London; and from Toronto to Buenos Aires. The variety is thus in the first instance geographic, national and linguistic. A recent book has come out, edited by Professor John Hasiotes on the Greek diaspora in the former Soviet lands. You can imagine the variety of languages that had to be consulted: Russian, Ukrainian, Tartar, Uzbek and all the rest of them. Inasmuch, however, as these communities form complex community structures that were self-governing, they acquired a series of complex relations within each community, with other communities, and with the local, national and international environments within which they lived, worked, politicked and married.

All of these activities, and many others, have produced vast written, oral and material records. The recording of the daily lives of the members of the Hellenic diaspora communities in America, Canada and Australia is not an exclusively modern phenomenon of 20th century Greek immigration. It is as old as the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet by the Greek speakers in the 9th century B.C., who then sent out over 120 colonies to the Mediterranean, founding at least 120 cities, and they recorded their laws, their businesses, their religions on neatly-carved marble stele.

The primary sources for the recording and study of the activities of the Greek communities in the New Worlds present unparalleled richness and opportunities inasmuch as these communities have enjoyed an extraordinary longevity and continuity, especially in America. But, these sources present us with bewildering problems of identification, accessibility and preservation. These problems flow directly from four factors; the first is the very large number of communities in the three nations that primarily concern us. There must be at least

500 communities in the United States and Canada alone. A related element is that the very large number of Greek organizations which, though they vary as to the duration of their existence, also kept records.

The second factor, and it is equally serious, is the fact that *grossomodo* the Greek communities are fundamentally a historical. They came into being at the time when Henry Ford was the cultural hero - the inventor of the automobile - and he said in his own words, that "History is bunk." So, the immigrants are primarily absorbed in making a place for their family in the New World, and their children in the process of getting a technical education to improve their status while undergoing either acculturation or absorption. The third factor is an economic one: there is no institutionalized funding for the task of systematically and professionally identifying, preserving and codifying these rich primary sources in which your personal history is invariably locked.

Fourth and finally, there is the geographical and the institutional factor. The Greek communities of each of these large Anglophon countries are sprawled out over thousands and thousands of miles; and the countries are themselves separated by many thousands of miles of either land or sea or both. Moreover, the communities as secular institutions have no overall secular organization, which could produce a united effort to recover these rich primary sources for the community histories. Their only primary unifying institution is extremely important, the Greek Orthodox Church, which has quite rightly prioritized religion and its social functions as among its main functions and goals.

We now have, for the United States, Canada and Australia, studies which attempt to present an overall view of the history of Greek immigration to the New World. The most numerous of such works concern the Greeks in America, and I shall restrict my few remarks to this domain. This will enable us to acquire some measure of the vastness and complexity of the problem and the project which we are undertaking. If one looks at the bibliographies of two famous books, that of Theodore Saloutos *The Greeks in the United States*, published by Harvard in 1964, and the shorter book of Professor Charles Moskos, *Greek Americans — Struggle and Success*, which was published some 25 years later, in 1969, we find 28 books and articles written in English, and seven books in Greek, which deal with the broad theme of the Greeks in America. The landmark in this field, of course, is the

book of Saloutos. I will not stop to characterize it. It obviously did much to make immigrant history of the Greeks a serious academic undertaking, and his book remains a model.

There are, however, two important bodies of primary source materials, that are almost completely absent from his work and they are absolutely crucial. These are the ecclesiastical documents of the Greek Orthodox Church of America, and the secular records of the 500 or so Greek communities in the United States and Canada. Saloutos explains the absence of ecclesiastical documentation and sources in one page on page 395, (He was very cryptic about it but I know the details.) "Efforts to gain access to records of the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States and Greece were unsuccessful." As for the secular records of the communities Saloutos did not need them as he was writing a general history of the Greek Americans, and the broad outlines of this history could still be constructed in this primitive stage of historical research without reference to the individual history of each one of the 500 communities. But even if he had decided to consult the records with some large team of researchers of the older and larger communities, it would have been an impossible task. It is a stark fact that there is no large scale systematic study, ordering and preservation of the community institutions of the Greek-American Orthodox community.

This brings us to the main point of these few remarks and I will finish. It shows that at least one great mind and one small mind think along the same paths. Although the great collections of official documentation in the governmental archives of Greece and the United States, as well as of Canada and Australia, have been identified, preserved and made accessible, the same conditions do not prevail in other crucial areas. Nevertheless at the present one can always identify individual repositories of important source materials. They include major libraries, particularly the Library of Congress, the libraries of Harvard, the New York Public Library and institutions in particular such as the Balche Institute for Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia, and the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota, which specialize in archival collections of all ethnic groups.

The Balche Institute is by far the richest and most unexploited. It has, first of all, the untouched archives of Solon Vlastos, the founder of the early Greek-American newspaper *Atlantis* which finally went under due to labor problems in the 1970s. He was involved in every-

thing from the struggle to control the Greek community in New York to his investments in gold mines in South Africa, obviously a very enterprising Odyssean type. Recently the Pan Macedonian Society has very wisely deposited its archives at the Balche. The Institute for Historical Research has the archives of Theodore Saloutos but more importantly the archives which are still not accessible, of the late priest and founding editor of the *National Herald*, Demetrios Kallimachos who was also not only a priest but a scholar and the former Protosyncellos of the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

There are also the archives of the Ahepa. I wish to emphasize, that perhaps the single most identifiable archive today is that of the Archdiocese in New York City. These archives include the archiepiscopal encyclicals, the proceedings of the Archdiocese and council and all the committees of the Archdiocese, the archives of the various archiepiscopal institutions, and the Archdiocese political and social correspondence with Greek and American government officials. The topics covered in the archives include the relations of the Archdiocese with the Ecumenical Patriarchate and other Orthodox Patriarchates. Its relations with clergy, bishops and the Church and most interestingly and probably the most untouchable of all, its relations with the Turkish government.

Each of you undoubtedly knows of individual or group archives not mentioned here, but what we have then is an area that is virginal but which at the same time is quickly disappearing before our eyes. One can only guess at the degree of disappearance and destruction of community archives. We need to take prompt measures and to make some modest financial arrangements to begin this work systematically.

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## **Divine Wisdom and the Trinity: A 20<sup>th</sup> century controversy in Orthodox Theology<sup>1</sup>**

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DR. MIKHAIL SERGEEV

### *Introductory Remarks*

This paper aims at revisiting one of the most controversial theological projects of 20th century Orthodox Christian thought known as Trinitarian sophiology. The goal of Trinitarian sophiology consisted of radical rethinking of traditional Orthodox doctrines about the Holy Trinity. Developed mainly by a Russian theologian, Fr. Sergii Bulgakov (1871-1944), it was also part of a broader religious philosophical movement initiated in the 19th century by a Russian religious thinker and poet Vladimir Solov'ev (1854-1900).

The significance of Solov'ev's religious philosophy was in its mediating role between the two opposing ideological poles in 19th century Russia: the Westernizers and the Slavophiles. He sided with the Westernizers in their critique of traditional religion and appeal to advance the ideas of the European Enlightenment. With the Slavophiles, Solov'ev still defended Orthodox Christian faith which, in his view, should have been rethought in light of modern scientific developments brought about by the Protestant civilization.

One should note that the rise of Protestantism in Europe as an offshoot of the Catholic Church created disturbance for the Russian Orthodoxy. At first Orthodox Christians felt sympathy with the Reformers for their attempts to come back to the original teaching of Christ and because of their common opponent, the Catholics. This temporary alliance, however, soon turned to a competition—now between “Orthodox Russia” and the “schismatic West” (both Catholic and Protestant).

In fact, it seemed that Protestantism was dramatically opposed to the spirit of Orthodox Christianity. The heart of Orthodox faith is the sacred tradition (*Sviashchennoe Predanie*) as an organic part of the sacred scripture (*Sviashchennoe Pisanie*). This very tradition and its untouchability is exactly what Protestantism rejected when trying to come to the origin of Christian revelation which purified the authority of previous interpretations. It is not surprising, therefore, that beginning in the 19th and continuing into the 20th century the creative thought of modern Russia found itself in a perpetual struggle with the fruits of West European philosophy rooted in Protestant Christianity and matured in the German idealist movement.

In its extreme the position taken by Russian thinkers was twofold. Some, like Solov'ev himself or Fr. Bulgakov, were trying to rethink the tradition of Eastern Christianity in light of modern intellectual developments. Fr. Bulgakov went so far as to propose his new understanding of the Trinitarian dogmas. Others, like Fr. Georgii Florovskii (1893-1979), on the contrary, insisted that the interpretations of the Church Fathers should still remain unsurpassed while modern philosophy is nothing but a return to paganism of the ancient Greek thought. These two different approaches are vividly manifested in the polemics between Fr. Bulgakov and Fr. Florovskii which centered around a more specific but still controversial problem of Trinitarian sophiology.

### *Bulgakov's Trinitarian Sophiology*

Fr. Sergii Bulgakov, like many of the Russian thinkers of his generation, went through a long and complex religious philosophical evolution<sup>2</sup>. Having been born into a family of Orthodox priests Bulgakov lost the faith of his fathers and became a Marxist theorist. Later he rejected Marxism for the idealist philosophy of Vladimir Solov'ev and eventually came back to Orthodox theology and the priesthood.

Bulgakov's return to a traditional Orthodox worldview, however, did not happen at the price of renouncing the philosophical masters of his youth. He especially remained faithful to the critical method of the founder of German idealism, Immanuel Kant. As Bulgakov wrote in the foreword to one of his turning-point books, *From Marxism To Idealism*, "Kant always seemed more indubitable to me than Marx; I

felt it necessary to check Marx against Kant, and not vice versa.”<sup>3</sup> In his mature work, the *The Unfading Light*, written in 1917 Bulgakov begins his analysis of religious experience with a typically Kantian question: how is religion possible? He answers the question by arguing that personal experience of the divine is the only source of the autonomy of religion. Individual religious claim, he writes, is not analytical, but is “religious synthetic judgment *a priori*.”<sup>4</sup> To support this thesis Bulgakov uses Kantian teaching about the antinomic nature of transcendental reason. “Antinomian thinking,” he says, “possesses its object, makes it immanent in itself only in part, only to a certain limit which is disclosed in an antinomy.”<sup>5</sup> Religious experience also manifests itself in the form of an antinomy. Thus, the main antinomy of religious consciousness is the transcendence and, at the same time, the immanence of the Deity.

The concept of divine wisdom or Sophia comes into play in Bulgakov’s writings when he discusses the relationship of the Deity to the world of creatures. The creation of the world leads to the positioning of a borderline between God and His creation. This imaginary link being itself neither the one nor the other but something completely peculiar, simultaneously connecting and separating the one and the other,<sup>6</sup> is called Sophia.

However, if Sophia belongs neither to the Godhead nor to the realm of creation, what is the root of its own peculiar nature? In the course of his theological career Bulgakov himself seemed to have given different answers to this puzzling question. His ultimate explanation is connected with a particularly Bulgakovian understanding of the term “substance” or “nature”.

Bulgakov argues that this category, taken from ancient Greek philosophy and applied by the early Christian theologians to the concept of the Trinity, was not fully developed in the Trinitarian doctrine. As he writes, for example, in his book *The Wisdom of God*, in the process of theological creativity “the doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Holy Trinity, as well as the actual conception of substance or nature, has been... apparently, almost overlooked.”<sup>7</sup>

In particular, the concept of substance was well established in respect to the Divinity itself as the three persons united in one essence. This same concept, however, was neglected in respect to the Creator as related to creation. In other words, while remaining one and the same, the Divine nature in the aspect of God-for-Himself has to be



understood also as the nature of God-for-Others. In Bulgakov's terminology, the Divine nature can be analyzed in two aspects, namely, as *ousia* and Sophia.

Bulgakov further argues that Sophia cannot be understood in terms of *ousia*, because without God-in-Himself there is no God-for-Others. *Ousia* is necessarily more than Sophia, because God never completely reveals Himself. Nonetheless, both represent the same nature of God in relation to the Creator Himself (*ousia*) or the creature (Sophia).

Accepting this novel understanding of wisdom as the nature of God revealed to creation, Bulgakov unfolds his new interpretation of the Trinity as well. Sophia, or God's nature, while remaining the same, in Bulgakov's view, discloses its different aspects in every person of the Holy Trinity. He emphasizes that, without being a hypostasis itself, Sophia, is nevertheless always hypostatized and cannot be separated from each of the hypostases as, for example, from the person of the Son or Logos. Instead, as Bulgakov points out,

The Divine Sophia is not just the Son... nor only the Holy Spirit either, but a di-unity of the Son and the Holy Spirit as the one self-revelation of the Father.

As he puts it another place, "both hypostases are connected through the self-revelation of the Father in the Divine Sophia inseparably and unbindingly."<sup>8</sup> One could say, therefore, that in their revelation the Logos and the Holy Spirit are the divine Sophia, but it is impossible to say, on the contrary, that the divine Sophia is both the Logos and the Holy Spirit.

The second hypostasis, or the person of the Son, manifests Sophia or God's wisdom in the aspect of Logos, or the Word. As for the third person of the Holy Spirit, it discloses the same wisdom in the aspect of the Glory or Beauty. As Bulgakov puts it:

if Sophia, as the Wisdom of the Word, as Logos, is the self-revelation of God in the Second Hypostasis, then the Glory is the Self-revelation of God in the Third Hypostasis. In other words, *Sophia as the Glory belongs to the Holy Spirit.*<sup>9</sup>

On the ground of his Trinitarian sophiology Bulgakov also develops his position with regard to the problem of creation. Here, as elsewhere in his theological system, the most important role is played

by Sophia. Sophia still remains one insofar as God and His creation are considered one in essence:

*Everything in the Divine and created world, in the Divine and the created Sophia, is one and identical in content (although not in being). 'A single' Sophia is disclosed both in God and in the creation.*<sup>10</sup>

However, insofar as God differs from the creatures Sophia has two distinct aspects or centers, the divine and the creaturely, which correlate with the divine and created principles respectively. As Bulgakov points out, the doctrine of "creation *ex nihilo*" means nothing but the appearance of these two aspects in Sophia. The nothing (*nihilo*) as an *ouk on*—chaos or the absence (non-fullness) of being—in the process of creation is changed into a *meon*, or the potentiality of being. The appearance of the *meon* out of the *ouk on* is manifested in the split of the eternal Sophia and the origination of its temporal, created twin. Moreover, as Bulgakov explains, the created part of Sophia as

[t]he world in process of becoming must in its becoming traverse a long path of cosmic existence in order to reflect in itself the countenance of the Divine Sophia. The latter, while it is the *foundation* of cosmic existence, its entelechy, exists only in a *potentiality* which the world must actualize in itself.<sup>11</sup>

The proper and eternal balance between the created and divine aspects of Sophia, that balance which has been broken because of human wickedness and the embracing of temptation in Adam's fall, should be restored within humanity itself. The beginning of such a restoration occurred in the incarnation of the second hypostasis of the Holy Trinity in the human person of Jesus Christ. As the incarnation of God-man, Christ redeemed the original sin of humanity, as Bulgakov says, "through the connection of two natures, the created and Divine Sophia, the human and Divine"<sup>12</sup> in one Divine-human spirit. From now on the God-man as the head of the renewed creation leads humanity forward to achieve its Divine-human status which has been temporarily shaken, but nevertheless, preserved in eternity.

### *Florovskii's Critique of Sophiology*

The Orthodox community responded with suspicion to Bulgakov's Trinitarian sophiology as apparently incompatible with traditional

Orthodox teachings. Bulgakov was criticized by many of his colleagues—Orthodox theologians, and philosophers. One of the strongest theological critiques came from a prominent Russian thinker, Fr. Georgii Florovskii.

His response to the “sophiological temptation” focuses on the defense of the original Orthodox doctrine of the Holy Trinity. And the arguments for the true Trinitarian theology are necessarily bound up in Florovskii’s mind with the rediscovery of classical Patristic Trinitarianism.

In fact, many Russian sophiologists, including Bulgakov as well, developed their theories not only by ingenious speculation but also by appealing to the authority of the Eastern Fathers of the Church. These thinkers found in those works textual support for their sophiological views. Bulgakov, for instance, in his book, *The Wisdom of God*, draws the attention of the readers to the “line of thought in the teaching of some of the Fathers of the Church” in which

God contained within Himself before the creation of the world the divine prototypes... so that the world bears within it the image and, as it were, the reflection of the divine Prototype.<sup>13</sup>

As Bulgakov recognizes later, these prototypes are not described explicitly by the Fathers as the divine Sophia. Nevertheless, he is convinced that, overall, the “doctrine of Sophia as the prototype of creation finds ample support in the tradition of the Church.”<sup>14</sup>

To Bulgakov’s insistence on the compatibility of modern Russian sophiology with Patristic thought, Florovskii argued just the opposite. Florovskii makes a case that Patristic thought preserves pure Christianity, while Russian sophiology is in reality based on German idealism which represents a revival of pagan Greek philosophy. This argument, which to a certain extent reflects traditional Orthodox resistance to the Protestant Reformation—now hidden under the mask of modern German philosophy—was systematically developed by Florovskii in his essay *“The Crisis of German Idealism.”*

In the beginning one reads here that “Idealism was long the acknowledged philosophy of Protestantism”<sup>15</sup> and in the course of the development of idealistic thought “the *incompatibility* of these two ideologies, the Idealistic and the Christian, showed itself.”<sup>16</sup> Later Florovskii emphasizes again that idealistic philosophy was not a “renunciation of the Reformation,” but “its inevitable consequences”: idealism “was only possible after and on the basis of the Reforma-

tion.”<sup>17</sup>

Florovskii himself proposes to go back to the Patristic sources, to create a neo-Patristic synthesis as a form of “an intellectual return to the Church” leading “into the future... from the tradition of the forefathers.”<sup>18</sup> A “creative return” to the Fathers might help, he argues, to overcome the contemporary idealistic challenge which has ultimately led to materialism and atheism. The theological works of Florovskii himself serve as an impressive and influential example of such a neo-patristic system.

From the variety of themes which have been touched upon in his thought of special interest for our purposes is the problem of sophiology tightly linked, in its turn, to the concept of creation. In his book, *Creation and Redemption*, Florovskii writes in this respect:

There is an infinite distance between God and creation, and this is a distance of natures... And this distance is never removed, but is only, as it were, overlapped by immeasurable Divine love.<sup>19</sup>

He adds later:

Any trans-substantiation of creaturely nature into the Divine is as impossible as the changing of God into creation... In the one and only hypostasis and person of Christ—the God-Man—in spite of the completeness of the mutual interpenetration... of the two natures, the two natures remain with their unchanged, immutable difference.<sup>20</sup>

Taking into consideration the assumed difference between the two, creation cannot be understood as rooted in the nature of the Creator. God created the world not from His nature, but from His will. Florovskii supports this thesis by the Patristic interpretation of the difference between the concepts of generation and creation as the origination from nature and will, respectively. He quotes, for example, St. Athanasius the Great:

Creating is *an act of will*... and therefore is sharply distinguished from the Divine generation, which is *an act of nature*.<sup>21</sup>

Florovskii also cites St. John of Damascus’ definitions:

Begetting means producing from the substance of the begetter an offspring similar in substance to the begetter. Creation or making, on the other hand, is the bringing into being, from outside and not from the substance of the creator... Generation is accomplished ‘by a natural

power of begetting' ... and creating is an act of volition and will.<sup>22</sup>

The distinction between generation and creation allows Florovskii to reconsider Bulgakov's sophiology, namely, the claim that the divine Sophia as God's idea of creation belongs to God's essence, *ousia*. Instead, as Florovskii argues, the divine plan for creation, although eternal, is related not to God's eternal nature, but again to God's will. As he puts it,

The idea of the world, God's design and will concerning the world, is obviously *eternal*, but in some sense, *not co-eternal*, and *not conjointly everlasting* with Him, because distinct and separated, as it were, from His 'essence' by His *volition*.<sup>23</sup>

Further exploring his sophiological theory, Florovskii clarifies the relations among the persons of the Holy Trinity to the divine will and Sophia accordingly. He writes, for instance, that

the Trinitarian structure is antecedent to the will and thought of God, because the Divine will is the common and undivided will of the All-Holy Trinity, as it is also antecedent to all the Divine acts and 'energies'.

As for the relation of the divine will as the source of the *idea* of creation to creation itself, Florovskii emphasizes that "the idea of the world and the world of ideas are totally in God ... and in God there is not, and there cannot be, anything of the created."<sup>24</sup> He writes, for example, in response to Bulgakov:

The Divine Idea of creation is not creation itself; it is not the substance of creation, it is not a bearer of the cosmic-process... not a process within the Divine Idea... but the appearance, formation, and the realization of another *substratum*, of a multiplicity of created subjects... [and it] remains always outside the created world, transcending it.<sup>25</sup>

As always, Florovskii supports this conclusion by quoting the Church Fathers, especially Maximus the Confessor. He also points out that, according to their teaching, the "divine idea" of a thing is dissociated from its "created nucleus," and is, therefore, neither its "substance" or "hypostasis," nor the "vehicle of their qualities and conditions" but rather "the *truth of a thing, its transcendental entelechy*."<sup>26</sup>

The heterogeneity in principle between Creator and the creatures, which has been established through the distinction of God's nature and will, brought several other advantages to Florovskii's religious philosophy. In the first place, God, being substantially different from creation is, therefore, free from its imperfections as well. Next, the created world, also as substantially different from God, acquires a relative independence and corresponding freedom in determining the paths of its evolution.

The creaturely freedom is limited, however, in one crucial point, Florovskii argues. Although the creatures are able to turn away from God and, therefore, to originate evil, they can never commit "meta-physical suicide"—totally annihilate their pre-existent essence or be in absolute opposition to Divinity. In other words, however far the world has fallen, it is always possible for the creatures to become saved, because the divine idea of creation, this wisdom of God or Sophia rooted in God's will, is eternal and unchangeable, and serves as a guarantee for the ultimate goodness of every creature.

### *Conclusion*

The sophiological controversy by itself was a significant episode in 20th century Orthodox theology. Its importance, however, becomes even more evident when put in a broader context of modern thought. A theological debate about the nature of divine wisdom reflected a wider issue of the compatibility of traditional Orthodoxy and modern civilization.

In this respect it is remarkable that Fr. Bulgakov after accepting modernity came to a revision of the Trinitarian dogmas. His opponent Fr. Florovskii, on the contrary, defended Orthodox teaching at the price of renouncing the modern worldview. Was it simply a coincidence? Or is this rather a tendency which discloses an intrinsic conflict between the two traditions? Will post-Soviet Russia overcome its resistance to Protestantism and produce some Orthodox thought which will adjust itself to the spirit of modernity without undermining its own identity? The questions still remain unanswered, and only time may tell what course modern Orthodox theology will take in the coming century.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This is a revised version of the paper delivered at the World Congress of Philosophy in Boston, August 1998. It is reprinted with kind permission of the editor from *Religion in eastern Europe*, xx:4 (2000) 27-37.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account of Bulgakov's life and work see a recently published book by Catherine Evtuhov, *The Cross and the Sickle: Sergei Bulgakov and the Fate of Russian Religious Philosophy*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997.

<sup>3</sup> Sergei Bulgakov. *Ot Marksizma k idealizmu [From Marxism to Idealism]*. St. Petersburg, 1903, p. xi. Quoted in Vasilii Zenkovsky, *A history of Russian Philosophy*, 2 vols., (authorized translation by George L. Kline), New York: Columbia University Press, 1953, p. 894.

<sup>4</sup> Sergei Bulgakov. *Svet nevechernii. Sozertsaniia i umozreniia. [The Unfading Light. Contemplations and Speculations]*, Moscow: Respublika, 1994, p. 19. All translations from the Russian, unless otherwise noted, are made by the author of the paper.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 186.

<sup>7</sup> Sergius Bulgakov, *The Wisdom of God. A Brief Summary of Sophiology*, New York - London: The Paisley Press - Williams and Norgate, 1937, p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> S. Bulgakov. *Uteshitel'. O Bogochelovechestve [The Comforter. On the Divine Humanity]*. Part II. Paris: YMCA Press, 1936, p. 210.

<sup>9</sup> S. Bulgakov. *Nevesta Agntsa. O Bogochelovechestve [The Bride of the Lamb. On the Divine Humanity]*. Part III. Paris: YMCA Press, 1945, p. 133.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>12</sup> Bulgakov, *Uteshitel'*, p. 249.

<sup>13</sup> Bulgakov, *Wisdom of God*, p. 99.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>15</sup> Georges Florovsky. "The Crisis of German Idealism I: The 'Hellenism' of German Idealism." (Trans. from the German Claudia Witte). *The Collected Works*, 14 vols. Edited by Richard S. Haugh. Vaduz, Europa: Buchervertriebsanstalt, 1989. Vol. XII, p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 20, 40.

<sup>19</sup> Georges Florovsky. *Creation and Redemption. The Collected Works*. Vol. III. Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing, 1976, p. 46.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> St. Athanasius. *C. arian. Or. 3, nfl. 60ss. c. 448 squ.* Quoted in Florovsky, *Creation and Redemption*, Vol. III, p. 48.

<sup>22</sup> St. John Damascene. *De fide orth. I, 8, PG xciv, c. 812-813.* Quoted in Florovsky, Vol. III, p. 48.

<sup>23</sup> Florovsky, *Creation and Redemption*, p. 56.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

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## Book Reviews

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Hildo Bos and Jim Forest (editors). *"For the Peace from Above:" An Orthodox Resource Book on War, Peace and Nationalism.* Bialystok, Poland: Orthdruk Printing House (for SYNDESMOS), 1999. 208pp. \$20 hc.

For this long overdue collection of documents, we may honor the intention, if not the achievement, of the editors of *"For the Peace from Above:" An Orthodox Resource Book on War, Peace and Nationalism.* Hildo Bos, vice-president of SYNDESMOS in Bialystok, Poland, and Jim Forest, secretary general of the Orthodox Peace Fellowship in Alkmaar, The Netherlands, aspire to provide a resource book to help "Orthodox young people"—such as those who participate in international SYNDESMOS conferences and who "live near conflict areas or are directly touched by war"—grapple with perennial questions concerning the morality of warfare and the fight against injustice by violent methods. The practical study guide that precedes the main body of documents may, indeed, prove useful to youth groups and other lay organizations, and a few of the selected texts (particularly the Church canons comprehensively and conveniently presented in chapter 4) reflect the rich complexity of Orthodox praxis.

The editors also list several worthy criteria in the introduction that, they claim, governed the selection and editing of the documents in the collection. These include a "maximum of original sources," a preference for official Church documents drawn from the various historic Orthodox Churches, a representative sample of opinion, and a "maximum of bibliographic references." However, the editors fail on all counts. A grave disappointment, this collection is seriously flawed, both structurally and materially.

The inclusion of nationalism (and, worse, church-state relations) as a third major topic needlessly complicates the already profoundly complex moral issues pertaining to war and peace, which certainly

warrant full attention on their own. The politicized prism of nationalism also distorts the primary focus and leads to a gross imbalance in the presentation of the themes and in the selection of specific texts and documents. The editors' claims to objectivity and diversity of expression notwithstanding, a vast preponderance of the selected texts tilts toward pacifism, non-violence, and anti-nationalism. Chapter 2 paves the way for this rather transparent ideological approach by furnishing a series of verbose definitions of supposedly key terms in the following revealing sequence: nation, nationalism, ethno-phyletism (racism), state, peace, war, identity.

What's missing from this collection is as egregious as the editors' preoccupation with nationalism. A surprisingly few documents reflect what has been, from the biblical era to the present, arguably the more familiar and widely-supported Orthodox moral position on issues of war and peace—namely, the “justifiable war trajectory.” The editors do provide copious selections of biblical passages, patristic texts, and more recent ecclesial statements and private judgments that cast war and, of course, nationalism in a strictly negative light. Only a token text here and there offers what could appear to the youthful readers of the volume as a dissenting view from a pacifist, anti-nationalist “mainstream.”

Conspicuously absent from the volume are numerous “resources” that would have provided for a genuinely balanced collection: scores of biblical texts from the Old Testament (particularly the “deuterocanonical books” such as 1-3 Maccabees that are contained in the Septuagint, the official Orthodox Old Testament); dozens of patristic texts by Church fathers and others, both east and west (the latter of which we cannot exclude a priori as merely “western”), such as St. Clement of Rome, St. Irenaios of Lyons, Clement of Alexandria, the early (pre-heretical) Tertullian, Origen, Minucius Felix, the later Lactantius, Aphrahat the Syrian, Synesios of Cyrene, St. Isidore of Pelusium, St. Photios the Great, and St. Theophylactos of Ochrid—to name only a few; *vitae* of various military or princely saints who engaged in combat as righteous or virtuous warriors, especially St. Demetrios of Thessalonica, St. Alexander Nevsky, St. Dmitri Donskoi, St. Stefan cel Mare of Romania, and St. Peter of Cetinje (Montenegro); liturgical hymns such as the troparion of the Holy Cross and the kontakion of the Annunciation, as well as rites of blessing for Orthodox warriors; treatises and essays by more recent writers such as

Metropolitan Antony of Khrapovitsky and Alexander Solzhenitsyn (instead of the obscure Fr. Sergi Tschetverikoff's rather slight effort).

Further, chapter 10's "essays and texts" betray, in the aggregate, a distinct animus against all wars as supposedly intrinsically evil. Even most of the selected authors who are not in the absolute pacifist camp would hardly be deemed friendly toward the justifiable war trajectory. Although both Olivier Clement and Fr. Stanley Harakas, for example, acknowledge the propriety of defensive war in Orthodox moral tradition, they lend grudging support at best and mischaracterize it as nothing more than a "lesser evil." That peculiar approach has, amazingly, gained widespread favor in contemporary Orthodoxy, despite its origins in Reformation Protestant thought and the wealth of documentary evidence in Orthodox moral tradition that affirms the fundamental virtue—*not* evil—of at least some wars conducted under admittedly highly restricted circumstances.

Similarly, chapter 9 offers a lopsided selection of ecclesial statements and encyclicals. The editors lead with the familiar statement against "ethno-phyletism ("blood-union") by the 1872 Synod of Constantinople, which, it should be obvious by now, sounds an anti-nationalist keynote for the remaining "official" statements in the volume—all from the last decade alone, by the way, and only from the Churches of Constantinople, Moscow, Serbia, and Albania. For this chapter to have more than casual or parochial appeal, however, it would have to be expanded considerably to include encyclicals and other statements by the other ten or so Orthodox hierarchies and more balanced attention to much more significant military conflicts that predated the 1990s, especially the First and Second World Wars in the twentieth century and the numerous wars of national liberation against the Ottoman Turkish Empire in the nineteenth century.

Even the bibliography is a mish-mash: some four dozen, mostly secondary sources, both Orthodox and non-Orthodox, in confusing, poorly edited citations. What's omitted is, again, as egregious an error in judgment as is the editors' decision to include so many irrelevant or general works lacking a sharp focus on war and peace.

In short, *"For the Peace from Above: An Orthodox Resource Book on War, Peace and Nationalism"* is at once too ambitious and confused in its scope, appears to lack order and coherence, leans too heavily in the direction of one particular moral perspective, and omits too many important, even essential texts and sources. The editors apparently

intend to revise and expand the present volume in a second edition. They would be better advised to go back to the drawing board and begin the entire enterprise anew.

Rev. Fr. Alexander F. C. Webster, Ph.D.

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*The Journals of Father Alexander Schmemmann, 1973-1983.* Trans. Juliana Schmemmann. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000. ISBN 0-88141-200-7; paper, 353 pp. U.S. \$19.95.

Readers familiar with the theological masterpieces of the late Rev. Dr. Alexander Schmemmann, with his magnificent insights into the nature of Orthodox Christian liturgy and worship, will thoroughly enjoy this very personal collection of journal entries. A world-renowned scholar, an eloquent preacher, and a captivating professor, Fr. Schmemmann served for many years as Professor of Liturgical Theology and Academic Dean of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in Crestwood, New York, until his untimely surrender to terminal cancer on December 13, 1983.

Fr. Alexander's journals span a period of about ten years, from 1973 to 1983. His memoirs include candid images of his various personal and public roles, as husband, father, grandfather, priest, professor, and seminary administrator. One unfailingly notices in each entry the striking veracity and expressiveness of a man who would occasionally retreat into the deepest recesses of his soul to "visit with himself", to internally discuss and assess his experiences, his fears, his frustrations, and his triumphs in each facet of his life. In his journals, Schmemmann, in following the Socratic *γινῶθι σεαυτόν* ("know thyself"), does more than record events: he reveals his authentic, vulnerable self and transposes this revelation onto paper. In this process, he not only assures for himself an inner catharsis, but also allows the grace of God to permeate his very being and fill him with the spiritual joy characteristic of his memoirs.

Schmemmann discovered absolute bliss when he spent precious moments with his family, especially his beloved wife Juliana. He writes: "What is happiness? It is to live as we do now, with L. [Liana, diminutive of Juliana], just the two of us, savoring every hour.... No 'special' conversation.... As one approaches the essence of a thing,

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## **Fundamentals of Conducting an Oral History**

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GABRIELLE MORRIS

Greek Americans with a sense of history have noted how much of the Greek immigrant's early life can still be described in the first person. Many people are living who have actually taken part in that history. Despite the unlikelihood of their writing their memoirs; these memories can be saved through the medium of conversation recorded on tape.

There are such tapes scattered in private collections, and many more can be made. They will, however, have little value for future historical research unless the tapes are collected into a central repository, preserved under safe conditions, catalogued, and made available for listening. The Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley, already world renowned for its collection of western and Latin American volumes, papers, and documents, now has excellent facilities for the storage and use of tapes.

With the tape recorder going, the interviewer asks the narrator enough questions to stimulate his memory, gently guiding the conversation along chronological and topical lines, but leaving the speaker free to discuss his choice of material in his own fashion. A form, either provided by the Bancroft Library, or constructed by the interviewer, is filled out with information which will be used as an aid to cataloguing and record-keeping.

Cassette tape recorders are convenient and easy to use. Preferably the interview should be recorded on good quality cassette tape, C-60, 30 minutes per side. Cassettes that run a longer time have too thin tape so there are problems of breaking and print-through because the tapes will be kept for a long period of time. The interviewer uses

stick-on labels to identify Side A and Side B of the tape and to give the name of the narrator; the date of the interview; and the subject. In addition, both the interviewer and the narrator sign a form granting permission for the tapes to be used for scholarly purposes. The tape, the filled out information form and the permission to use statement are then collected into a central repository, preserved under safe conditions, catalogued, and made available for listening.

In this way, both the interviewer and the narrator make their significant and wholly personal contributions to the scholarly research of the future.

#### SUGGESTED READING

Willa K. Baum, *Oral History for the Local Historical Society*, (UC Berkeley, 1987).

A classic in the field for decades, tells how to select the right equipment, and how to interview people whose memories are a living connection to the past. Baum goes on to demonstrate what you do when the interviews are collected, instructing you on how to transcribe and index them, store them, and make them available to the public for research. An invaluable tool for anyone who has ever wanted to capture the story of the past in their local community.

Willa K. Baum, *Transcribing and Editing Oral History*, (UC Berkeley, 1991)

Willa Baum once again shares her enormous knowledge of oral history in her second AASLH book, focusing this time on what to do when ending interviews, how to decide if you should transcribe or not, the steps needed to process your work, and transcribing procedures. Also provided are detailed instructions on auditing tapes, editing, legal agreements, indexing and more.

David K. Dunaway, Ed., (University of New Mexico) *Oral History An Interdisciplinary Anthology, Second Edition*, by Willa K. Baum, (UC Berkeley, 1996, September).

A collection of classic articles by some of the best known proponents of oral history, demonstrating the basics of oral history, while also acting as a guidebook for how to use it in research. Added to this new edition is insight into how oral history is practiced on an international scale, making this book an indispensable resource for scholars

of the history and social sciences, as well as those interested in oral history on the avocational level.

Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History, A Practical Guide for Social Scientists*, (Sage Publications, 3rd printing, 1984).

Written in a clear, accessible style, this volume offers social scientists a practical guide to the methods of oral history. The book provides readers with handy tips on everything from developing a written interview guide and using tape recorders to asking probing questions during the in-depth interview and editing transcriptions. The author extensively covers the ethical and legal issues involved in conducting life history interviews and elaborates on three different types of oral history projects: community studies, biographies, and family histories.

Ritchie, Donald A., *Doing Oral History*, (Twayne Publishers, New York, 1995, 265 pp).

Practical advice on oral history; planning, conducting, videotaping, preserving, teaching, presenting, and using in research and writing.



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structure as well as the interior of the Church. The book contains beautiful pictures of the icons and mosaics that date back to the seven-teen hundreds. He also includes a detail listing and description of the old sacred utensils and liturgical books that were used for centuries in the church.

The book contains a description of the monastic cells that have been restored. The author informs us that this monastery was a center of hospitality and refuge during the Turkish oppression. Mr. Zoumpos also includes sever other churches that still stand and function in the area of Domianon. He also includes biographies and photographs of priest that served the village and churches of Domianon.

The book is well documented with numerous photographs and old and recent documentation. It is a scholarly study, which includes a bibliography and is very useful to the scholar for further research in the region and to the pilgrim.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Marcos A. Guiolias, *Historia tôn Archaiôn Eurytanôn* (=History of the Ancient Eurytians), Athens, Greece: Poria Editions 1999, 226 pages.

The ancient Eurytians have sometimes been considered an uncultured and barbarian people. Life in Eurytania was difficult because the physical terrain is mountainous and rocky. The terrain was connected not only to the economy, but also to the political and social organization of the residents. They were thus among the poorest of all the peoples of Central Greece.

Despite their difficult lives and poverty, the ancient Eurytians were always considered to be part of Greece. Marcos Guiolias persuasively documents the classical literature bearing witness to the unity of the Eurytians with the rest of the Greeks. Furthermore, he proves with sound scholarship that the Eurytians had governing laws, colonies, cities, and organized armies.

The author discusses prehistoric and Homeric traditions relating to the Eurytians. He also brings to light classical references in Thucydides, Hippocrates, Euripides, Herodotos, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, Strabo, and many other ancient and modern writers. The

author does not limit his research to the historical development of Eurytania, but deals in a sophisticated way with the sociological, political, linguistic, and other activities of the people of Eurytania in antiquity. He points out that the goal of the research of history is to learn about the human being and the human creativity. (p. 17). The author makes an important statement: "For historical knowledge liberates the mind and renews the wings of the heart" (p. 18).

The author begins his discussion with the Homeric traditions that relate to the Eurytians. The tradition of Odysseus in Eurytania is very interesting. Various myths portray Odysseus in the Greek Islands, but he is also portrayed in the mountains of northwest Greece. According to a Eurytian myth, Odysseus returned to Ithaca where he took care of business, and then he went to Aitolia, where the king was Thyontas, his fellow warrior in Troy. Odysseus married Thyontas' daughter, and stayed there until his death. The ancient Eurytians worshipped Odysseus, whose myth had a great influence on the cultural and religious life in ancient Eurytania.

The author then cites classical references to Eurytania. According to Aristotle: "The Eurytian nation (tribe) is in Aitolia and is named after Eurytos [a mythical hero]" (cf. Aristotle's works in C. Muller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 2, p. 147). Thucydides points out that "Eurytania is the greatest area of Aitolia." (Thucydides III, 94).

The Eurytians were not any different than the rest of the Greeks. Eurytians were part of the Pan-Hellenic commonwealth, and were Doric descendents. The author makes numerous references to classical Greek and Roman authors, who stated that the Eurytians were "a Greek nation" a "branch" of Greece. Moreover, recent archeological findings around Karpenesi demonstrate that the Eurytians were part of the Greek nation. The Eurytians worshipped the same gods of Olympus as the other Greeks did, and they used the same prayers, oaths, and sacrifices to the gods. The discovery of a statue of the god Dionysus in the village of Hohlia demonstrates this.

Socially, the Eurytians were idiorythmic in their social structure and a democratic society. Slavery was not part of this society because the main industries, agriculture and warfare, did not require it. Their society had strong links among relatives and especially within the family. The law in force was "patriarchal." Aristotle describes Eurytian society as having large families with their children and

grandchildren strongly incorporated. The center of the household was the hearth (Hestia), and the father (or oldest male) was the leader. From this social structure developed the law that governed the institutions of marriage, inheritance, and the absolute authority of the head of the family.

According to Aristotle, the Eurytians, like the rest of the Greeks, went through three stages of social development. The first stage was the creation of the family. The household (*oikos*) was constructed and supported based on the contractual bond between husband and wife. The eldest male exercised the greatest authority, and the others followed him. All the extended the family, which constituted large groups, lived together in the inherited hearths of their forefathers.

The second stage was the formation of the village. Ancient Eurytian villages, like Greek villages in other locations, started as colonies of members of the same extended family.

The third stage was the incorporation of many villages into the "city-state." There were two types of entities in this stage: the city (*polis*) and the "tribal nation." The Eurytians belonged in the latter type, the tribal nation.

Each "tribe," including the Eurytians, was organized as a political society, that is, as an organized state or "nation." The state, according to classical legal theory, consists of certain foundational and necessary components such as people, territory, organization, and civil authority. These components are in cohesion and complement each other. The necessary elements that defined the Eurytian state were the following: (1) the people of Eurytania were a political body (*demos*), (2) they had geographical territory or land, Eurytania in Central Greece, and (3) they had a civic organization or legal authority that its citizens abided by.

The early political system of the Eurytians was a kingship. The voices of the people were expressed through the council of elders or the assembly of the people. The kingship system apparently disappeared by the time of Thucydides, who does not mention the name of any king of Eurytania, while he does mention the names of kings of neighboring states.

Later, Eurytania and two other states consisted of a federation (*koinon*, or common). Each member of the *koinon* received political and civil rights. A special council governed the *koinon* in accordance with the general wishes of the population. The defense of the *koinon*

was the responsibility of the central governing council. The koinon, however, was concerned not only with political and military cooperation, but also economic.

Organized political, civil, and cultural centers existed in ancient Eurytania. Ancient tradition states that Ancient Eurytania had its capital at Oichalia, where Eurytos ruled. As to where exactly ancient Oichalia was situated, it is a matter of speculation that requires further research. The author, relying on several Greek and European historians and geographers, suggests that ancient Oichalia was located where the modern city of Karpenesi is today. Several discoveries support this suggestion. K.G. Beloch (*Die Eurytanen* Klio II, 1911, p. 446), discovered ancient remains related to a fortification near Karpenesi, on the hill of Saint Demetrios. The remains include housing units, and at the very top of the hill there is a small acropolis. The dates of these remains have not yet been verified. Furthermore, a cubical tomb was discovered in the yard of the Karpenesi high school (lyceum). Another ancient city was Tymphrestos, after which the mountain today known as Tymphrestos (or Velouchi) took its name.

The communicating organ of any people is the language they speak. Language and thought are two sides that are bound into a unified whole. Through speech, people can understand the laws that govern society and the individual.

Thucydides refers to the ancient Eurytanian language and eating habits. He claims that he heard rumors that the Eurytadians speak an "unknown" language and "eat raw food." Those who spread these rumors and caricatures were the Messinians of Naupaktos, who sided with the Athenians and wanted to dominate the Eurytadians.

In fact, many scholars, including Professor Cicerone Poghire from Bucharest University, interpret the phrase "unknown language" to mean a dialect that is difficult to understand, not a different language. Thucydides himself (111,100) states that in 426 B.C.E. an embassy from Eurytania went to Peloponnesus. Their diplomatic mission was to represent their koinon in discussions before the Peloponnesian war. All those present spoke the Greek language, including the Eurytadians with their distinct dialect. The language of the Eurytadians was a type of Doric dialect with certain local intonations and variations of speech. The Eurytadians were known to speak words by leaving out certain syllables. (This is true to the present day.) Nevertheless, all the representatives of the Greek city-states who were gathered there

understood them. Although Thucydides refers to some parts of Greece as "mixed nations using two languages, barbarian and Greek," this was not the case in Eurytania. The Eurytians were Greeks who spoke a dialect that was understood by other Greeks.

As for whether the Eurytians consumed "raw foods," most reputable scholars of comparative and historical demography reject this. The ancient Eurytians ate smoked, sun-dried, or aged meat. They were thus considered "homophagoi."

Thucydides describes the Eurytians as "courageous fighters and warriors." Thucydides admired the Eurytians and the other Aitolians and their great courage, which was considered a great virtue in ancient Greece. He describes Aitolia as a "great warring nation." Thucydides speaks of the Eurytians in the first phase of the Peloponnesian War. In 462 B.C.E., the Athenians organized an expedition to conquer Aitolia (Thucydides II, 102). The Aitolians sided with Sparta, while the Messinians sided with Athens. The Messinians dominated Naupaktos and sought the help of the Athenians to conquer all of Aitolia. Nevertheless, the expedition failed. The Eurytians and the other Aitolians were able to beat the Athenian army by using as natural fortresses the mountains and rocks of the fierce topography of the area. In addition, the Eurytians had a superb cavalry and brave warriors. (The Eurytians were known for raising horses, which did not do this only for them but also for export.)

The Eurytians were defenders of Hellenic integrity against the barbarian invasion of the Galatians. When 200,000 Galatians attempted to conquer the civil and religious center of Greece in Delphi, the Eurytians and the other Aitolians fought to victory. According to tradition that is supported by archeological findings, the final blow to the Galatians was in Eurytania. Pausanias wrote that, in battle, not only men took part, but also courageous women. Subsequently, the Eurytians and other Aitolians dominated the region of Delphi until the Roman conquest in 189 B.C.

The Greeks resisted the Roman expansion into the Balkans, but eventually they were conquered. The Greek victims of the war against the Romans suffered greatly, as described by Diodoros the Sekeliotes. According to Cicero and Strabo, this defeat was an economic and moral catastrophe for the people of this region. The misery of the people even led them to sell their children for their happiness. As a result of this misery, the population left the plains for a better life,

safety, and freedom in the mountains. At the time of Strabo (VIII, c 388, 8), the plains were almost deserted. According to Diodoros (XIX, 74, 15), at that time there were 30,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry in Eurytania that enabled them to defend themselves. This indicates that the mountainous Eurytania was thickly populated. The mountain people became brigands (*clepts*) who recognized only their own unwritten laws. The brigands would attack the Romans, and then run to the mountains to find shelter. For this reason, the Romans used local armed men (*armatoloi*) to control the area. The Romans eventually managed to control the mountainous population. Later, the Byzantines and the Ottomans used this same method.

The author is well informed and uses the classical texts and modern scholarship to prove his case. The book is rich in its bibliographic references and historical details that express the development and survival of the Eurytaniens as a "Greek nation" of northwestern Greece. The book includes numerous pictures of archeological findings that are helpful to understand the people of Eurytania. The book also includes several maps and an index.

Professor Peter K. Doorn from the University of Docent wrote the foreword to the book. Professor Doorn praises the author for his deep and wide research of the ancient Greek sources regarding Central Greece and for his historical objectivity.

I am grateful to Euripides D. Kiramaris from Petralona, Eurytania for giving me this book, which I very much enjoyed reading.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

\* \* \*

Alexander Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650-850)*, In collaboration with Lee F. Sherry and Christine Angelidi, published by "The National Research Foundation: Institute For Byzantine Research," Research Series 2, Athens 1999, xviii+447pp.

This is the last and perhaps the most exciting production before he departed from this life of this great Byzantinist, who was the force behind the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. As Professor Nikos Oikonomides, Director of the Institute of Byzantine Research (Athens), points out in his brief historic presentation of the book, Kazhdan delivered his manuscript to Christine Angelidi in 1997, who prepared

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## **History of the Hellenic Cultural Association and the Hellenic Cultural Museum of Utah**

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CONSTANTINE J. SKEDROS

It is for me a great pleasure and a distinct honor to be here with you today and to participate in this historic event. I congratulate the Ascension Historical Committee for undertaking the leadership and sponsorship of this two-day inaugural symposium.

My remarks will be brief and will focus on two related topics: the Hellenic Cultural Museum and the Hellenic Cultural Association both of which are concerned with the preservation of the history of the Greek people of Utah. At the center of this history is the Hellenic Cultural Museum, which is located in the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Cathedral complex and was officially dedicated on May 3, 1992, with Utah's governor Norman Bangeter delivering the keynote address.

The Hellenic Cultural Museum is the first authentic Greek ethnic museum in America, and the only ethnic museum in the state of Utah. What follows is a brief history of the creation of this museum and its relationship to its parent organization, the Hellenic Cultural Association of Salt Lake City, Utah.

Historically the origins of the museum can be traced to the concept of creating a repository for old photographs of Greek immigrant activities in Utah. During the 1980s a group of interested parishioners consisting of myself, Steve Sargetakis, Thano Castles, and John Chipian, would meet periodically to identify and catalogue old photographs and historical memorabilia. Some of these photographs were taken as early as 1900 and others from 1905, when the first Greek Orthodox Church was established in Salt Lake City. The collection

eventually was augmented by movies, videos, and tape recordings of oral interviews with early Greek immigrants.

During this same period, noted historian and author, Helen Zeese Papanikolas edited *Peoples of Utah*, a collection of essays on the major ethnic groups found in the state. In conjunction with the book, she also arranged for an exhibit of Greek immigrant artifacts which was put on display at the Utah State Historical Society in Salt Lake City located a short distance from the Holy Trinity Cathedral. This exhibit was so popular that it was retained by the Historical Society for three years, from 1982 through 1984. Later, these exhibits were donated to the Hellenic Cultural Museum by Helen Papanikolas who, as a member of the Hellenic Cultural Association, has been a great supporter of the Cultural Museum.

Recognizing the importance of recording the history of the community, the Greek Orthodox Church, in 1986, appointed me to the volunteer position of Archivist and Historian. Along with the untiring assistance of the individuals mentioned above, hundreds of photographs were collected, identified and catalogued during those years. Currently there are over 800 photographs in our files, which are housed in the Church archives along with other important documents. At various times, especially during the annual observance of Greek Independence Day as well as for other significant church events, the enlarged photographs were exhibited to the public. The enthusiasm which these photographs generated encouraged the idea of creating a Hellenic Cultural Museum in order to exhibit these artifacts on a more permanent basis. Consequently the Hellenic Cultural Museum Association was organized on May 23rd, 1986, receiving its charter from the State of Utah as a not-for-profit, non-sectarian organization, whose principal objective was and still is, to preserve the rich history, heritage, traditions, and memorabilia that reflect the Greek experience in America, the Mountain West, and, in particular, Utah.

The major objective of the Hellenic Cultural Association (HCA) in its initial stage was to establish the Hellenic Cultural Museum and to sponsor public events in order to foster and encourage Hellenic ideals. In June of 1986 a general meeting was held at Prophet Elias Greek Orthodox Church in Salt Lake City to discuss the objectives and goals of the HCA. At this meeting, trustees were elected and some initial funds were raised. In November of the same year, a long

term lease agreement was approved by which the HCA was to occupy and remodel the lower floor of the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Cathedral. A lease for one dollar per year was signed with the parish council of Holy Trinity-Prophet Elias Greek Orthodox Community.

The basement of the Holy Trinity Cathedral, the church having been built in 1926, was originally used for recreational activities and later for Sunday School and Greek language classes. There had also been a stage where first-generation Greek immigrants performed plays and musicals. The lease agreement provided that the HCA finance the remodeling of this area for the creation of a museum. Since the Cathedral is listed on the State and Federal Registers of Historical Sites, no exterior changes to the building could be made.

The principle source of finance for the construction of the museum came from individual contributions, memberships, fund raising activities, and donations of fraternal organizations. Central to this fund raising effort was the creation of what is designated "The Donors Historical Plaque" located permanently in the entrance to the museum. The plaque has individual brass squares where donor's names are engraved. The various exhibit areas within the museum are identified from classical Greek historical names. Donors for these exhibit areas are recognized with plaques within each area and also with an inscription on the "Donors Historical Plaque".

Over a period of several years approximately 125,000 dollars was raised. These funds were used to renovate and prepare the basement, or lower floor of the Cathedral. A fire protection system, 22 showcases, extensive electrical work, carpeting, painting, and much more were installed.

Today, the HCA has no financial debt. All administrative staff work and much of the physical maintenance and improvements as well, have been done by dedicated volunteers. Through the years the trustees and others have contributed thousands of hours of volunteer work in preparing the museum and in ensuring its day-to-day operation.

From the beginning, the HCA has cultivated, and continues to maintain, excellent relationships with other museums in Salt Lake City. In particular, the HCA has received valuable assistance from the Utah State Historical Society. The Society has provided numerous sample forms which are of vital importance for the museum's record keeping. Members of the Society's staff on their own time

have assisted the museum by providing technical support and research. In addition, on several occasions staff members have delivered excellent lectures at Hellenic cultural events sponsored by the HCA.

In addition to the creation of an ethnic museum, one of the more significant accomplishments of the Cultural Association has been the erection of three historical monuments commemorating the Greek labor force in American life in the twentieth century. The lure of jobs in Utah during the early 1900s was a compelling incentive for thousands of young Greek men to leave their poverty stricken country in order to seek their fortunes in America. From 1900 to 1925, the Greek labor force, perhaps numbering 25,000, was the largest ethnic labor force in the Intermountain West. Salt Lake City, being the central city of this region, witnessed the development of a large Greek town. Several smaller Greek towns emerged in other locations of the Greater Salt Lake area.

Working primarily in the mines and on the railroads, these young men endured terrible hardships. Fatalities and severe injuries were everyday occurrences. For example, of the one hundred and seventy-two lives that were lost in the Castlegate mine explosion of Carbon County, Utah on March 8th, 1924, fifty of those men were Greeks. A quarter of a century earlier, on May 1st, 1900, a mine disaster in Scofield, Utah, killed two hundred miners; although no Greeks were involved in that particular mine explosion.

Desiring to commemorate and honor the lives of these young Greek miners and others, the HCA took the leadership role in creating monuments at these disaster sites. The first monument was dedicated October 3rd, 1987 in Castlegate, honoring the miners who lost their lives in the explosion of 1924. A second monument was dedicated at the Scofield Cemetery on October 31st, 1987. A third commemorative monument is located in the courtyard of the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Cathedral complex in Salt Lake City. It was dedicated on April the 23rd, 1988, with Utah Governor Norman Bangeter delivering the keynote address. This historical monument was created to honor several groups of individuals: the founders of the Greek community of Utah in 1905; the fifty Greek miners who were killed at Castlegate; and the names of one-hundred and fifty-one other Greek immigrants who were killed during those early years while working on the mines, on the railroads, and in other industrial accidents throughout the State of Utah. There are plaques on the monument

listing the name of all these individuals.

In addition to these plaques, there is another plaque which lists the names of the twelve immigrants from Utah who were killed in World War I along with the names of the twenty-two members of the Greek communities of Price and Salt Lake City who were killed during World War II. Finally, there is the name of an individual who was killed in the Korean War.

At the dedication of the monument located on the Cathedral grounds, both military and religious services were performed. Since then, the HCA, in cooperation with the Greek Orthodox Church and community fraternal organizations, sponsors an annual memorial service on Memorial Day at the base of the monument. These services not only attract local Greek community participation but participation from the larger Salt Lake City civic and military communities as well.

In the spring 1995 issue of the magazine *Labor's Heritage* published by the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in Silver Spring, Maryland, this Hellenic Historical Monument in Salt Lake City was featured among several prestigious historical labor landmarks in America. Photographs were also included in the article.

The monument stands as a reminder for succeeding generations of Greek Americans of the sacrifices their forefathers endured.

The hard work and dedication of the members and supporters of the HCA is clearly evident in the creation of the museum and in the erection of these historical monuments. In addition, however, the HCA has on several occasions received formal recognition as a museum and as an association. In July of 1992 the museum was the recipient of the Utah Heritage Award presented by the Utah State Historical Society. The museum has also been cited in a national competition, having received a certificate of commendation by the American Association of State and Local History at its Annual Meeting in Omaha, Nebraska in September of 1994. In order to qualify for the competition, the HCA had to prepare a very detailed and voluminous notebook of facts. This included a history of the museum, articles of incorporation, a detailed description of the objectives and goals of the organization, and other documentation. The HCA museum was the only ethnic museum in America to merit such an award in 1994.

During Utah's Statehood Centennial Celebration the Utah House of Representatives and the Utah State Senate presented the HCA

museum with a commemorative resolution dated January 19, 1996. The resolution stated,

“The keepers of Utah’s history have made an outstanding contribution in making the Utah Statehood Centennial Celebration a most memorable event. This organization has, over the years, kept the integrity of Utah’s history and we are grateful for their insight, dedication, and public service for this most noble of pursuits.”

This resolution is a poignant reminder that by preserving early Greek immigrant history we not only preserve the story of parents and grandparents but we are also preserving the history of the American nation.

It has certainly been beneficial and encouraging to receive local and national recognition. Yet, the HCA museum ultimately is a People’s Museum, and as such is a museum of the people and for the people. Thus, of equal importance is the fact that the annual attendance at the museum remains steady. The museum averages approximately 5,000 visitors a year. There is no admission charge. The character of the museum as a People’s museum is also reflected in the governance of the HCA. Since its inception, the HCA has been governed by a board of trustees, on which the founding members continue to serve. As activities have increased, other board members have been added. At present there are nineteen trustees. Meetings are held on the second Tuesday of each month at the museum. Sponsors and guests are encouraged to attend and after the meeting the group enjoys a relaxed dinner at one of the several Greek restaurants in the Salt Lake City area.

It should be emphasized that part of the success of the HCA, I believe, is due to the fact that the organization is independent from the local parish and the parish council. From the beginning the HCA has had an excellent relationship with the Greek Orthodox community, working cooperatively with the Church on community cultural matters. This is above all evidenced during the annual three-day Greek Festival. However, the HCA is not dependent upon the local parish council. The organization raises its own money, maintains its own budget and bank accounts, and receives no monetary support from the Church. This independence, though beneficial, does not imply a distance from the Greek Orthodox community, primarily because almost the entire membership of the HCA is part of that community.

One of the most recent milestones of the HCA occurred in May of

1997, when under the direction of the HCA, the Hellenic Cultural Library was opened. The library is housed in the Hellenic Cultural Memorial Building which is located directly north of the Cathedral. Dr. Philip Notarianni, Coordinator of Public Programs for the Utah State Historical Society was the keynote speaker at the dedication of the library. The library has been equipped with state-of-the-art computers, software and printers. Focusing upon the Greek American experience, the library is steadily building up a supply of books, magazines, newspapers, research articles, oral interviews of immigrants on tapes and video, and publications from notable Greek writers and researchers.

Looking ahead to the future, the museum has utilized its physical space to capacity. Although it was initially acknowledged that the current space for the museum was insufficient, it was felt that it was better to have a museum, small as it was, than to wait to build a separate building. Anticipating the problem of lack of space, the HCA presented a resolution at a General Assembly of the Greek Orthodox Community in November of 1997. The HCA requested that if and when space becomes available on the church grounds, that provision be made for the HCA to construct a free standing museum with at least 8,000 square feet of space. At the present time the museum occupies 2,000 square feet. The General Assembly approved this resolution. The HCA has since created a special museum construction fund for this future expansion.

Finally, it should also be noted that another offspring of the Hellenic Cultural Museum was its leadership in creating the National Association of Hellenic Cultural Museums in November of 1993 for the purpose of preserving, assisting and encouraging Philhellenes and Hellenic cultural groups and individuals in their efforts to create Hellenic Cultural Museums in their local communities.

In closing, today's Symposium is tangible evidence of concern and action for the preservation of Greek American history and culture on the part of those of you gathered here. What has been accomplished in Salt Lake City can be accomplished elsewhere. You may not be able to replicate things in precisely the same manner, nor should you. For many communities the lack of available space for an ethnic museum is a serious problem. What is important, however, is that something be done in other communities.

Much of our history as Greek Americans has already been lost. We cannot afford to lose any more.

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## **Interchurch Marriages: An Orthodox Perspective\***

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LEWIS J. PATSAVOS / CHARLES J. JOANIDES

### **I. CANONICAL AND THEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

#### *Introduction*

The divine institution of marriage according to the classic definition of Orthodox canonical tradition is "the union of man and woman, the sharing of the same destiny in life forever, the communion of divine and human law."<sup>1</sup> A contemporary definition sees the institution of marriage resembling the institution of the Church in its oneness, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity. It is one in its unity, holy in its divine origin, catholic in its universality, and apostolic in its outreach to the world through the married couple and the family.<sup>2</sup>

The Church's unequivocal canonical teaching regarding the sanctity of marriage and the family was articulated in an "Agreed Statement" published in 1978 by the Orthodox-Catholic Consultation in the United States. It states the following: "Christ affirmed and blessed the oneness and profound significance of marriage. Christian tradition, following his teaching, has always proclaimed the sanctity of marriage. It has defined marriage as the fundamental relationship in which a man and woman, by total sharing with each other, seek their own growth in holiness and that of their children, and thus show forth the presence on earth of God's kingdom."<sup>3</sup>

Only with such an understanding of marriage is it possible to comprehend the Church's firm position on matters arising from a variation

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of the norm. The norm is what the Church projects as the ideal. Variations from the norm include besides marriages beyond a first marriage and dissolution of a marriage, marriage with a non-Orthodox Christian.

The emphasis of the present article being "interchurch marriages," marriage with a non-Orthodox Christian will be the focus of this report. Furthermore, owing to lengthy dialogue on this issue between Orthodox and Catholics in North America, comments expressed mainly reflect interchurch marriages between Orthodox and Catholics. Nevertheless, it should be understood that many of the principles involved relate to other trinitarian Christians as well.

### *"Interchurch Marriage" within the Orthodox Church<sup>4</sup>*

Several ancient canons, five to be exact (10 and 31 of Laodicea, 21 of Carthage [419], 14 of Chalcedon, and 72 of Trullo), address the issue of "interchurch marriage," or marriage with a non-Orthodox Christian. Characteristically, the normative canon 72 of Trullo states: "An Orthodox man is not permitted to marry an heretical woman, nor an Orthodox woman to be joined to an heretical man."<sup>5</sup> Marriage with a non-Christian or non-believer is not mentioned at all, except in the case of a pre-existing marriage, where either one of the spouses had subsequently espoused the Orthodox faith. The continuation of such a marriage is permissible, according to the teaching of St. Paul (I Cor 7,12-14), if so willed by the believing spouse.

The canonical discipline of the early Church regarding marriage with a person not of the Orthodox faith can only be understood in the light of the canonical/theological teaching articulated above. As affirmed in the "Agreed Statement on the Sanctity of Marriage," "marriage mirrors the union of Christ and the Church (Eph 5, 23)."<sup>6</sup> Such a spiritual image, however, presupposes the mutual sharing of the same faith, the liturgical expression of which is participation together in the eucharist. The mystery of the eucharist is at the same time the ultimate expression of our unity with Christ. It is indeed what accords a marriage its specifically Christian character.

Herein lies the canonical anomaly presented by marriage with the non-Orthodox, whether Christians or non-Christians. The non-Orthodox may not be admitted to eucharistic communion due to the fact that they do not share the same faith. Nevertheless, "interchurch marriages" involving Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians within the Orthodox Church have since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century been

permitted with the official sanction of the Church. This was possible only because marriage since the 9<sup>th</sup> century is no longer blessed within the context of the eucharistic liturgy. Canonically, however, such marriages must conform to the following conditions:

- 1) they must be performed by an Orthodox priest;
- 2) children born must be baptized and nurtured in the Orthodox faith;
- 3) marital problems must be adjudicated by the Orthodox Church.

In the final analysis, the contemporary canonical discipline governing "interchurch marriages" within the Orthodox Church reflects an awareness of existing realities. Not only is it conditioned by the Church's compassion and pastoral sensitivity, but also by her concern for the stability of the family.

### *"Interchurch Marriage" outside the Orthodox Church<sup>7</sup>*

The claim of the Orthodox Church to be the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church has as its result the deep reluctance to ascribe to another Church "ecclesial reality" in a formal, documentable way. No official statement has been issued in this regard even during the present days of ecumenism on the part of Orthodox hierarchs, theologians, episcopal synods, or local Orthodox Churches. If, therefore, no ecclesial reality is recognized in another Church, neither can its sacraments be recognized. This is also true of the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, even though this Church has so much in common with the Orthodox Church and has preserved the structure of classic catholicism (episcopate, creed and canon).

Unofficially, a number of Orthodox hierarchs and theologians recognize ecclesial sacramental reality especially in the Roman Catholic Church. Officially, they may well talk of a "Sister Church" relationship<sup>8</sup> and of "sharing many things" in terms of the ancient catholic tradition. However, they are usually guarded about expressions which would explicitly affirm sacramental and canonical validity even of the Roman Catholic Church. This is due to the fact that only a Pan-Orthodox Council has the authority to make such a pronouncement.

Nowhere is the painful reality of this position felt more than in "interchurch marriages" between Orthodox and Catholics performed only in the Roman Catholic Church. The reluctance to accept the validity of sacramental marriage in the Roman Catholic Church derives less from differences in theological understanding about the sacra-

ment of marriage in our respective Churches. The "Agreed Statement" referred to above clearly demonstrates the near identical theology of marriage of both Churches. It is rather due more to the complete separation of the two Churches as communities of faith, a separation which in the Orthodox tradition has been interpreted as "heresy," and not merely "schism," on the part of the Roman Catholic Church. Once the category of heresy is applied, there is no possibility within the canons of the Orthodox Church to recognize a valid sacramental marriage or any ecclesial reality as such in that Church, no matter how close or identical the theology may be on specific issues.

Because of the above, the canons of the Church universal do not deal with the status of marriages outside of the Orthodox Church and formally prohibit Orthodox Christians from such.<sup>9</sup> The only concession made by local Orthodox Churches is to allow "interchurch marriages" of other trinitarian Christians with Orthodox Christians, but in the Orthodox Church. Permission for such marriages first began to be granted reluctantly only at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup>

Interestingly, the formal reason given for denying recognition of marriage performed outside the Orthodox Church is neither lack of recognition of a valid sacramental marriage nor that of ecclesial reality. It is the absence of the nuptial blessing by an Orthodox priest, considered an essential element in the marriage rite, regardless whether it is an "interchurch marriage" or a marriage between two Orthodox Christians.<sup>11</sup>

Although the importance of the nuptial blessing by an Orthodox priest is consistently stressed, this blessing was not always obligatory as a constitutive element of the marriage rite. The Byzantine emperors contributed much to its imposition. Justinian was mainly responsible for adopting a uniform practice (6<sup>th</sup> century), following which Leo VI in the 10<sup>th</sup> century made the nuptial blessing obligatory.

The absolute necessity of the blessing by an Orthodox priest is a matter some Orthodox theologians, clearly a minority, are willing under certain conditions to overlook. These are that the clergy who perform marriage outside the Orthodox Church belong to a Church which recognizes the sacramentality of marriage and priesthood as does the Orthodox Church. The justification for this accommodation is that in theory and practice the sacraments of some non-Orthodox Christians have been recognized by "economy." The same recognition could, therefore, be granted the sacrament of marriage. Accordingly, if "economy" can be invoked for the recognition of

baptism, the first sacrament received sequentially, it ought also be invoked for the recognition of marriage.<sup>12</sup>

### Conclusions

The fact remains that the uninterrupted practice regarding “interchurch marriages” is that they must be blessed in the Orthodox Church. This is especially true in places where Orthodoxy has been the predominant faith. There have been exceptions to this general rule, however. Before the Bolshevik Revolution, for example, Russian civil law, which was also binding upon the Church, required that only in Russia itself must marriages between Orthodox Christians take place within the Orthodox Church. Exceptions to this requirement were foreseen for the Baltic Provinces, where the faith of the husband determined both the place of the marriage and the religious upbringing of children.<sup>13</sup> The brevity of this article prevents the mention of other examples.

On another note, non-Christian spouses who subsequently embrace the Orthodox faith and enter the Church through baptism, chrismation and communion, are not remarried. Their entry into the communion of the Church through these sacraments confers upon their “natural” marriage concluded outside the Church its heretofore lacking sacramental quality. This being the case with such a marriage, the question arises with regard to an “interchurch marriage” of an Orthodox Christian performed in a church which recognizes the sacramentality of marriage. Is it theologically justifiable to require that this marriage be repeated in the Orthodox Church?

The issue at stake here is the reception by an Orthodox Christian of a sacrament outside the communion of the Orthodox Church. For the Orthodox spouse of an “interchurch marriage,” marriage sought outside the communion of the Orthodox Church is tantamount to denial of one’s ecclesial affiliation. As a corrective for the Orthodox spouse to be restored to communion, the marriage must be performed within the Orthodox Church.<sup>14</sup>

An alternative to the above practice is the *Service of Blessing in Sacramental Confirmation of a Marriage Entered into Outside the Orthodox Church* celebrated by some Orthodox in place of the rite of marriage.<sup>15</sup> As a blessing required by the Orthodox Church for the restoration to communion of an Orthodox spouse, it is the festive affirmation of what had previously taken place without her sanction.

It should be noted that the blessing imparted through this service to the marriage is not viewed as giving substance to what was never there. The service, however, should be preceded by the sacrament of penance, as an indication of the Orthodox spouse's sincere intention for reconciliation with the Orthodox Church.<sup>16</sup>

## II. PASTORAL AND ECUMENICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The numbers of interfaith marriages occurring in the Orthodox Church varies from one segment of the church to the other. Where Orthodox faithful are embedded in predominately homogeneous Orthodox societies such as Greece and Russia, interfaith marriages are fewer in number when compared to multi-cultural, multi-religious countries such as Canada and the United States. Furthermore, while the canonical and pastoral issues related to interfaith marriage are of concern to the entire Orthodox Church, this issue takes on greater urgency in segments of the Orthodox Churches where the frequency of these marriages is greatest. This article will consider one such example, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America (GOA).

Statistics kept by the GOA indicate that two of every three marriages (66%) presently conducted in its churches are inter Christian.<sup>17</sup> In addition, over the past 60 years, interfaith marriages in the GOA have increased nine-fold from around 400 annually to about 3600.<sup>18</sup> Where available, Diocesan statistics in the GOA suggest that there are more Orthodox/Catholic marriages occurring than Orthodox/Orthodox marriages.<sup>19</sup> If individuals marrying outside of the GOA were considered, it is estimated that the percentage of faithful in the GOA intermarrying would be closer to 75-80%.<sup>20</sup>

Given these and other similar statistics, the GOA has recently chosen to examine these trends more carefully in an effort to determine how it might minister more effectively to this growing population of faithful.<sup>21</sup> However, this task has proven to contain certain inherent challenges, the chief of which is the GOA's desire to meet this population's unique pastoral needs, while also protecting its theological integrity. Closely inter-related with this challenge is how its attitude toward interfaith marriages impacts the Orthodox Church's work on ecumenical affairs. The following examples should function to illustrate this point.

## OBSERVATIONS FROM THE INTERFAITH RESEARCH PROJECT (IRP)

*Interfaith, Intercultural Differences*

Results from the IRP suggest that intermarriages are richer, more complex marital systems due in large part to both partners' religious, cultural, and in some cases, racial differences. As such, the challenges that these couples potentially face in their efforts to cultivate a religious environment in their homes, tend to be greater in number and qualitatively different than the challenges that single faith, single cultural couples might typically encounter. Given this empirical reality, the GOA has sought to identify and become more sensitive to these unique challenges in its efforts to facilitate religious and spiritual growth among the members of this growing group of faithful who attend its churches. Furthermore, the GOA has determined that doing anything less, would have a negative impact on the well-being of these marriages and families, as well as an adverse effect on the future viability of many of its churches.

*A Diverse Population*

While this population of faithful tends to be grouped under the label "interfaith," there is a great deal of diversity within this aggregate of faithful. In some instances, both partners are highly religious. In other instances, one partner has a high connection to their religious background, while the other has nominal religious connections. In other instances, one or both partners may have nominal religious connections, and high ethnic attachments. In short, the variations are almost limitless. Moreover, because of this diversity, clergy and lay leaders ministering to these couples will be challenged to view these couples from both an aggregate and statistical perspective, as well as individual, unique couples.

*An Ecumenical Perspective*

Interfaith couples attending churches within the GOA generally espouse an ecumenical view of the Christian Church. This perspective appears to protect marital and family stability by serving to de-emphasize spousal and familial religious differences. Orthodox Church ecclesiology finds this view problematic, since it runs counter to the Orthodox Church's conceptualization of the Church. Discovering pastoral approaches that are mindful of interfaith couples' unique

needs to avoid contention related to their religious differences, while protecting Orthodox theology is a challenge that the GOA is grappling with today.

### *Respectful Critiques of Non-Orthodox Faith Groups*

Results from the IRP also suggest that interfaith couples espouse a respectful attitude toward all religious groups, and inculcate their children with a similar respect. Results also suggest that Orthodox theologians' critiques and observations of non-Orthodox faith groups should be made respectfully. When the GOA draws doctrinal distinctions between itself and other faith groups it must seek to do so respectfully. Finding ways of affirming and celebrating Orthodox theology, while also avoiding disparaging remarks about non-Orthodox faith groups is crucial to its efforts to minister more effectively to interfaith marriages and families. Failure to do so will likely have a negative impact on interfaith families' church attendance and commitment.

### *Orthodox Sacramental Theology*

Interfaith couples involved in the IRP repeatedly reported feeling like outsiders when they attend church services in the GOA. This was especially true of the non-Greek Orthodox partner and members of their extended family. Since only Orthodox in good standing are allowed to participate in the sacraments, many of these feelings appeared to be linked to the Orthodox Church's view of the sacraments and their administration. Orthodox theologians within the GOA will be challenged to present Orthodox sacramental theology in a manner that is both respectful to Orthodox holy tradition, and sensitive to non-Orthodox who choose to worship with their families in the GOA.

### *Parental Challenges*

According to the IRP, interfaith couples who attend a church in the GOA generally choose to raise their children in the Greek Orthodox partner's church, but also desire that they develop a familiarity and respect for both parents' ethnic and faith traditions. Results also indicated that interfaith couples are interested in attending churches that celebrate ethnicity and value Christianity, and are disinterested in attending churches that tend to be ethnocentric and religiocentric.



When churches in the GOA were perceived as being too ethnocentric and religiocentric, interfaith families' church attendance was negatively impacted. Moreover, this appeared to have negative consequences on children's efforts to bond with their developing Orthodox faith.

### Conclusions

Given the increased numbers of interchristian marriages occurring within some segments of the Orthodox Church, more attention has been given to this growing population of faithful. Additionally, because interreligious marriages are also on the increase, some theologians have called for reexamination of the Orthodox Church's present position toward these types of marriages. They have posited some persuasive arguments that could serve to facilitate future discussions. Whether the Orthodox Church will choose to reexamine its present position toward inter religious marriages is unclear. However, what is becoming increasingly more apparent, is that the pastoral challenges related to interchristian couples and their families who worship in the Orthodox Church exist and should not be ignored. Furthermore, research suggests that these challenges are qualitatively different than the challenges that single faith Orthodox marriages and families encounter.

Discovering ways of ministering more effectively to this growing population of couples and families will tax Orthodox theologians as they attempt to protect Orthodox theology while also seeking more effective pastoral approaches in intermarried couples and their families. Addressing this issue as an inherent postmodern reality and challenge, rather than viewing it as a threat and, therefore, ignoring it, will likely prove profitable to the religious and spiritual well-being of those intermarried couples and families that choose to worship in the Orthodox Church.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See N. Milasch: *To ekklesiastikon dikaion tês orthodoxou anatolikes Ekklesiâs*, Athens: 1906, 823.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Stavropoulos: "The Understanding of Marriage in the Orthodox Church," in: *One in Christ 15/1* (1979), 60-62.

<sup>3</sup> J. Borelli / J. Erickson (Eds.): *The Quest for Unity*, Crestwood, N.Y. -Washington, D.C., 1996), 202.

<sup>4</sup> See L. Patsavos: "A Canonical Response to Intra-Christian and Inter-religious Marriages," in: *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 40/3-4 (1995), 289-292.

<sup>5</sup> H. Percival (Ed.): *The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 14 of "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers," second series, Grand Rapids, 1956, 397.

<sup>6</sup> J. Borelli / J. Erickson (Eds.): *The Quest for Unity*, 202.

<sup>7</sup> See L. Patsavos: "The Status of Second and Third Heterodox Marriage," in: *Festschrift for Professor Constantine Bonis*, Thessaloniki: Analecta Vlatadon, 1989, 474-477.

<sup>8</sup> Note most recently, for example, reference to the Orthodox and Catholic Churches as "Sister Churches" in the Balamand Document "Uniatism, Method of Union of the Past and the Present Search for Full Communion" issued by the Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church in 1993.

<sup>9</sup> See canon 72 of Trullo.

<sup>10</sup> See L. Patsavos: "Mixed Marriages and the Canonical Tradition of the Orthodox Church," in: *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23/3-4 (1978), 249.

<sup>11</sup> See J. Kotsonis: *Hê kanonikê apopsis peri tês epikoinonias meta tôn heterodoksôn*, Athens, 1957, 206-8.

<sup>12</sup> See H. Alivisatos: "Peri miktôn gamôn," reprint from the periodical *Ekklesiastikos Faros*, Alexandria, 1932, 438; see also J. Panagopoulos: *Peri mikton gamon en Helladi*, Athens, 1938, 104-109, as cited by J. Kotsonis: *Hê kanonikê apopsis*, 207, n. 518.

<sup>13</sup> See A. Smirensky: "The Evolution of the Present Rite of Matrimony and Parallel Canonical Developments," in: *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 8 (1964), 45.

<sup>14</sup> Divergencies in viewpoint and practice on this matter among several Orthodox Churches were recognized by the Second Pan-Orthodox Pre-Synodal Conference of 1982. As a result, flexibility was shown in reaching a resolution on the basis of local realities. Although this decision is non binding, it is indicative of the Orthodox Church's willingness to discuss this issue further. See my article "A Canonical Response to Intra-Christian and Inter-religious Marriages," 297.

<sup>15</sup> This is the practice of the OCA (Orthodox Church in America), one of several Orthodox church jurisdictions in America, which is also responsible for devising this particular service.

<sup>16</sup> See L. Patsavos: "A Canonical Response to Intra-Christian and Inter-religious Marriages," 295-296.

<sup>17</sup> *Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America Yearbook 2000*, New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America.

<sup>18</sup> See J.S. Counselis: "Greek Orthodox Church Statistics of the United States, 1949-1989: Some ecclesial and social patterns," in: *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 16 (1989), 129-159.

<sup>19</sup> See C.J. Joanides: *The Interfaith Marriage Challenge: A Manual for Clergy and Lay Leaders*, Manuscript submitted for publication, 2000.

<sup>20</sup> See S. Harakas: "Emerging ecumenical families," in: A.C. Vrame (Ed.): *InterMarriage: Orthodox Perspectives*, Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1997.

<sup>21</sup> The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese has recently funded the Interfaith Research Project (IRP). For more information about this research, the reader may log onto <http://www.interfaith.goarch.org>, or write Rev. Fr. Joanides.

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Andrew Kadel, *Matrology: A Bibliography of Writings by Christian Women from the First to the Fifteenth Century*, Continuum Publishing Co., New York 1995, 191pp.

The present volume presents the women Christian authors of the first fifteen hundred years of the Christian era. The book is structured in a chronological order of the writings of women during the period designated. It includes a very good introduction and explanation of the significance of hagiography or sacred texts.

The author of this volume provides bibliographies of women writings from the New Testament times including the Apocryphal Gospels and Gnostic texts. Though there are very few writings in this period authored by women, it is important to acknowledge their existence.

The spiritual development of the early Church was greatly contributed to by the desert mothers. The volume includes early medieval writings by women that are very helpful in understanding the position of women in the evolution of Christianity. The author has a very good section on women authors in the Byzantine Empire and the East. He includes hagiographers, hymnographers-including Kassiane, the Syrian saints, and the Armenian hymnographers. Also included are the women authors of the West from the eighth century to the fifteenth century.

This volume is the first attempt in English to present a comprehensive bibliography of all the Christian women authors. This would make accessible the writings of Christian women, which are available in various libraries. One of the most influential Christian women was Macrina. She influenced her brothers, St. Basil the Great and St. Gregory of Nyssa. Especially, she had an enormous influence on St. Gregory who wrote a *Life of Saint Macrina* and is featured in his dialogue *On the Soul and Resurrection*.

The volume could be very useful in understanding the writings of the mothers of the Church to complete the circle of Patristic studies. For a complete coverage of all the Christian women authors I would like to make reference to the six volumes monumental work by professor Demetrios G. Tsames *Mêterikon* (Narrations, Apophthegmata, and lives of the Holy Mothers of the desert, Ascetics and Blessed Women of the Orthodox Church) (in Greek) Thessalonikê: Publications of the Sisterhood of Saint Macrina six volumes (1990-

1996). This *Mêterikon* is well documented and very useful for the study of the life and works of the Church Mothers.

The methodology of the bibliography and presentation is based on sound scholarly ground. Kadel is to be commended for such a volume to elevate the study of the writings of women to that of the writings of men. Its title expresses that it is a Matrology, the study of women's writings or mothers of the Church.

This volume is a must for theological libraries and all libraries to educate people in the writings of the Mothers of the Church. I highly recommend it.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Constantine Cavarnos, *The Hellenic Heritage*, Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Belmont, MA, 1999, 128pp.

This volume by the well-known Greek-American Orthodox philosopher-theologian is a welcome addition to his numerous studies. The author emphasizes and demonstrates that the classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek heritage is vital to the world at large.

The Greek heritage is not limited to language and literature. Besides the fine arts the Greeks made a great contribution to philosophy, science, literature and other fields of culture.

Dr. Cavarnos points out that Paideia and Politismos is what in the West calls "culture and civilization." The Greeks here made a "contribution of the highest order." The Greeks have been the originators of philosophy, historiography, medicine, and natural science. The use of Greek terminology to express the richness of the Greek language and its influence on Modern English.

Dr. Cavarnos quotes numerous American and European thinkers who extol the Greek heritage and culture.

In addition, Dr. Cavarnos points out the classical influence on the Church Father and in Christianity. The Greek language spread in Egypt during the dynasty of the Ptolemies. He points out that Hypatia was the first woman philosopher who taught at the Alexandria Museum (5<sup>th</sup> century AD). The famous library of Alexandria was the treasure house of the Greek writings and the center of Greek learning. The Christians there made a great use of all these and developed their

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twenty years following his falling asleep in the Lord, his voice still resonates powerfully in the ears of those blessed to know him: *Tout est ailleurs* – “All is elsewhere.”

Fr. Stylianos Muksuris

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Γεώργιος Βαλσαμῆς, *Οἱ Πατριάρχες τοῦ γένους, ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀλωση τῆς Πόλης ἕως Σήμερα* = George Balsamês (ed.), *The Patriarchs of the Orthodox Nation, From the Capture of the City to this Day*, Volos, Sacred Metropolis of Demetrias, 1955, 251p+photos.

This [Greek] book opens with a blessing of Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomaïos (p. 9) and an introduction (pp. 11-18) by Metropolitan Christodoulos of Dêmêtrias (now Archbishop of Athens). It provides a Biographical Lexicon of Patriarchs from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century (pp. 19-155) and a collection of texts (pp. 157-244). Fr. Thomas Synodinos, Hierarchical Vicar General of the Sacred Metropolis of Dêmêtrias, was responsible for the publication of the photos that have been included in this volume, which were provided by Aristeides Panôtês, an *archon offikialios* of the Ecumenical Throne.

Introducing the book Metropolitan Christodoulos of Dêmêtrias states the following: “This first volume in the series *Ecclesiastical Library of the Sacred Metropolis of Dêmêtrias* is rightly dedicated to the Great Church and her illustrious presiding hierarchs, from the glorious Gennadios, the first Ecumenical Patriarch after the Captivity, to the dynamic and sensible Bartholomaïos, the visionary of panorthodox active presence, who glorifies today the renowned Throne. The selection of texts ... is designed to strengthen in our times the institution it represents and especially the persons who embody it as a first token of recognition of honor and expression of reverence that are due to them by the international community” (pp. 17-18). There are no footnotes in the book, and the bibliography is added to the text, whether general, pertaining to all the patriarchs, or particular, pertaining to each one of them, mostly from the entries of the *Religious and Ethical Encyclopedia* (Ἡθικὴ καὶ Θρησκευτικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία), vols. 1-12, Athens 1962-1968 (see pp. 13f, 19, 23, 27-33, 36, 39-40, 42, 48-50, 52, 55f, 59-60, 67, 73, 82, 92, 96, 98, 101-104, 108f, 118-120, 135f, 144). Then, reference is made to four

basic publications concerning the ecumenical patriarchs, of which only that of Gedeon is mentioned (pp. 50 and 82). These are 1) Μανουήλ Γεδεών, *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες, 36-1884*, Κωνσταντινούπολις, βαΐκδοσις, Ἀθῆναι, 1996, ἔπιμ. Νικ. Λ. Φοροπούλου. 2) Γερμανοῦ Σάρδεων (Ἀθανασιάδου) *Συμβολὴ εἰς τοὺς Πατριαρχικοὺς Καταλόγους Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλώσεως καὶ ἐξῆς*, 2 τόμοι, Κωνσταντινούπολις 1935-1938. 3) Βασιλείου Θ. Σταυρίδου, *Οἱ Οἰκουμενικοὶ Πατριάρχαι*, 1860-Σήμερον, 2 τόμοι, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1977-1978, Βραβεῖον Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν. 4) Προκοπίου Τσιμάνη, *Ἀπὸ Ὑψηλῆ Σκοπιά, Οἱ Πατριάρχαι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, 2 τόμοι, Ἀθῆναι 1984.

The biographical entries on the patriarchs are 109 in number and are uneven in length. The length of each chapter depends on the years of a patriarch's term of office and on the activities a patriarch engaged in, including his written work. Each life constitutes, independently of its length, a harmonious whole that comprises biographical details, texts, bibliography, lists of writings, as well as information concerning the Ecumenical Patriarchate and other institutions connected with the patriarchs.

The account notes those patriarchs who were sainted (cf. pp. 29, 35, 37, 50, 69-70, 84, 105) and it also supplies their characteristic nicknames (pp. 11, 13, 30, 35, 37, 44, 50, 68, 76, 90, 94, 99, 112, 139-140) making comments about the present situation (pp. 18, 27).

There are almost no typing errors (except, pp. 12 and 29) but there are a few factual ones. Clement is given two dates, 1667 and 1665 (p. 72). Constantine V (Basileiadês) was deposed in 1901 at the request of the Mixed Council, without the cooperation of the Turkish authorities (pp. 130-131). In 1884 Basil III became director of the patriarchal school for priests of "Balatas" and not "Galatas" (p. 137).

The texts included in the volume are selected (pp. 157-244) and they are connected either with Patriarchs of Constantinople or other Patriarchs. Their authors are the following: Gennadios II Scholarios (15<sup>th</sup> c.), Alexandros Lykourgos for Gregory V (19<sup>th</sup> c.), Joachim III (19<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup> c.), Athenagoras (20<sup>th</sup> c.), Meliton of Chalcedon for Athenagoras (20<sup>th</sup> c.) and Bartholomaios I (20<sup>th</sup> c.).

The aim of the book is to demonstrate the positive contribution, to a larger or lesser extent, of the patriarchs to Church and Nation (pp. 13 and 18). It succeeds in this through straight narration, objective presentation of events and adoption of a popularizing style. We can



add our wish that the same success will meet this new series of publications: Ecclesiastical Library of the Sacred Metropolis of Dêmêtrias.

Prof. Vasil Th. Stavrides  
(transl. by G.D.Dragas)

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Alexander F.C. Webster, *The Price of Prophecy: Orthodox Churches on Peace, Freedom and Security*, Washington, DC: (Ethics and Public Policy Center), Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. (1995) pp. 33.

The present volume is an excellent analysis of the Orthodox view on "peace, freedom and security." The reason for a just war or pacifism is debated today by various religious traditions. Fr. Alexander presents here a reasonable Orthodox position on war and peace based on the patristic tradition and the Eastern Christian tradition.

The foreword of the volume was written by the late prominent theologian, Professor George Williams from Harvard University – a great lover of Orthodoxy and a close friend of the late Father George Florovsky.

The book manifests a great deal of research and meticulous scholarship. Father Alexander, in a masterly way, researches the primary sources and analyzes the actions and non-actions of the Orthodox Church of the Eastern Communist block and in the United States. The topics he thoroughly analyzes and discusses are as follows: "peace, freedom, and security in Orthodox moral tradition," "The Moscow Patriarchate and Religious Freedom," "The Romanian Religio-Political Symbiosis," "Parochial Human Rights in America," "Peace and Security," "Conventional and Nuclear Use for Security," and "Conclusions: Dilemmas of the Orthodox Witness."

Fr. Alexander very interestingly speaks about "propaganda versus prophecy." He points out that propaganda is, "information that is false, misleading and designed to foster an ulterior end." Its purpose is to help or injure an institution, a cause or a person." (p.8) the lamentable situation is that, "Some Orthodox, unfortunately far more numerous than most Orthodox, may be prepared to admit that they have functioned as propagandists." (p.8) The official Orthodox leadership

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## On the Priesthood and the Sacred Mysteries (Sacraments) According to St. Symeon of Thessalonica and Other Fathers<sup>1</sup>

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FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

St. Symeon of Thessalonica's *Collected Works*<sup>2</sup> include a *Discourse On the Priesthood*, which is regarded as his special work on this topic—a topic that appears in various places in his writings.<sup>3</sup> In this Discourse St. Symeon provides what he calls “a word of reminder” (λόγος ὑπομνήσεως)<sup>4</sup> concerning this sacred ministry of the priesthood, which was entrusted to his addressee, a newly ordained monk, as it had been previously entrusted to Symeon himself. In other words it is a reminder of what it is to be a priest of Christ and a servant of the sacred mysteries.

The present essay is a succinct presentation of the main contents of this profound text and as such it shares the same aim as the original. It also includes, in the second part, a presentation of another related text, which is appended to the above work in the popular 1882 4<sup>th</sup> edition of St. Symeon's Works in Modern Greek translation, which has been reprinted several times and still remains in print.<sup>5</sup> This text bears the approval of Ecumenical Patriarch Kallinikos and the Holy Synod and is entitled, *A Guide to Priests and Deacons on how they should serve in the Church*.<sup>6</sup> Compared to each other these two texts represent two complimentary aspects to the topic of priesthood, the theoretical and the practical, and therefore their combination makes their contemporaneous presentation most appropriate.

### PART I

#### SYMEON'S DISCOURSE ON THE PRIESTHOOD

After a profound introductory paragraph, which deals with the love

of Christ and the love that binds together Christ's disciples and especially the priests, St. Symeon provides his first great description of his understanding of the priesthood.

### *1. What a Priest is*

A priest, he says, has been deemed worthy to be a "minister" (διάκονος) of Christ and a "liturgist" (λειτουργός), a "guardian" (παραστάτης) and a "beholder" (θεωρός) of the Mysteries, who draws near and communicates in them, and also a "preacher" (κήρυξ) of the Gospel. There are no veils any more interfering in his way, says St. Symeon, because a priest can behold the divine Light directly without any obstacle. He is no longer in need of a Seraph in order to receive the Mysteries, because he takes them with the tongs (λαβίς). Indeed he himself is now the Seraph, by virtue of his consecration to the priesthood. He is the one that calls others to draw near to God, because he now holds in his hands the divine Mysteries and addresses the faithful, admonishing them to be attentive, and offers them to Christ and is actually the way and the guide of others towards the Light. Indeed a priest is both a "Cherub," because he can see fully through the Mysteries the One who sees all things, and a fire bearing "Seraph," because he holds the living Coal. Furthermore, a priest is a "throne," because through the Liturgy and the Communion he has the One who is present everywhere resting on himself; and he is also an angel, as God's servant and liturgist.<sup>7</sup>

A priest is all the above, says St. Symeon, not in an imaginary way, but really and truly, because he does not serve the divine Mysteries "in a merely iconic or merely typical (symbolic) way," but truly serves the very Master who is escorted in the heavens above by the immaterial powers. "Indeed a priest does on earth what the immaterial powers do in heaven, because this is what the Designer of all was pleased with and wanted to establish, namely, that one and the same Liturgy should be observed both above and below."<sup>8</sup>

Clearly, this description has two basic characteristics both of which are tied to the Lord Jesus Christ. The first one is strictly connected with Christ's person, inasmuch as a priest belongs entirely to Christ through receiving his priestly identity from him, being constantly connected with him and having his reference always to him. The second characteristic is that a priest's service has a direct link and reference to Christ's work, which was accomplished for all creation, the

realities above and the realities below. This close link of the priesthood with Christ's person and work is spelled out in the next paragraph, which explains how the priest's service truly reveals who Christ is and what he has done for the entire created world in general and mankind in particular.

## 2. Christ's work extended through the Priesthood

The priest's service, says St. Symeon, reveals what Christ himself did for us when he appeared to the world as a man like us. This work can be described as follows:<sup>9</sup>

Having procured his union with us, i.e. having willingly put on matter, Christ, who alone is immaterial, united himself with human beings who are endowed with material senses. It is crucial here that He who is by nature uncreated and without beginning, in his desire to be united with creation, was not united with the immaterial and creaturely nature of the angels – for the angels were created out of nothing, immaterial and immortal by grace and participants of his Glory according to the measure of grace that was allotted to each of them. Rather, Christ put on our creaturely body and was united personally (ὑποστατικῶς) with us, without being separated from the Godhead and without being confused with the human nature to which he transmitted the glories and benefits of the Godhead – “for in him,” he says, “dwells the entire fullness of the Godhead bodily” (Col. 2:9).

Now all this is related to the Priesthood, because just as Christ originally appeared to the world, according to his good pleasure, so now he reveals himself through the sacred Mysteries (Sacraments) to the priests and through them to the world! Christ's amazing divine work, which escapes the grasp of human reason, has been entrusted to the priest who serves the Liturgy and initiates others to It. What a priest does is to reveal Christ again, i.e. to present him truly and fully to the world of his time through the sacred Mysteries, which he handles according to the divine ordinance. In other words a priest represents Christ's perpetual and saving grace granted to the world through the celebration of Christ's mysteries.

Herein lies, according to St. Symeon, the great dignity of the priesthood, which is greater than that given to the angels. The Mysteries, which priests handle, have to do with the fact that the Master who contains all things and is himself incomprehensible, becomes for us

localized. Though he cannot be touched, human hands uphold him. Though he is invisible, he submits to the senses and becomes visible. Though he is inconceivable by the human mind, he is received by human beings through our humble and fallen nature, by means of the priesthood, which has been instituted by him. This is the miracle of miracles, that Christ appears through the Mysteries; that he is given, carried, communicated; that he indwells in us and brings us peace, expiation and sustenance.

This is, says St. Symeon, the most novel of all happenings, the greatest gift to humanity, the highest power, authority, and grace. By this the priests, who are human beings, made of soil and clay and resembling worms of the earth, appear as heavenly Authorities and Powers (Angels). Indeed the power of the priesthood makes human beings greater than these heavenly hosts. Priests are partakers of a mightier creation through the administration of holy Baptism and the other Mysteries. They become fathers of sons of God, or fathers of those who become gods by grace. They act in a way that cancels out the effects of sin and thus deliver the souls, unlock the gates of paradise, dissolve eternal bonds. Priests are empowered to perform divine acts, as God's collaborators for the salvation of human beings.

This being the case, it is obvious that priests have been granted the greatest charismas and gifts and as such are the greatest debtors to God. And it could not be otherwise, for they are compared to the heavenly Powers. These many-eyed orders of Angels behold God's glory all the time. They tremble and shudder at this sight and yet, they are in greater awe when they observe the manifold Wisdom of God, which they come to know through the Church, as St. Paul says. These angelic orders are in awe because of their creaturely nature and immeasurable goodness of God, but they are also amazed and fearful at the awesome divine Mysteries performed by the priesthood.

### *3. The problem of unworthy Priests and its remedy<sup>10</sup>*

And yet, says St. Symeon, the priests who are entrusted with such a high and most divine task and with such an awesome authority, often fail to offer a worthy service. They use their high office as an excuse for passions and as a basis for sinning. They often fall into the deceit of the evil one when they bear their office with its authority as if it was a ruling or secular one. They are seized by a kind of madness

when they attribute this character to their office and execute such impious works for the denouncement of which it was instituted. They are deceived in thinking that by using their authority and offering their service arbitrarily they actually fulfill their office. In fact they are further removed from achieving this and indeed follow the opposite direction.

How can priests avoid such deception? How can they make sure that they do not fall into such a terrible dishonesty? St. Symeon finds a first concrete answer in the Saints, especially in their attitude to and manner of life, but he ultimately looks to God's grace as the answer to the intrusion of evil in human beings, including priests.

The priests that are included among the saints are guides to true authority. Before they were entrusted with the priesthood they understood its divine and lofty character and like the Seraphim shriveled with shyness and timidity and put off any thoughts of claiming it. Once they were granted it, however, their works and manner of life clearly show how they maintained their right attitude to it and how they managed to fulfill in themselves its true character. The sainted priests' manner of life, then, is a first realistic answer to the quest for a pure and worthy priesthood. All priests, says St. Symeon, are called to become by divine grace sharers in the worthiness of the Saints. All of them are bound by duty to order their lives according to the example the Saints provided. They can amend the problem of diversification from the integrity of the priesthood by following the example of the Saints, i.e. by measuring their ministry and life against that of the Saints. The reason for this being the case lies in the fact that when priests turn to the Saints they find another, even greater answer, which is given by the Saints themselves. They find God's sanctifying grace overcoming all evil.

In the last analysis, says St. Symeon, the true character or integrity of the priesthood does not rest on the priests themselves, nor is it achieved by them; nor even by those saintly priests who have been cleansed and delivered from earthly passions and live the angelic life; indeed, not even by the angels themselves. Ultimately it is God alone who achieves this. Because God alone, says St. Symeon, has brought into being out of nothing all things that exist, and he alone can uphold and sustain them and, indeed, alter and change them. Thus, priests too, being human, are in need of transformation and recreation, inasmuch as they too, like all human beings, have been involved in "the

terrible crash of the fall; they have lost their true and good shape, their original beauty, by disobeying the eternal, immortal and unchangeable God and obeying the rebellious devil who hates all goodness and delights in all evil." What St. Symeon says here is, that "unworthy priests" means unworthy human beings who fall into evil and are in need of God's grace in order to be delivered from it. But what is the nature of evil? And how do human beings fall into it? This is what St. Symeon examines next so that he can elucidate how divine grace ultimately restores an unworthy priest to the integrity of his office.

#### *4. Evil, the devil and the human fall*<sup>11</sup>

Evil, says St. Symeon, is primarily connected with the transgressor who appears to live and to thrive, although he is really deprived of true life in God. It is he, the devil, who willfully adopted his evil transformation by standing in opposition to the Master who created him. Thus, by reason of this opposition, he became the cause of perdition to himself first and then to us human beings who have been persuaded by his guiles.

There is, however, an important difference between the devil and us, human beings as far as evil is concerned. He always remains rebellious, and his evil always remains unchangeable and unalterable. We, on the other hand, can rise up again because we have received grace after our fall on account of the extreme goodness of our Maker. The devil remains unchangeable, because he did not fall through deception, but, being immaterial and free from material perplexities and the density of the flesh, fell voluntarily from that good to which he had direct access. It is because of this that he has no room for repentance, but rather drives himself willfully to evil and remains in it and expands himself through it.

Human beings, on the other hand have fallen, because they have been deceived by the devil's deceit. Therefore, they have received the grace of repentance so that, even though they tasted evil, they can look down on it and trample over it. Human beings are able through the divine grace of repentance to feel and long again for those true and divine goods, from which they were deprived, and also to rise up and to become recipients of God's mercy and compassion and partakers of divine and blessed goodness.

It was precisely for this purpose that God's economy was revealed



in the Prophets, in the Law, in every religious ordinance and fully and finally in the Incarnation of God. All of these means were given to man that he may understand his fall, depart from it and from him who corrupted him and led him astray, and return to what he originally was and even go beyond it to a better state. The greatest of all these manifestations of God's economy is the Savior's love for mankind, which was concretely revealed in his union with the human nature, as already noted. The Incarnation or Inhomination of the man-loving Master has become the cause of raising man up again from his fall. It is precisely in this that the solution to the problem of unworthy priests is provided. What Symeon suggests here is that a priest needs first to heal himself before he heals others. He himself needs to be restored and recreated before he becomes instrumental in the restoration and recreation of others.

##### *5. The restoration of fallen humanity through the Incarnation and the Priesthood<sup>12</sup>*

How exactly has the Incarnation achieved man's restoration and recreation? St. Symeon points, on the one hand, to the Resurrection and the Ascension of Christ and on the other hand, to the Christian Priesthood which was set up by Christ. The former constitutes the basis and the latter the means for the implementation of this achievement. Here is how St. Symeon explains it all.

When our humanity, says he, received in Christ a new lease of life (ὄρον ζωῆς) after the penalty of Adam and became immortal through death, it could no longer appear again to mortal human beings. It was impossible to try again to induce to repentance and recreation especially those impious and sinful human beings who willfully persisted in their sin. Indeed, it would be unworthy of that deified, incorruptible and untouchable body to suffer again, or to be rejected and defied again – although it does endure such sufferings again through the holy martyrs who are members of It, and always suffer on account of It.

Christ, therefore, ascended into heaven and he did this for us, not for himself, since he always remained inseparable from the bosom of his omnipresent Father. He did this for our humanity, our body, for he brought It to the Father as a gift and placed It on the throne above, i.e. in the heavens, above every Principality and Authority and Power, as St. Paul said. He made it deified (ὁμοθέαν), glorified, worshipful

to all creation, and set It up as a perpetual sacrifice for us that is perpetually offered to the Father and is our consolation (παράκλησις), expiation (ἱλασμός), absolution (λυτήριον), gift (δῶρον), prize (βραβεῖον) and general fruition (ἀπόλαυσις).

Since, however, the Savior accomplished all of this, and sits on the throne above on the right side of the Father, and we human beings are still on the earth and in need of the Savior, he gave us again the grace of salvation (τὴν χάριν τοῦ σωτηρίου) out of ineffable compassion because we wear the same human nature and are subject to the same passions; and just as when he wanted to save man he became a man, rather than an angel, so now he gives this grace to men and not to angels because he was not united with angels except only intelligently (νοερώς) inasmuch as they did not need recreation. The Lord, then, ascended and glorified, established the priests as saviors to act in his name, to be shapers of souls, guides to heaven, lights to life, fathers, shepherds (pastors) and guardians; and he endowed them with his power, so that they can be what we said above first for themselves and also for others!

This high calling of the priests, says St. Symeon, and the height of the mystery it entails the duty of all priests to be proven worthy of it. It entails nothing less than being granted the power and grace of God and becoming their distributors while being on the earth! Priests are duty bound, then, to be as described above for their own benefit but also for the benefit of the many, to whom they should be good examples until death. Their archetype is the very Christ, who, as he himself said, "laid down his soul for the sheep" (John 10:15), or, as Peter said, "suffered for us" (I Peter 2:21), or, as Paul said, "was not spared by his Father even though he was his own Son, but was delivered up for us all." These archetypal specifications of Christ, are the common heritage of all priests, which the grace of God communicates to them.

## *6. The Priesthood and Christian Asceticism*<sup>13</sup>

Having spoken about self-offering, vicarious self-denial, and sacrificial service as the archetypal specifications of the Christian priesthood, St. Symeon turns next to the witness of Christian asceticism in order to elucidate further his understanding of the priesthood. What he implies here is that the ascetic model is basic to that of a priest. The ascetic is he who loves the Lord above all else. The priest is he

who loves the Lord and accepts his calling to feed his sheep.

Is it not true, he asks, that the divine and cross-bearing ascetic vesture (τὸ σχῆμα) is the sign of the poverty of Christ? Is it not the sign of the cross, the icon of death, the study of all that lies above and beyond the world, the laying off or the rejection of all things that lie below and are earthly? It is indeed so, he says. And yet, there have been so many great spiritual masters who fully understood and honored this ascetic vesture in their lives, but avoided assuming the height of the sacred glory of the priesthood. This was not, he explains, because they thought that the priesthood is something to be avoided, but because its height requires a soul that is very great and capable of dispensing sacred deeds. It requires a soul that is as pure as it is possible to man; a soul that is totally eager and tireless to be of benefit to the brethren, for the priesthood is God's work, loved by him and undertaken out of love for him. This is exactly what Christ stressed to Peter three times, and what Christian asceticism is basically all about.

Many of the great spiritual masters, who wore the ascetic vesture with true humility, shrunk from entering the ranks of the priesthood because they considered it much higher than their capability. These great and true ascetics were in fact much more eligible for the priesthood than those others who openly sought it, instead of avoiding it, regarding themselves most worthy of it because of the height and purity of their monastic values. There is no doubt, says St. Symeon, that the monastic ideals fit perfectly with the lofty and pure calling to the priesthood. Indeed, the Church knows this and has therefore entrusted her protection to the holy ascetics. It has become customary to have ascetic priests promoted to the hierarchy of the Church, and it is demanded that those priests who are to become hierarchs should first assume the ascetic habit.<sup>14</sup>

According to St. Symeon the linking of ascetic priests with higher ranks of the clergy represents the high view of the faithful and divine protectors of the Church. Yet, it often happens that ascetic priests themselves corrupt and render useless such a lofty view! What is the cause of such a problem and how can it be cured?

The problem in this case, says St. Symeon, is the departure of such priests from their monastic ideals. By corrupting their ascetical vesture and habit, they fail to dispense their priesthood worthily. Such ascetics are usually only interested in acquiring this most divine authority. Thus, they employ all their powers and sacrifice everything

they have in order to achieve this. Yet, as soon as they gain it, they prove that they are unworthy of exercising it. They do the opposite to what they are supposed to do, to the detriment both of themselves and of the priesthood itself.

No one, says St. Symeon, should aspire to acquire the priestly vesture in order to climb up to the ladder of hierarchy. Anyone who is elected to the priesthood should first consider the divine and lofty purpose of it, so that he may humble himself along with the Master who humbles himself, and whose image he put on. Failure to do this often leads newly ordained priests to turn this divine order into a source of conceit and blindness. This is not due to the priesthood as such, but to the priests' choice, which does not turn their mind to the divine truth, but makes them yawn in idleness and become attached, or literally nailed to, things that lie below and pertain to selfishness.

Priests, says St. Symeon, should never think or behave in this way. He even blames himself for having many a time been mastered by similar *logismoi* (thoughts) of pride and blindness. And yet, he does not on this account shrink from spelling out what he knows to be divine and proper. It is this that ought to be clearly set forth, he says, so that priests should be convicted, in case they are self-deceived by unseemly *logismoi*. Besides, being reminded of what behooves priests and what thoughts are truly good for them, incurs true benefit to them. To allow, then, unseemly motions and attacks of *logismoi* is unbecoming to priests, i.e. it is not proper to exercising their free will. To be so deceived, on the other hand, is the consequence of the adoption of passions. Yet, it is the priests' true freedom, i.e. it is up to their free will, to come to acknowledge their true interest and to return to what is greater and true. To fail to do this is to be responsible for condemnation. On the contrary to be willing to submit to self-examination for the purpose of recovering integrity is indeed a sacred duty and privilege. Priests need to examine themselves as to whose servants they are, whose work they do and whose image they bear. What, then, is the true image of the priest in light of all this?

### 7. The True Priestly Image<sup>15</sup>

Priests are servants of the Creator of all things who are to serve in the restoration of those who were alienated by their own free choice and fell into being evil. Priests are ministers of the greatest and most

divine work, through which earthly and heavenly beings are reunited, enmity is dissolved, God makes peace with human beings, every deceit ceases, the dominion of the demons is extinguished and human beings become equal to the angels, sons of God and gods by grace. This is the work that priests perform in an ineffable way through their liturgies, the gifts they dispense and the truths into which they initiate others. They bear an image, which is truly divine, and the highest, each one according to how worthy he is.

The Bishop, more specifically, is an icon of God par excellence; but so are the Presbyters after him on account of the charisma they received and especially of their offering of the Mystical Sacrifice. The Bishop is an icon of the Father of Lights, from whom every good gift and every perfect bestowal come, and who is, therefore, considered to be an illuminator or an enlightener. The Presbyter also stands as a type of the superior orders and serves as a second light that transmits and operates the Mysteries and is on this account called an administrator and dispenser. The Deacon is the third order and stands as a type of the ministering Angels, who are always sent to those who are to inherit salvation. This is why he is called a preacher, one who prepares and one who also administers and dispenses. All three are guards (παράστάται) of the One God and of the one sacrificial victim. They partake of Him and become one body with Him, glorified with Him and transmitters of divine grace, although this last function occurs in accordance with the order that has been given to each of them from above.

#### *8. The Savior as the key to the priesthood<sup>16</sup>*

Thus, St. Symeon goes on to stress what can be called the key to the priesthood. This key is Jesus, who he is and what he became for our sake. Jesus is true God, the Word (Λόγος) from a Mind (Νοῦς), who always is and has had no beginning, from whom all things were made, the Wisdom, the Power, the Word, through whom all exist. He is the Lord of all powers, immaterial, invisible, ineffable, incomprehensible, inconceivable, indescribable, untouchable, immortal. Yet, the same One has become a man for all human beings, visible, describable, passable, mortal, poor, without citizenship, without honor, sold by his own, condemned, reviled, ridiculed, tortured, crucified. All these he endured for the sake of humanity.

What else could be more divine, asks St. Symeon? What other sign of any greater goodness could exist? What else could reveal more clearly the abyss of the divine compassion? What else could better manifest the glory of God's humility? Nothing could surpass the fact that the Creator has become a creature, that the Maker has become a being that is made, that suffers in the hands of the creatures for these creatures; i.e. that the Master endures sufferings in the hands of the servants for these servants, for servants, that is, who are unfaithful, who took the side of the enemy, who did not recognize the Creator, did not think to know him, did not search for him, did not run towards him, but rather attacked him, paraded him, blasphemed against him, and finally put him to death. His amazing goodness is demonstrated in his achievement for them. He gave himself for them, suffered, died, rose again, raising them all with himself, ascended into heaven, and exalted them with himself and united them with himself as his own members, wishing to remain inseparable with them forever.

*9. The Duty of the Priests: to stand before the Lord and to serve him worthily<sup>17</sup>*

In light of what the Lord has offered to humanity, St. Symeon raises the question, as to what the priests should offer in return? Their debts to him for his magnificent benefits are countless. Their return, therefore, should be to offer themselves to him totally; to stand beside Him saying the words and doing the deeds of his humiliation; to be humbled before the One who humbled himself for them. They should shudder at the thought of who the Lord is before whom they stand; especially at the thought that he always stands invisibly in their midst supremely through the Mysteries of the divine Body and the holy Blood, which show forth his passion, namely, that he was slain, was nailed, shed his blood, endured death. They should shudder at approaching him and seeing him being divided or partitioned, being eaten, having his blood being drunk, and being shared by others by grace after he is imparted to priests.

This is also what makes the Cherubim and Seraphim shudder. Every divine and angelic Power shrinks as they see what takes place; and they stand before it with fear and trembling, realizing the creatureliness and limitations of their nature and thus glorify with utter aston-

ishment the immeasurable goodness of God. When the priests stand before Christ they are surrounded by angelic orders, which encircle the altar and shrink from fear as they try to fathom the Mystery. They do not stand there inactively, because they receive the ray of the same Light, from the source of Light, which brings out of this Mystery the warmth of their fiery existence which is kindled by this Light. It is indeed this Light that also gives life, wisdom, and knowledge.<sup>18</sup>

Given the way the incorporeal Powers approach the Mysteries of Christ who are free from all passion, says St. Symeon, priests who are of soil and clay ought to approach with much greater preparation, full of awe and longing for serving this loftiest of works. Since the cause of all this marvelous work is nothing else but God's Love, priests should also approach it with wholehearted love. They should love the Lord first, who loves them all and all humanity, with all the power of their soul. They should approach with fervent prayer seeking God's help so that they can serve in a work that can only be accomplished by him. They should strive to be fully united with him because as he said, "without him they can do nothing" (John 15:5). They should also approach with humility bearing in mind that only "he who humbles himself is to be exalted" (Luke 14:11), imitating the Lord who adopted human poverty and rejected the evil one's obstinate attachment to haughtiness. If the Master gave himself for all and became everything for all, then priests should at least offer themselves to him, so that they can participate worthily and enjoy truly his divine benefits.

Priests should desire to serve Christ's Mystery everyday if possible, bearing in mind how desirable this is to the Lord himself who said: "what a great desire have I had to eat this Pascha with you" (Luke 22:15). Indeed the Lord ordered that this Mystery should be constantly or unceasingly celebrated in His memory. He said, "do this continuously" (ποιεῖτε), not "do this once and only" (ποιήσατε) "in my memory" (*ibid.* 19). What greater work, asks St. Symeon, can be rendered than this one, which commemorates Christ, his suffering for us and his perpetual sacrifice for our sakes? "This is my Body," he said, which has been given for you, namely, which is always broken. And, "This is my Blood, which is constantly shed (ἐκχυνόμενον) for you," (*ibid.* 30), not "which was shed once" (ἐκχυθέν), but which is always shed. No other work then, is more profitable for us and more pleasing to God than this Sacrifice, because this work is God's and entails the renewal of humanity and the restoration of God's com-

munion with human beings, as Christ Himself explained at the time of His passion, in saying, "that they may be one, even as we are one" (John 17:22). That human beings actually become one with Him through this work is declared by the Lord Himself, who says, "He who eats my Flesh and drinks my Blood remains in Me and I in him" (John 6:54).

#### *10. The duty of Priests to celebrate worthily and unceasingly<sup>19</sup>*

This being the case, it is obvious that this work should be pursued more eagerly than any other Prayer or Praise, since every supplication was given for this as the final purpose of all. This is why we ought to try and do this on most days of our life. All divine things that are given to the world, says St. Symeon, are active, whether works or words. Everything divine that has been given is active and effective. This supremely applies to this divine work that is active and effective to the greatest degree. The effectiveness of the divine energies is revealed in the constant movement of heaven and the creatures that operate there, in the unceasing growth of plants on the earth and in the creatures that operate in the middle space, each in its own way. The most effective revelation of this, however, is granted in the operation of the priests who were appointed to serve this most divine and loftiest Mystery.

If all visible things operate unceasingly, says St. Symeon, as this is also demonstrated by this great microcosm that is called man, who is fed and develops, grows and changes along with all other visible things, and at the same time operates and moves on the intelligible or spiritual (νοερόν) level through his mind and the powers of his soul; and if the divine and intelligent or spiritual powers are always in motion, as we infer from the movement of man's mind, how much more should this supreme work of God's service be operative, being a work that takes place for the sake of the entire creation, through which all beings are led into well-being as they are united with God and become divine, especially human beings before and above all else, whether dead or alive. No indolence and no pretence of reverence can be excused to priests who fail to engage in this work.

It is no reverence to abstain from the celebration of the Mysteries. It is rather an obstacle to the saving sacrifice and to the benefit that results from it. So, St. Symeon concludes, that if there is no real obstacle for undertaking this celebration, the saving Sacrifice should be



celebrated without ceasing. In this case the priest becomes a truly sacred instrument. Otherwise, by remaining inactive, he will have to give an account to the Lord, as St. Basil pointed out to a certain Gregory whom he rebuked for liturgical inactivity and sloth. St. Symeon paints with the darkest of colors the failure of priests to celebrate these sacred and saving Mysteries without any due reason. To be a priest who fails to celebrate the Mysteries as often as possible is to be a priest who deprives people of the benefits of the sacred Sacrifice, of the commemoration of the Savior and the communication of the renewal that springs from the Lord's sacred passion. Priestly inactivity should only be associated with those penalties that the Fathers instituted for unworthy priests. Unworthy priests should avoid celebration as unworthy Christians should avoid communion.

It is a paramount duty of priests, to whom God entrusted the sacred work of the divine Mysteries, to engage in them as much as they are able, making sure that they remain worthy of them through imitation of the entire manner of Christ's life. By remaining firmly established on the pattern of Christ's life, they are always active and effective, bearing his sacred icon upon their own person and procuring through their celebrations of his memory the union of God himself with them and of the Angels with God and with them, and of all the faithful souls with each other. Furthermore, participation in the Mystery leads the pious and faithful Christians to acquire the virtues, to advance and to be strengthened in their life in Christ. It offers expiation and purification to those who come, having confessed and repented of their sins.

The celebration of these Mysteries is a cause of sanctification of the entire creation and rewards greatly the pious and worthy celebrant. As to the frequency of this celebration St. Symeon brings forward the examples of St. Basil (who celebrated the Mysteries at least four times a week), the holy Apostles (who broke Bread every day), St. Gregory the Great of Rome, St. Apollonios and his disciples, and St. John Chrysostom all of whom favored daily celebrations. Twice a week is the minimum that St. Symeon prescribes for all priests, whether celibates or married. They can prepare during the five days that intervene. Indeed, this habit will force them to follow the Lord constantly and be always ready to serve Him in His Mysteries.

Priests who have been seized by a passion against another brother should not proceed to the celebrations of the Mysteries. Envy, slander

and spite, or any kind of vindictiveness exclude priests from celebrating the Mysteries of Christ. Priests who arrive at this state of unworthiness have succumbed to the guile of the devil, having forsaken the power and the authority that they were given over him and his demonic powers. Such priests will have to give an account before the awesome judgment seat of Christ just like those who failed to celebrate because of indolence. Priests should not forget that everything lies within the power of their free will. They willfully fall into the snares of the devil and willfully can be delivered from them. They can and should cleanse themselves from every passion through repentance and by returning to the Lord, whose excellent characteristics they should strive to imitate: His philanthropy, humility, compassion, love towards all indiscriminately, peace, transmission of the divine gifts and above all, unceasing communion with God and pursuit of sanctification. Attachment to the Lord and imitation of his virtues is the key to every priest's achievement of a worthy and blessed service.

## PART II

### A GUIDE TO PRIESTS AND DEACONS

#### ON HOW THEY SHOULD SERVE IN THE CHURCH<sup>20</sup>

##### *1. Terms for a worthy priest and a worthy service*

We may now turn to the other document that was mentioned in the beginning of this lecture, which is associated with Patriarch Kallinikos, in order to see how best a priest can follow and imitate Christ with the view to becoming a worthy celebrant of Christ's sacred Mysteries. This is a document that is most fittingly attached to the popular edition of St. Symeon's works, as we have already noted. It begins with stipulations concerning the celebration of the holy Mysteries, in order to clarify not what is a "valid" but what is a "worthy" service (ὁξία λειτουργία).

The first stipulations are canonical: that a priest should be in good standing with his hierarch; that he should not have committed mortal sin; that he should not be in conflict with anyone; that he should not have eaten and, if married, should not have engaged in intercourse with his wife prior to the celebration. Then, the document mentions stipulations that are of a personal character. These are no less serious

than the former, and so the priest has an incontrovertible duty to observe them before proceeding to the celebration of the Mysteries. The focus here is on "sinful thoughts" (λογισμοί) which cause "darkening" (σκοτισμός) of mind." These thoughts include other passions, such as: "psychological disorder," "tumult of soul," "carelessness" (ἀκηδία) and "laziness," all of which should be extrapolated through "sobriety" and "vigilance." There is finally the "bewilderment," which is caused by secretions of the flesh that occur either willingly or unwillingly, through excessive eating, sleeping, talking, etc.

To avoid these obstacles, the priest should keep himself in the fear of God. He should cleanse himself constantly through contrition, self-criticism and confession; through keeping a clear conscience, a soul free from sensual love and fleshly pleasures; through retaining a good disposition, pursuing sanctity and righteousness, longing for the spiritual food and drink of the soul (i.e. Holy Communion); through arousing the soul to the magnitude of this divine sacrament by thinking of Him with whom he communicates and that in this divine sacrament the Creator is present, invisibly and mystically under the bread and the wine and of the great benefit that the worthy participant receives. He should also consider the following:

*Firstly*, that he who partakes worthily of the pure Mysteries not only receives forgiveness of sins but also becomes worthy of accepting sanctification and grace, so as to become of one body and of one blood with Christ, who is an inexhaustible source of sanctification and grace;

*Secondly*, that a celebrating priest should think of his "baseness" (εὐτέλεια) and insignificance, poverty and need, because only then could he perceive what a treasure is offered to him which is sufficient for fulfilling what is lacking in his spiritual poverty and what he needs to feed his soul with, namely, the communion of the immaculate Mysteries;

*Thirdly*, that a celebrating priest (or deacon) should keep in his mind and disposition that his service is offered to the glory of God who is glorified in the Trinity, in honor of all the Saints who have pleased the Lord in this age; and to the benefit and remission of sins of himself, of all the believers who are faithful and Orthodox Christians and, especially, of those living and departed who have been offered up by name in his prayers;

*Fourthly*, that a priest's service also invokes the stability of the

Holy, Catholic, Apostolic and Eastern Church, according to the Lord's ordinance and the custom of the Holy Eastern Church, and that the Mystery which sanctifies and the Sacrifice which expiates and cleanses sins is the Divine Eucharist; because it is in it that the Holy Spirit, through the priest's mouth, truly transforms the gifts that have been set forth, inasmuch as his words, "and make this bread the precious Body of Christ and this wine (mixed with a little water) the Blood of Christ," change them by the Holy Spirit.

*Fifthly*, that a priest should take care to approach this divine Mystery with great purity and much humility bearing in mind, on the one hand, the magnitude and immaculate sanctity of Christ and, on the other hand, his own insignificance, impurity, and weakness, for in this way a priest shall find much grace.

*Finally*, a priest should be diligent to acquire extreme reverence, considering the sufferings of the Lord, for through these means he can acquire spiritual love towards this great Mystery, which is greatly enhanced by augmented prayer and attention.

## 2. A Priest's preparation through liturgical prayer<sup>21</sup>

A priest ought to read and/or hear in the evening, before the celebration of communion, the *Vespers Service*, studying with reverence in his mind and with compunction of heart Christ's saving sufferings; his being nailed to the Cross on Friday evening for our sins; his death for our salvation; his being pierced by the soldiers in his side; his shedding of blood and water and the removal of his body from the Cross by Joseph and Nicodemos; his body being wrapped in a linen sheet and being placed in a grave; and finally, how Mary Magdalene and his all holy Mother stood watching all these events with lamentations and deep pain of soul.

At the time of the *Apodeipnon* a priest may read a *Canon*: the *Acathist* of the *Theotokos*, or the canon of the sweetest Jesus, or the canon of the Saint of the day, or the canon of the guardian of his soul. At this time, he should think of the descent of the soul of our Lord that remained united with the Godhead into Hades, where he bound the leader of darkness, spoiled his kingdom and delivered the souls of all the saints and the just from this generation that were tortured there and took them with himself to Paradise. This will also be the occasion to thank God for all his benefits that were bestowed on the human race

through his passion and especially for his life giving death. It should also lead him to pray for forgiveness of his sins, for deliverance from eternal punishment, and for making him worthy of the heavenly Kingdom. To these prayers he may also add prayers to the Mother of God to protect him and help him in this life, to do good things and to deliver his soul on the day of his death from the attacks of the devil and place it in the Kingdom of her Son, since whatever she asks of her Son, as His Mother, he may grant to those who turn to her with faith.

At the *Midnight Hour* before the *Orthros* the priest may reverently contemplate our Lord's agony and prayer in the garden in the middle of the night, which turned his sweat into drops of blood. He should also recall his capture by the soldiers, his presentation as a criminal, first before the high priests, and the reviling, the spitting, the lashing, and the other incomparable sufferings he endured in order to deliver us from the bonds of sin and the tyranny of the devil.

At *Orthros*, the priest should consider with compunction the dishonors, the mocking, the questioning, the spitting, the reviling, and the slapping on the face, which the tolerant Lord endured for our sins as he was taken to Annas and Caiaphas in the interval between midnight and the morning.

At the *First Hour* he should bear in mind with reverence that it was indeed "the first hour" when our beneficent Savior was brought from Caiaphas to the praetorium and Pilate as a chained criminal ....

At the *Third Hour* the priest should be in compunction of heart and bear in mind how our Savior at this same hour was judged by Pilate, endured being mocked and reviled, was chained to a pillar mercilessly, was crowned with a crown of thorns, and endured many more sufferings in order to deliver us from the authority of the devil. He should also think how the Holy Spirit at this same hour descended in the form of tongues of fire on the Apostles who were at prayer and enlightened them. As he contemplates these things the priest should pray reverently that the Lord grants him the power of the Holy Spirit as he did to the Apostles, enlighten him and make him worthy for the celebration of the holy Liturgy.

At the *Sixth Hour* the priest should think of the Savior carrying his Cross on his shoulders and of the crucifixion, when he was nailed between two robbers, of the distribution of his garments among the soldiers, of the blasphemies he endured by those passing by and by the robber on the left, and of the darkness which befell on the entire earth.

At the *Ninth Hour* he should turn his mind to Christ on the Cross, to his cry of thirst, to the gall he was given to drink, to the delivery of his all holy soul into the hands of the Father, to the earthquake that shook the foundations of the earth so that the rocks were shattered, to the dead that were raised from the tombs, and to his being pierced on his side by one of the soldiers so that water and blood came out of it instantly.

Generally, the priest should read the prayers of the *Hours* bearing in mind all the sufferings of the Lord with brokenness of heart and pain of soul and even tears in his eyes if possible.

When the *Typica* are sung, the priest should offer thanks to the Son of God with all the power of his soul: for the suffering that he endured in order to deliver us from the tyranny of the devil; for the shedding of his precious Blood by which we were bought from the curse of the Law; and for his life giving death, by which the human race that was dead under sin was vivified. He should always supplicate with contrite heart, so that through all the benefits by which the human race was endowed, the Lord may grant him forgiveness of sins, and enable him to offer worthily the bloodless sacrifice and communicate of the immaculate Mysteries without condemnation.

The document also stipulates that a priest (or deacon) that fails to prepare in the above manner, when he is to proceed to communion, he commits mortal sin. If, however, circumstances in his diakonia prevent him from doing so and the time of communion comes upon him, he does not sin, but he should fulfill his duty afterwards, having first recited the post-communion prayers, which he should always observe without fail.

All Christians should be instructed to proceed to communion after adequate preparation, reading the communion prayers and contemplating the sufferings of the Lord. If people cannot read they can be instructed and prepared by the priests who should induce in them love for Christ. In every case priests should use discretion, guard the sanctity of the Mystery and warn people of unworthy participation as procuring judgment, according to the biblical warning: "it is terrible to fall into the hands of a living God."

Finally, the document specifies that priest and deacon be pure not only in their soul and body in coming to the service of God, but also pure in their vestments. They should take care of their external appearance.

### 3. Various Practical Considerations<sup>22</sup>

The document also supplies practical considerations and instructions as follows:

1) *On the time of the celebration of the Divine Liturgy*: that it should be in the *Third Hour* of the day, not before midnight and not in the afternoon, except in the case of the Presanctified.

2) *On what priests should observe before and during the celebration of the Divine Liturgy*: They should make sure that the *Antimension* is clean and legible; that the Holy Table is properly covered with *katasarkion* and *endytên* and that if it is completely covered, it should also have an *eilêton* and top cover; that when these covers are changed, the appropriate prayers should be said; that if the Holy Table is contaminated with human blood or anything else, it should be cleansed with high priestly prayer; that if such an accident takes place during the liturgy and before the Great Entrance, the Liturgy should be interrupted, and if after the Great Entrance, the problem can be attended too after the completion of the Liturgy.

3) *On the sacred Vessels that are necessary for the Divine Liturgy*: The vessels (chalice, disk, star, spoon and lance) and their covers should be the right ones, i.e. made of the appropriate materials (gold and silver, and pure cloth) and also clean and in good order; and the priest should have his books with him and should read the prayers in case he leaves out words or mutilates them. Also, there should be candles on the Altar and at the *Prothesis*, before the Icons of the *Royal Doors* (the *manualia*) and in the narthex. The assistant/s at the Altar are to be males. The manner of the celebration should be modest and pious because the holy Table is an icon of the throne of the heavenly King and Judge of the living and the dead, who is surrounded by myriads of angels and archangels.

4/5) *On the materials used for the Eucharist*: the bread should be strictly leavened and made of wheat flour, water and salt, and never unleavened or of another kind. As for the wine, it should be pure and from grapes and not of any other kind. The water should be also pure and the *zeon* should be very warm or preferably boiling.

6) *On accidents occurring at the Divine Liturgy connected with the bread used by the celebrants*: If a celebrating priest discovers before the consecration that the bread he prepared is not the right one, he should replace it immediately with the right one repeating inaudi-

bly (mystically) the verses of the *proskomidê*. If he discovers this eventuality just before the words of the institution, he should do as above and then read again the prayer, "Together with these blessed powers ...etc." A new *amnós* should be prepared if, for any reason, a priest discovers before or after the Great Entrance that the bread is missing from the disk. In any case, if the bread is not right and there is no other bread to use, the priest should stop the celebration of the Eucharist. It is a priest's primary duty, in order to avoid such eventualities, to make sure that he has the right bread and the right wine before he starts the *proskomidê*.

7) *On accidents occurring at the Divine Liturgy connected with the wine used by the celebrants*: If a priest discovers before the consecration of the Blood that there is no wine in the chalice, or there is only water, he should pour the water in a vessel and place in the chalice new wine and water repeating the verses of the *proskomidê* and then the words of the institution. The same applies when a priest discovers the same eventuality when he communicates from the chalice, but in this case he also repeats inaudibly (mystically) all the words of consecration. At the end of the Liturgy he pours the water he placed on a vessel in the chalice and drinks it all. Again, if a priest discovers before the consecration that he did not put water in the chalice at the *proskomidê*, he should add it then, repeating the appropriate verses. If the wine is inappropriate, he should decline from celebrating, just as in the case of inappropriate bread.

8) *On accidents occurring at the Divine Liturgy connected with the consecrated Gifts*: If there are many priests concelebrating then the words of the institution, the offertory and the epiclesis should be said inaudibly by all of them at the same time and not separately. If a celebrant suddenly has doubts as to whether he said certain words over the consecration of the holy Gifts, he should say these words again to make sure that he has fulfilled his part.

9) *On accidents occurring at the Divine Liturgy that are connected with the celebrant priest*:

a) If a celebrating priest falls seriously ill, or dies before the consecration, then the Liturgy is terminated at this point incomplete. Another priest consumes these Gifts later, as blessed but not as consecrated. If this occurs after the consecration, then another priest that happens to be present takes over and completes the Liturgy communicating the priest who fell ill first. If no other priest is present, then one



of the pious men of the church comes into the sanctuary and covers the consecrated Gifts with a cover and sends for another priest to come and complete the Liturgy. The new priest starts a new Liturgy (on another table if it is on the same day) and when he consumes the new Gifts he also consumes the Gifts that had been consecrated earlier.

b) If a great need arises before the Great Entrance and a priest has to attend to it (e.g. to communicate someone at the time of death) the celebrating priest may interrupt the Liturgy and attend to this need, assigning appropriate readings until he returns and completes the Liturgy. If he is too late upon his return, he celebrates a new Liturgy on the following day and consumes the unconsecrated Gifts of the previous day afterwards as indicated above. If the serious need arises after the Cherubic hymn and the consecration of the Gifts, the celebrant should continue and complete the Liturgy, praying inside him for the person in need. If a Liturgy is interrupted for any of the above reasons and the Gifts go bad before they are consumed at another Liturgy, they should be disposed either by being burned, or placed under the altar (if there is an appropriate place) or in a running river. A priest should never forget that he who celebrates a Liturgy sins gravely if he fails to consume the Gifts after communicating the people.

c) If during the celebration and before the consecration a fly or any similar insect falls into the chalice, then the wine should be poured into another chalice and new wine should be added and consecrated. After the Liturgy is over the wine in the other chalice should be disposed in a running river. If this occurs after the consecration, then the insect should be carefully removed and placed in another vessel, should be washed with wine three times and then placed in a cloth which will be delivered to the fire. The wine that was used for washing it should be disposed in a river or on the ground below the holy table if there is space for such eventualities.

d) If it happens that the divine Blood is frozen in winter, then the chalice should be covered with heated covers in order that the ice be dissolved.

e) If through carelessness the holy Blood is spilt, then the priest sins gravely. In such a case he should try to lick it and dispose what remains either by burning it or by pouring it into a river or by burying it under the holy Table. He should scratch the material, which absorbed the Blood and, where needed and possible, he should purify the materials on which the holy Blood has been spilt. If most of the Blood is split after the consecration, the celebrant should go on and

complete the Liturgy and then deal with the spilt Blood as described above taking exceptional care. If that spilt is total and nothing remains in the Chalice, then the celebrant should produce new wine and repeat inaudibly (mystically) all the verses that related to it from the *prothesis* to the consecration. When he is about to do this he should assign special singing or reading to the cantors.

f) If a priest gets sick immediately after the Liturgy and vomits, he should collect the vomit carefully and dispose it in a river or in the allotted ground under the holy Table.

g) If a piece of the holy Body falls to the ground because of carelessness, the celebrant should recover it and place it on the disk and then clean the place where the Body fell in a similar way as in the case of the Blood that was spilt. A priest should take care when he communicates, not to spill the Blood on his beard, and he should use both hands when he receives the Body, placing the left palm under the right one, and make sure that he consumes all he receives. He should also take care at the end to clean everything from the disk, the *antimension* and the chalice by consuming it and then put out the candle (or light) that burns in the *proskomidê*. When he departs from the Liturgy, he should abstain from engaging in work or any kind of intercourse that does not befit the communion with the Lord during the rest of that day.

h) If enemies or criminals attack a celebrating priest before he has completed the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, he should consume the holy gifts before he runs away, or he can risk staying and becoming a martyr. Whatever the case, he should consume the gifts in case they fall into the hands of the enemies. If he is killed while he is celebrating, he is counted among the holy martyrs.

i) If a fire breaks out, or the roof of the church is about to fall on account of torrential rain or any other natural disaster and a priest happens to be in the middle of the Liturgy, he should carefully take the gifts with the *antimension* and go to another church to complete the rest of the Liturgy.

j) If by virtue of a miracle the species of the Bread and the Wine are changed after the consecration and cease to be Bread and Wine, the priest should consecrate new ones, unless they are again changed back into their proper species.

k) A priest should take care to celebrate the Liturgy on Sundays and Saturdays and on Feast days, because the Liturgy is central to all

such celebrations. Furthermore he should not celebrate twice on a day, not even on separate altars.

10) *On taking special care for the reserved sacrament for the sick:* A priest should make sure that the right vessels (*artophorion*, etc.) are used; that the sacrament is appropriately prepared on Great Thursday (or on other occasions, if there is special need); that it is kept on the Holy Table, and that no lay person is permitted to touch it;

11) *On communicating, guarding and venerating the divine sacraments:* Priests have a duty to prepare themselves and the people for communion. They should guide the people to communicate especially during the Lenten periods after proper preparation (fasting, confession, prayer, attendance at the entire celebration of the Liturgy and adopting a humble spirit) and with due reverence when they approach (crossing their hands and kissing the chalice as if it were the side of Christ) and departing reverently and prayerfully. While at church, priests and people should look towards the holy Bema as if they are in heaven standing before God in awe. Priests should make a *proskynêsis* every time they face the altar or enter the Bema and teach the people to recognize the presence of Christ on the Holy Table. Only priests and deacons should be responsible for keeping the Holy Table clean and the nave should be kept clean by those entrusted with this duty. Christians who have prepared and children should be given communion when they approach. In general the priests are responsible to guard the holy sacraments and to guide the people to partake of them most worthily.

The high standards that are presented in the above documents are safe guides for all priests. They reveal not only the dignity of the priesthood and the sacraments that are related to it, but also the inner mystical connection between the priest and the Lord Jesus Christ. They clearly show that a priest as a liturgist measures his life with the life of Christ. This must be his particular mentality, his mind-set, as we would say today, so that he may exemplify in all that he is and does the Lord's living icon. If Christians in general are to be transformed from glory to glory through contemplating the person of Christ, imitating his life and partaking of His Body and Blood, how much more should this be the case with priests! The great Fathers of the Church were never comfortable with the idea of celebrating a 'valid' Liturgy merely *ex opere operato*. They strove to be found "worthy" (ἄξιοι) before the "judgment seat" of Christ at every moment of their

lives. This is most clearly the legacy of the great works they left behind them as descriptions of the dignity of the priesthood. These works include primarily, St. Gregory the Theologian's *Oratio II*, St. John Chrysostom's *De Sacerdotio*, St. Cyril of Alexandria's *De Adoratione* (*Books XI-XIII*), St. Gregory Dialogos' (the Great's) *Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, and ... St. Symeon of Thessalonica's and Patriarch Kallinikos' above summarized writings.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This text represents a lecture given in May 2000 to a clergy retreat of the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Diocese of the U.S.A. at the kind invitation of His Eminence Metropolitan Nicholas of Amissos. It is reproduced here as it was delivered with minor corrections and footnotes in response to a request from several fellow priests, inasmuch as there is no English translation of this text of St. Symeon and this lecture provides a detailed summary of its contents.

St. Symeon of Thessalonica (15<sup>th</sup> century) served as Archbishop of Thessalonica for the last 13 years before the capture of the city by the Turks in 1430. Born in Constantinople, the city he loved with passion and exalted as the seat of Orthodoxy *par excellence*, he became a monk and a hieromonk before he was elected Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/7). He was a Palamite in Theology and had close ties with the hesychasts St. Kallistos and St. Ignatios Xanthopouloi. He was an ardent follower of monastic ideals and fought the Latins (Venetians), to whom the city was entrusted by the Byzantines on account of the threat of the Turks, and the Turks themselves, before he died in 1429. The Holy and Sacred Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate canonized him as a saint of the Eastern Church in 1981 and his memory is celebrated on the 15<sup>th</sup> of September. He is regarded as the greatest liturgist of Byzantium and defendant of Orthodoxy. One of his typical mottos was the following: "This is truly good for the people, to be Orthodox, and if not, to die is better." He is most famous for his major work, Κατὰ αἱρέσεων καὶ περὶ τῆς μόνης ὀρθῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν ἡμῶν πίστεως, τῶν τε ἱερῶν τελετῶν καὶ μυστηρίων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Διάλογος, *A Dialogue against the heresies and on the only true faith of us Christians, as well as on the sacred rituals and sacraments of the Church*, which is regarded as a classic. This work, together with other works, was first published by Dositheos of Jerusalem in Jassi, Moldavia, in 1683 and was reprinted by J. P. Migne in Paris in 1866.

<sup>2</sup> For Symeon's collected works see, J.P. Migne's *Patrologiae Graecae Cursus Completus* (PG) vol. 155, Paris 1866. Subsequent editions with new works (previously unpublished) include: Iōannēs M. Phountoulēs, Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Συμεῶν Θεσσαλονίκης τὰ Λειτουργικὰ Συγγράμματα Α', Εὐχαὶ καὶ ὕμνοι (=Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonica's Liturgical Works I: Prayers and Hymns), Thessalonica 1968; D. Balfour *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)*, critical Greek text with introduction and commentary, Wiener Byzantinische Studien, Wien 1979; idem. Συμεῶν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης (1416/7-1429) Ἔργα Θεολογικά (=Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica's Theologi-

cal Works, *Analecta Blatadôn* 34, Thessalonica 1981. For a list of St. Symeon's works see, I. Phountoulês, "Μία ἐπέτειος: 550 ἔτη ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Συμεῶν [+Σεπτέμβριος 1429]" (=An anniversary: 550 years from the death of Archbishop Symeon [+September 1429]), *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 62:674-5 (1979) 291-298; and D. Balfour, "Συμπληρωματικός κατάλογος χειρογράφων, περιεχόντων τὰ γνωστὰ ἔργα τοῦ Συμεῶν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης" (=Complementary catalogue of manuscripts, containing the known works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica), *Κληρονομία* 6 (1974) 133-144.

<sup>3</sup> See Athanasios D. Papanikolaou, *Ἡ περὶ ἱερωσύνης διδασκαλία τοῦ Ἀγίου Συμεῶν Θεσσαλονίκης* (=The teaching on priesthood of St. Symeon of Thessalonica), Doctoral Dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessalonica, published by the Sacred Metropolis of Ierissos, Hagion Oros and Ardamerion, Thessalonica 1985, p. 9. See also, Archimandrite Symeon Kragiopoulou, "Αἱ περὶ ἱερωσύνης ἀπόψεις τοῦ ἁγίου Συμεῶν" (=The views on the priesthood of St. Symeon), in *Πρακτικά Λειτουργικοῦ Συνεδρίου εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Συμεῶν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ (15-9-81)*, (=Proceedings of a Liturgical Conference in honor of our Father among the Saints Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica the Miracle-worker) published by the Sacred Metropolis of Thessalonica, Thessalonica 1983, pp. 153-160. The full title of it is: *Περὶ ἱερωσύνης πρὸς τινὰ τῶν εὐλαβῶν μοναχῶν ἱερᾶς διακονίας ἡξιωμένον ἔτι καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως εἰς τὸν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τελούντος τότε βαθμὸν* (=On the Priesthood to a pious monk, who had become a deacon and priest and later became a High Priest). The original Greek text with a Latin translation is found in PG 155: 953-976.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 956A

<sup>5</sup> *Συμεῶν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης τὰ ἅπαντα*, Ἀκριβὴς Ἀνατύπωσις ἐκ τῆς ἐν ἔτει 1882 γενομένης ἐκδόσεως, ἐκδοτικὸς οἶκος Βασιλείου Ρηγοπούλου, Θεσσαλονίκη (=Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonica's Collected Works: An exact reprint of the 4<sup>th</sup> edition of 1882, published by Basil Rêgopoulos, Thessalonica (no date). This edition does not contain all the works of St. Symeon of Thessalonica even though its title suggests so. It actually contains 1) The Dialogues, 2) The Exposition on the divine Temple, the sacred vestments and the divine Liturgy, 3) The responses to the questions of Metropolitan Gabriel of Pentapolis, 4) The three Expositions of the divine and sacred Creed, and 5) The Discourse on the Priesthood. It also includes three Appendices, a) St. Marc Eugenicus' Exposition of the Church's Acolouthy (daily services), b) The Guide to Priests and Deacons on serving in church and c) The exact teaching on marriage (from the Rudder). All these texts are presented in the vernacular. The translation was first made by Polyzôês Labanitiôtês from the first edition of St. Symeon's Collected Works (Iassi, Moldavia, 1683) and published in Leipzig in 1791. Its first reprint was that published in Venice in 1820 and then in Athens (1857) by Stephanos K. Skatharou with the approval of the Holy Synod, with subsequent editions published in 1863 and 1882. The current edition of B. Rêgopoulos of Thessalonica is a reprint of the 4<sup>th</sup> edition.

<sup>6</sup> The full title is *A Guide to Priests and Deacons on how they should serve in the Church, how they should prepare for the sacred Service of the Divine Liturgy, and how they should amend sudden eventualities and difficulties that emerge in the course of rendering such a service*. Cf. *op. cit.* pp. 462-482.

<sup>7</sup> PG 155: 956AB

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 956C

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 956CD-957AB.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 957CD-960A

<sup>11</sup> PG 155: 960BC (Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀποστάτης μένει, καὶ ἡ κακία αὐτῷ ἀναπόβλητος ... ὅτι ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀπάτη πέπτωκεν ... ἐκουσίως δέ... Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ἐθελοκακῶν μᾶλλον μένει, καὶ τῇ πονηρίᾳ πλατύνεται.)

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 960C12-961C

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 961D-965A3

<sup>14</sup> According to the late Professor John Romanides this tradition begins with Symeon the New Theologian.

<sup>15</sup> PG 155: 965A3-C3

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 965C4-968A3

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 968A4-969B6

<sup>18</sup> According to David Balfour, Symeon "derived the hesychastic and Palamite doctrine and outlook which is reflected in much of his work" from the holy Xanthopouloi, Kallistos and Ignatios. This is clearly indicated in chapter 295 of his *Dialogue (On Divine Prayer)* which is entitled "Concerning our blessed Fathers, Kallistos the Patriarch and Ignatios (PG 155: 544ABCD. See Balfour's "Saint Symeon of Thessalonike as a Historical Personality," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 28 (1983), p. 59 [pp. 55-72] and especially his article, "St. Symeon of Thessalonica: A Polemical Hesychast," *Sobornost* 4 (1982), pp. 6-21.

<sup>19</sup> PG 155: 969B7-976B

<sup>20</sup> See *Symeon's Collected Works* by Rêgopoulos, *op. cit.* cls. 460-465

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* cls. 465-468

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* cls. 468-482.

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## Orthodoxy in Lithuania Before Union with Poland

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DR. ANDRIUS VALEVICIUS

The question of Orthodoxy in Lithuania before union with Poland, that is, before 1389, has not received great attention in modern historiography. This is primarily due to the fact that Lithuania today is primarily a Roman Catholic country whereas in the Middle Ages, if one can talk about a Middle Ages in the Christian East, it was culturally a successor state to Kiev and primarily Orthodox in terms of its Christian faith.<sup>1</sup> In the *Tales of Bygone Years* we read that Jaroslav of Kiev marched against Lithuania in 1040 and again in 1044 at which occasion he founded Novgorodok. In 1131 Mstislav of Kiev marched against Lithuania and returned with many prisoners. The next year Mstislav perished in Lithuania. The *Tale of Monk Nestor* records that the neighbouring countries of Lithuania and Kurland paid taxes to Kievan Rus'.<sup>2</sup> Such attacks were numerous in the 11th and 12th centuries and they occurred for either of two reasons: (1) for economic purposes in which furs, wax and honey were needed to support trade with Byzantium, although this is rather difficult to believe when one considers the immense expanses and forests of the east; (2) there were attacks carried out as a protective measure in order to prevent Lithuania from taking Kievan territory.

In 1240 Mindaugas united the Lithuanian lands and became the Grand Duke of Lithuania. It is about this time, or just prior, in the early part of the 13th century, that Lithuania began its expansion by attacking and looting the lands to the east. Rus' lands were weakened by the Mongol threat from the east and the Lithuanian expansion was able to take place without any great wars or destruction of a large scale. Thus, Kiev was forced to begin a policy of cooperation with



the Lithuanians in order to keep losses at a minimum. The only options were to either fall under the yoke of the Mongols or become part of Lithuania that, once it took over, basically did not change anything in its Slavic territories but let everything remain "as usual." That is why they let themselves be dominated by Lithuania without any great resistance.

Toponyms as far east as the river Oka and in the Dnieper basin show Baltic origins and it is thus believed that the Baltic peoples in pre-historic times inhabited these large expanses of what is today Russia.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps then, this eastward expansion was a move nostalgic of times gone by. In the course of a century the Lithuanians were able to occupy the principalities of Polotsk, Smolensk, Kiev, Chernigov and others. But, according to the historian G.P. Fedotov, "the Lithuanian conquerors soon fell under the cultural sway of their more civilized subjects. Russian became the official language of the Lithuanian state, and Russian law and Russian institutions the main content of the Lithuanian Statutes."<sup>4</sup> Fedotov also went on to write:

"The Russians who lived there (in Lithuanian occupied territory) felt a peculiar Russian-Lithuanian patriotism and were by no means attracted by the lot of the eastern Moscovite Russians. This suggested to the Lithuanian princes the possibility of extending their frontiers to the east with the final aim of uniting all Russian lands under their rule. Thus began the lasting strife between Lithuania and Moscow; in each country there was an attempt to gather the Russian principalities around one of two possible political centres, Vilnius or Moscow. The connection with Poland in the first case, and with the Tartars in the second, the divergent forms of government - a Western feudalism, with a parliament and political freedom for the aristocracy, and a centralized Oriental despotism - made the opposition sharp."<sup>5</sup>

Mindaugas was a pagan at the time of his conquests. In the lands that he occupied in Black Rus', Mindaugas kept most for himself, but he gave Novgorodok to his oldest son Vaisvilkas. The latter, feeling remorse at having spilt so much blood, decided to become a Christian and received Greek baptism, not Roman baptism (which is evidence of early, natural ties to Orthodoxy) near the Nemunas river, "between Lithuania and Novgorodok." He built a monastery there and did penance.<sup>6</sup>

A nephew of Mindaugas, Tautvilas, of whom one sister was married to Alexander Nevsky and another to Daniel of Volhynia, opposed

Mindaugas' rise to power. He was a faithful pagan who accused Mindaugas of friendship with the Germans and the Latin Christians; however, he later became a Latin Christian himself in Riga. In 1250 Mindaugas, in a hope to thwart attacks by German knights, accepted Latin baptism and Pope Innocent IV crowned him King of Lithuania. Mindaugas was the first and the last Lithuanian leader to carry this title. Further, the Lithuanian diocese of the Latins was created in 1251. These events assured King Mindaugas of a temporary peace with the Livonian knights and permitted him to continue his attacks to the east. However, peace with the knights did not last long for they soon resumed their attacks against the Lithuanians and continued to do so for almost another two centuries. There is speculation that Mindaugas abandoned Christianity and returned to his pagan practices, but there is no real proof one way or the other. Lithuanian historians, many of whom came from the clerical camp, because it meant a break in the latinisation and westernisation of Lithuania, have always treated his untimely death as unfortunate.

After the death of Mindaugas' wife, Mindaugas decided to take his wife's sister for purposes of having heirs. There was one problem however; she happened to be married to Daumantas (Dovmont), a scoundrel in Lithuanian history books but a saint in the Orthodox Church. Upset as he was, Daumantas killed Mindaugas and then fled to Pskov where he became the Prince of Pskov, built a castle, the ruins of which can still be visited today, and fought off the Livonian knights for close to forty years. He married the granddaughter of Alexander Nevsky and became a Riurik. His sons grew up as Orthodox and one of them became the famous Bishop Andrei of Tver.<sup>7</sup>

In 1300 the Lithuanians took Polotsk and the number of eastern Slavs, and consequently Orthodox Christians in their territory, began to grow. From now on Slavs took part in Lithuanian military campaigns and in 1300 in Novgorodok a Lithuanian diocese for the Orthodox was created with a Greek metropolitan.

The years 1316 to 1341 were the reign of Grand Duke Gediminas. Gediminas did much to strengthen ties with the newly acquired lands, mostly through the marrying off of his daughters. Gediminas, who remained a pagan until death, often swayed between the two forms of Christianity in Lithuania. The Pope was encouraging him to be baptized a Latin Christian. Franciscan missions were already well established in Lithuania and of course there were the pretensions of

the Livonian knights and the bishops of Riga with the campaigns against the Godless pagans. But Gediminas was sensitive to the increasing Orthodox population in his territory. Three of his sons had already become Orthodox and two of his daughters Catholic. He wrote, "let the Latins worship God according to their rites, the Ruthenians according to theirs and the Poles likewise according to theirs. We shall worship God according to our tradition for we all have one God."<sup>8</sup>

By 1328, the cities of Vitebsk, Minsk, Pskov, were all under the control of Gediminas. He defended Pskov from the dominance of Novgorodok and in 1333 he defended Novgorodok, where he sent his son Narimantas for three years, against Moscow. The chancellery documents of Greek Metropolitan Theognostos of Kiev show that the Prince of Kiev at the time, Theodore, was the brother of Gediminas.<sup>9</sup> Gediminas also befriended the principality of Tver and defended it against Moscow. According to J. Adamus, in *O titule panjacego* (the titles of Lords), Gediminas had the title "*Letwinorum et multorum Ruthenorum rex*" (King of the Lithuanians and many Ruthenians).

The Slavic lands that became part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had, of course, their own Byzantine Church culture. In relations with the West from the 13th century onward, Latin was used, but in relations with the East, Slavonic was used (and Greek in correspondence with Constantinople). Lithuania thus developed its own Slavic legal language that was used in the Lithuanian statutes. The large number of Greek "sounding" names in Lithuanian today is also a reminder of the close cultural ties that once existed with Byzantium. When the Lithuanians first received Christianity and baptism, they took Christian names that later remained as first names or became surnames. Since so many of these names are of Greek origin, this indicates that Christianisation was probably more intense from the East than from the West.<sup>10</sup>

Gediminas, even though he was a pagan, understood the importance of having autonomous ecclesiastical-juridical structures on his territory. First of all, to satisfy the needs of the Orthodox faithful occupying this territory, but also for political reasons: in order to be more, in order not to have more independence from rival territories such as the rising Muscovy. Thanks to Gediminas, Novgorodok had its own archdiocese, but when Archbishop Theophil of Novgorodok died in 1330 a new successor was not named. Gediminas tried to

create a Lithuanian archdiocese again, but was unable to do so because of the opposition of Theognostos, the Metropolitan of Kiev who was now living in the territory of Muscovy. An archdiocese for Lithuania would mean more geo-political importance for the Lithuanians, something the Moscovites would have liked to avoid. Thus, the intrigues with Muscovy were often an obstacle to the development of Orthodoxy in Lithuania. In 1300, for example, Metropolitan Maxim of Muscovy had already transferred the residence of the Metropolitan of Kiev to Vladimir.

The next Grand Duke of Lithuania after Gediminas was Algirdas (Olgerd). He was also responsible for much of Lithuania's expansion to the east. In 1353 he succeeded in once again creating separate dioceses for Lithuania but he was not able to obtain a regular Metropolitan for Lithuania. This impeded Lithuania in retaining sovereignty in its eastern lands. Algirdas along with his brother Kestutis, with whom he jointly ruled Lithuania which then stretched to the Dnieper, were both very sceptical about receiving Latin baptism for Lithuania and once cancelled formal discussions on the topic with the Pope. They saw Lithuania as an eastern and Orthodox country. Algirdas is quoted to have said: "*Omnis Russia ad Letwinos deberet simpliciter pertinere*" (all of Russia must simply belong to the Lithuanians). Algirdas was twice married to Orthodox princesses, but remained himself a pagan until death. Kestutis in all likelihood remained a pagan as well. During their time, there was much religious tolerance. Orthodox influence at his court was great and pagans, Orthodox Christians, Lithuanians and Slavs, lived peacefully side-by-side.

In 1354 Constantinople finally designated a Metropolitan for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Archbishop Roman. But, in 1361 the archbishop died and the Lithuanian archdiocese once again ceased to exist and the Lithuanian Orthodox population once again came under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Moscow, then Metropolitan Alexis (1354-78). After much effort, Algirdas was once again successful in convincing the Patriarch of Constantinople, Philotheos, of the need for a metropolitan in Lithuania. In a letter to Philotheos in 1370 (reproduced below), Algirdas spoke up strongly against the actions of Alexis.<sup>11</sup> In the meantime, Algirdas had already made two attempts to take Moscow, in 1368 and in 1370, and made a third attempt in 1372, but he did not attempt again because he had many Orthodox in his army and he decided not to go to war against Prince Dmitri Donskoi

who enjoyed the blessing of Metropolitan Alexis. As can be understood from the letter below, Algirdas had attempted to take Moscow because the Muscovites were attacking and taking cities that belonged to him, thus he did so out of self-defence. In 1375, the Patriarch of Constantinople appointed the monk Cyprian (who died in 1381) to be the Metropolitan of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Cyprian chose Kiev as his place of residence. Moscow's Prince Dmitri, however, did not know Cyprian and exercised pressure to suppress the archdiocese. Once again, a separate Lithuanian archdiocese meant increased geo-political importance for the Lithuanians, something that the Muscovites did not want to see. Prince Dmitri succeeded in suppressing the archdiocese in 1389; the year Lithuania officially became a Catholic state. In 1415 Grand Duke Vytautas (Vitold) was able to revive the archdiocese, for only five years, but with Gregory Tsamblak as metropolitan who was an active player in the question of unity between the Catholic and Orthodox churches at the Council of Constance (1414-17).

History books often write that Lithuania was hostile to Orthodoxy and hindered its development. In reality, it seems that much of this development was hindered by Muscovy itself with its own political interests in view. This lack of order in the Lithuanian Orthodox Church left a large gap through which Muscovy tried to increase its influence. Muscovy later used the slogan, "to protect the persecuted Orthodox in Lithuania," and this right up until the 17th century. However, from the 16th century onwards, no ambiguity was left. The Lithuanian diocese became part of the Patriarchate of Moscow and of all of Russia in 1589.

After Algirdas, the cousins Jogaila and Vytautas governed Lithuania. Jogaila later became King of Poland ruling the western part of the Polish-Lithuanian union, and Vytautas the Grand Duke of the Grand Duchy ruling primarily over the eastern lands of Lithuania. As early as 1383 Jogaila saw that Lithuania could no longer stay pagan, it had to accept Christianity. He could have turned to Byzantine Christianity. His father Algirdas had been afraid of Latin Christianity so as not to alienate the Orthodox population. His five older brothers were all Orthodox as well as most of the nobility of the Gediminas dynasty who ruled lands in the east. In 1384 Prince Dmitri Donskoi of Moscow and Juliana, the mother of Jogaila, drew up a peace treaty. They had been at odds ever since Jogaila had the

intention of supporting the Mamai Khan at the battle of Kulikovo in 1380, but for some mysterious reason intentionally showed up a day late for the battle. According to this treaty, Jogaila would have to marry Sofija, daughter of Dmitri Donskoi, be baptized an Orthodox Christian and openly declare his Christianity. This treaty would have most likely made Orthodoxy a state religion, but the problem is that this would not have stopped the German knights from the west who were Catholic and for whom the Orthodox were bad Christians and not much better than pagans. Thus, he decided to become Catholic, marry Princess Jadwiga of Poland, move to Krakow and be crowned King of Poland. No doubt Jogaila was also attracted to the rich renaissance culture that Poland was then starting to experience.

Jogaila, once he became Catholic, proclaimed that all the inhabitants (of the western part) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania must become Roman Catholic, even if it means using force to sway them. It is at this time that the ethnographic Lithuanian element was separated from the Slavic one. Ethnic Lithuanians were to be protected from Orthodoxy and thus a barrier between Catholicism and Orthodoxy was erected. As long as Lithuania was still governed by pagans, religious tolerance was the rule of the day, but less now. Thus, with Jogaila we see large parts of Lithuania withdrawing from the eastern sphere and aligning themselves with the West. Lithuanians had finally accepted the faith of their enemies, the Germans, even while they were still suffering from the Latin crusade ideology. But Latin Christianity brought Lithuania into the European culture of the late Middle Ages. On April 19, 1389, Pope Urban VI officially recognized Lithuania as a Catholic country.

At the same time Grand Duke Vytautas became Orthodox and received the name Symeon or Lingwen, and became the protector of Moscow. His armies reached the Dnieper. He ruled over Vitebsk, Smolensk and Kiev. He worked ardently for the unity of Christians right up until his death in 1430. For almost two centuries after the dynastic union of 1389, Lithuania still remained largely an Orthodox country whereas Poland was entirely Catholic. At this point in history, Lithuania still could have become the great successor state to Kiev, which it was for some time, but that destiny eventually fell to Moscow. In 1569, the two states, Lithuania and Poland, entered into an organic union that placed all the Lithuanian provinces under the Polish crown. This resulted in complete domination by Catholic Pol-

ish landlords and the exodus of great numbers of Orthodox peasants to the east. Poland received the upper hand and Lithuania lost much of its sovereignty and was no longer an Orthodox country.

The following is a letter from the Lithuanian Grand Prince Algirdas to the Philotheos, the Patriarch of Constantinople, written in 1370 [*Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, Vindobonae, 1860]. The circumstances were the following: the relations between the Lithuanians and the Russians were sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile, as can be seen from the text above. The clergy was often caught in the middle of these intrigues and had to report to the Patriarch of Constantinople, under who's direct jurisdiction they still found themselves, about what was going on. In 1370, Patriarch Philotheos saw the need to write to all parties involved in order to bring reconciliation. He wrote to the Russian clergy and princes and to Prince Algirdas of the Lithuanians. The latter he admonished for attacking Moscow. What is reproduced below is Algirdas' response to the Patriarch wherein he defends his actions. The letter is reproduced in the original Greek. This is highly interesting, because it shows once again, one could say, the almost natural ties between Lithuania and Byzantium. Were Lithuania a purely Latin country, one could imagine the letter being written in Latin, but it is not. Algirdas obviously had Byzantine scribes at his service.

Ἀπὸ τὸν Βασιλέα Λητβῶν

εἰς τὸν Πατριάρχην προσκύνημα

Ἐπεμψας εἰς ἐμὲ γράμμα μετὰ τοῦ Θεοδώρου μου, ὅτι λυπεῖται πρὸς σὲ ὁ μητροπολίτης ἐπάνω μου. Λέγει οὕτως· ἐκούρσευσέ μας ὁ βασιλεύς, ὁ Ἄλγεδρος. ἐγὼ οὐκ ἠρξάμην τοῦ κουρσεύειν, ἤρξαντο ἐκεῖνοι πρῶτοι τοῦ κουρσεύειν, καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ φίλημα, ὅπερ εἶχον πρὸς με, οὐ κατέθηκαν, οὔτε τὰ ὀρκωμοτικά ἀπέπεμψαν πρὸς με, ἐκούρσευσάν με ἑννέα φορές, καὶ τὸν γυναικάδελφόν μου τὸν ρῆγα Μιχαὴλ ἐνόρκως ἔκραξαν εἰς ἑαυτούς, καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης ἐξέβαλεν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὸν φόβον, ὅτι νὰ ἔλθῃ καὶ νὰ ὑπάγῃ με τὸ θέλημά του, καὶ ἐπιάσαν τον καὶ ἐπῆραν καὶ τὸ ρηγατίον του, τὸν γαμβρόν του, τὸν ρῆγαν τὸν Ἰωάννην τοῦ Νοβοσιλίου καὶ τὸ ρηγατίον τοῦ ἐκούρσευσαν, καὶ τὴν μάναν του ἐπιάσαν την, καὶ τὴν θυγατέραν του ἀπῆραν την, καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, ὃν εἶχον πρὸς ἐκείνους, οὐ κατέθηκαν, ἐπάνω, τούτου τοῦ σταυροφιλήματος, ἐπῆραν ἀπ'

ἐμοῦ κάστρα· τὸ Ρζόβα, τὸ Σήζκα, τὸ Γούδην, τὸ Ὑσπέρτεν, τὸ Γερήσεν, τὸ Ράνσου, τὸ Λούμι τὸ μέγα, τὸ Κλήττεν, τὸ Βσέλουκ, τὸ Βόλγο, τὸ Κοζλόβο, τὸ Λήπητση, τὸ Τέσοβ, τὸ Χλέπεν, τοῦ Θωμᾶ τὸ κάστρον, τὸ Μπεζερούη, τὴν Καλούγαν, τὸ Μπζένισκον. Ταῦτα πάντα εἰσὶ κάστρα, καὶ ταῦτα ὅλα ἀπῆραν, καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ φίλημα οὐ κατέθηκαν οὔτε τὰ ὀρκωμοτικά ἀπέπεμψαν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα μὴ ὑπομείναντες αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐκουρσεύσαμεν τοὺς, καὶ ἐὰν οὐδὲν ὀρθώσουν εἰς ἐμέ, οὐδὲ τότε τοὺς θέλω ὑπομένειν. Κατὰ τὴν εὐλογίαν σου ὁ μητροπολίτης αὐτῶν εὐλογεῖ εἰς τὰς αἰματεκχυσίας μέχρι τοῦ νῦν. οὔτε εἰς τοὺς πατέρας μας τοιοῦτοι μητροπολίται οὐκ ἐγένοντο, οἷος οὗτος ὁ μητροπολίτης, εὐλογεῖ τοὺς Μοσχοβιώτας εἰς αἰματεκχυσίας, καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἔρχεται, οὔτε εἰς τὸ Κίεβον ὑπαγένη, καὶ ὅστις φιλήσῃ σταυρὸν εἰς ἐμέ, καὶ φύγῃ πρὸς ἐκείνους, ὁ μητροπολίτης ἐκβάλλει τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ φίλημα ἀπ' ἐκείνου. Γίνεται τοῦτο εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὅτι νὰ ἐκβάλωσι τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ φίλημα· ὁ Ἰωάννης τοῦ Κοζελήσκου, δοῦλος μου, ἐφίλησεν εἰς ἐμέ μετὰ τὴν μάναν του καὶ μετὰ τὰ ἀδελφία του καὶ μετὰ τὴν γυναῖκα του καὶ τὰ παιδιὰ του, ὅτι νὰ ἔνε εἰς ἐμένα, καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὴν μάναν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδιὰ ἀφείς ἔφυγε, καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης Ἀλέξιος τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ φίλημα ἐξέβαλεν τῆς τὸ ... ὁ Ἰωάννης τοῦ Βαζεμίσκου ἐφίλησε σταυρὸν, καὶ ἔφυγε καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς ἐξέδωκε, καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης ἐξέβαλεν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ φίλημα. ὁ Ναγούπνικος ὁ Βασίλειος ἐφίλησεν εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐγένετο ἐγγυητὴς τούτου, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐξέδωκε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐς τὴν ἐγγύην, καὶ ἔφυγε, καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης ἐξέβαλεν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ φίλημα, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἔφυγον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος λύει αὐτοὺς τοῦ ὄρκου ἥτοι τοῦ φιλήματος τοῦ σταυροῦ. ἔπρεπε τὸν μητροπολίτην, ἵνα εὐλογῇ τοὺς Μοσχοβιώτας, ὅτι νὰ ἐβοηθούσάν μας διότι ἡμεῖς μαχόμεθα μετὰ τῶν Ἀλαμάνων δι' ἐκείνους, καὶ λαλοῦμεν τὸν μητροπολίτην πρὸς ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἔρχεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς· δὸς ἡμῖν ἄλλον μητροπολίτην εἰς τὸ Κίεβον, εἰς τὸ Σμολένισκον, εἰς τὸ Τυφέρνην, εἰς τὴν Μικρὰν Ρωσίαν, εἰς τὸ Νοβοσίλιν, εἰς τὸ Χαμηλὸν Νοβογράδιν.



(English translation)

From Algirdas, King of the Lithuanians,

Greetings to the Patriarch

You sent me a letter, by way of my Theodore, in which you write that the Metropolitan has complained to you about me. He said: King Algirdas attacked us. I did not initiate the attack, they began attacking first and they did not keep the oath of the cross that they had made to me. They attacked me nine times and they called my brother-in-law Prince Mikhail to themselves under an oath, whilst the Metropolitan took away all fear that he might not be able to come and to go as he liked, and they apprehended him nevertheless. They captured my son-in-law Prince Boris of Nizhni Novgorod and they robbed him of his principality. They also captured my son-in-law Prince Ivan of Novosili and they attacked his principality. They took his mother captive, they took away my daughter and they did not keep the oath, which they had sworn before, the oath of the cross. They proceeded to take from me the cities of Pzoba, Sezka, Gudin, Osiedzeno, Goreseno, Rasnu, Great Lumi, Klidzen, Vseluk, Volga, Koslovo, Lipidzi, Tesov, Chlepen, Thomasburg, Beresui, Kolugan and Mdzenisko. All of these are cities and they have all been taken away. They did not keep the oath of the cross and they did not respect our agreements. We, not being able to support all of this, attacked them again. Not having seen any correction for their acts, I did not want to bear these things any longer. According to your good saying, the Metropolitan blesses the bloody affair to this day. Even in the times of our fathers there were not Metropolitans like this one, who blesses the Moscovites in their shedding of blood. He does not come to us and neither does he go to Kiev and when someone makes an oath of the cross to me and then flees to him, the Metropolitan releases him from the oath of the cross. Does this exist anywhere in the world, that someone can be released from an oath of the cross? Ivan of Kozelneskov, my servant, swore to me with his children that he will remain faithful to me and then he abandoned mother and brothers and wife and children and ran off and Metropolitan Alexios released him from the oath of the cross. Ivan of Bazemisku swore by the cross and then fled and betrayed the citizens, and the Metropolitan released him from the oath of the cross. Vasili Nagoumnik made an oath to the bishop and the bishop became his citizen, and he betrayed the bishop and the city, and fled, and the Metropolitan released him from the oath of the cross. Many others fled and he absolved them from the

oath of the cross. The Metropolitan should have blessed the Muscovites so that they would help us in battle since we are fighting the Germans because of them. We invited the Metropolitan and he did not come to us. Give us another Metropolitan for Kiev, Smolensk, Tver, Russia Minor, Novosili and Nizhni Novgorod.

### Postscript

In subsequent letters of Patriarch Philotheos to Metropolitan Alexios, the former refers to the above letter several times and he seems to uphold Algirdas' position. The Patriarch reminds Metropolitan Alexios about the urgency and holiness of the oath and he warns the Metropolitan to be impartial in his advice and in his teaching to all Russians and Lithuanians and especially towards the Lithuanians.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> In this article, I owe a debt to the book by Zenonas Ivinskis, *Lietuvos istorija iki Vytauto Didžiojo mirties*, Lietuvių Kataliku Mokslo Akademija, Roma, 1978. It seems to be the only book by a modern Lithuanian historian open to the Orthodox past of Lithuania. Lithuanian national identity in modern time has been so closely linked to Roman Catholicism, that it definitely takes some daring to look at the Orthodoxy and maybe this is why the subject has received so little treatment elsewhere. This book by Ivinskis is very rich in sources, many of which I have used here below.

<sup>2</sup> These tales are contained in the volume *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales*, Serge A. Zenkovsky, editor. Dutton Paperbacks, New York, 1974, pgs. 43-76.

<sup>3</sup> See V.N. Toporov, "Novoe sobranie latgal'skoj toponimii" in Viach. Vs. Ivanov, editor, *Balto-Slavianskie issledovaniia* 1985, Nauka, Moskva, 1987, pgs. 233-236.

<sup>4</sup> G.P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, vol. II, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1966, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Fedotov, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Polnoje Sobranije Russkich letopisej*, vols. 1-28, Petersburg - Maskva, (1841-1963) vol. 2 pp. 858-859.

<sup>7</sup> Ivinskis, p. 198.

<sup>8</sup> Ivinskis (p. 229) gives the source as *Liv-, Esth- und Curlaendisches Urkundenbuch*, Fr. v. Bunge et al. Abteilung I, vols. 1-12 (1093-1472), Riga 1857-1910.

<sup>9</sup> Once again, Ivinskis (pg. 243) gives the source as M. Priselkov, M. Fraser, *Otryvki V.N. Beneshevicha po istorii russkoi cerkvi XIVv.* (Izvestija Otd. Russk. Jaz. i Slov.0) 1916, pgs. 49-61.

<sup>10</sup> J. Kudirka writes: "The greatest number of Lithuanian surnames and first names are derived from Greek names which came to Lithuania via Slavic countries or Western Europe together with Christianity, for example, Aleksas, Aleksandras, Andrius, Dionizas, Eugenijus, Ipolitas, Jeronimas, Jurgis, Kipras, Kristupas, Leonidas, Petras, Steponas, Zenonas." *The Lithuanians*, Lithuanian Folk Culture Centre, Chicago, 1996.

<sup>11</sup> *Mitteilungen der Litauischen Literarischen Gesellschaft 1-31* (1880-1912), Tilsit-Heidelberg, vol. 5, pp. 358-361. Reproduced from the *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, Vindogonae, 1860.

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“Andrew, Metropolitan of Crete (660-740),” III) “Germanos I, Patriarch of Constantinople (715-730),” IV) “John Damaskenos (675-749),” V) “Barlaam and Ioasaph,” VI) “Kosmas the Melode (ca. 675 –ca. 752),” VII) “Medieval Constantine-legend,” and VIII) “The Dark Century (ca. 650 –ca. 775).” Part Two bears the title, *The Predominance of Monastic Culture (ca. 775 –ca. 850)* and comprises the following chapters: I) “The Monks and the Arabs: Martyrdom of the Sabaites (BHG 1200),” II) “The Monks and the Icon: The First Iconodulic Biography (Stephen the Younger BHG 1666),” III) “Monastic World Chronicle: Theophanes the Confessor,” IV) “Monks and Society: Theodore of Stoudios,” V) “New Hymnography: Clement and his Successors,” VI) “Semi-Secular Vitae: The Vitae of St. Philaretos the Merciful and Anthony the Younger,” VII) “Cosmic Discourse: Vitae of Leo of Catania and Pankratios of Taormina, the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai,” VIII) “The Princely Nun: Kassia,” IX) “Peaceful and Saintly Career: St. Ioannikios and his Kind,” X) “Ignatios and Pseudo-Ignatios,” XI) “The Strange Triumph of the Iconodules: the Patriarch Methodios,” and XII) “The Monastic Revival of Literature (ca. 775-850).”

There is a wealth of information in these chapters and there is an accumulation of insights, old and new, which makes the work a fascinating reading. It will be extremely useful to students and researches in Byzantine Studies and especially in Byzantine Literature and Patrology because of much relevant and scholarly information. The most welcomed feature of the book is its fresh insight, which results from accepting the integrity of the literature it surveys and they way it interprets it in light of the particular socio-political context to which it belongs. The book ends with an extensive Index to names of subjects, which is also very valuable for researchers.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

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Παρασκευάς Κονόρτας, *Οθωμανικές Θεωρήσεις για τὸ Οικουμενικὸ Πατριαρχεῖο, 17ος – αρχές 20οῦ αἰώνα* = Paraskeuas Konortas, *Ottoman Views On The Ecumenical Patriarchate: 17<sup>th</sup> – the beginnings of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Editions “Alexandria,” Athens 1998, pp. 570 including maps [in Greek]

The author is an Associate Professor of History and Institutions of Hellenism under the Ottoman Empire in the Department of History of the Ionian University of Greece, and has been teaching there since 1987. As a specialist in the field – he holds a doctorate from the University of Paris on the subject of *Les Rapports juridiques et politiques entre le Patriarcat Orthodoxe de Constantinople et l'Administration ottomane de 1453 à 1600 d'après les documents grecs et ottomans* (1985) – he is well equipped for the production of this book which represents a great scholarly achievement. He clearly benefited from many contacts with specialist scholars in Ottoman History in Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and France who are all mentioned in a special introductory text (pp. 13-14).

The Introduction explains the structure and purpose of the book. The opening sentences in particular set the perspective: “The Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Great Church of Orthodoxy, constitutes a most important factor for the understanding of the history of all the Orthodox peoples of the Balkans and especially of the Greeks, during the period of the Ottoman domination. The Orthodox Church is the only institution of medieval political and social reality that was able to pass almost intact into the new political order of things, which was created after the Conquest” (p. 39). Thus, “the Church’s higher clergy and monasteries were recognized as necessary institutions for the preservation of the collective identity of the Orthodox populations, which had been subdued by the Ottoman authority.” “More than any other factor, they were able to diffuse the values of the past that were necessary for the cohesion of Orthodox society, as well as the order, tradition and, naturally, the Orthodox faith.”

The author goes on to explain the important role, which the Ecumenical Patriarchate assumed during this period and the reasons pertaining to it. The Patriarchs and their associates “were the continuators of Orthodoxy and of *Rômiosynê*, that is the Byzantine tradition.” This is seen in several ways. First of all “the official language of the Patriarchate was Greek and the law applied by the members of its Higher Clergy was the Byzantine-Roman.” Then, the center of the Patriarchate continued to be in Constantinople, “the old capital of the East Roman Orthodox Empire, the city which constituted the indisputable center of Hellenism for centuries, even for several decades after the establishment of the Greek State.” The history of the period shows that “no Orthodox agent that was powerful either

politically or economically could gain lawful leadership of Orthodoxy at this time from the Ottoman authorities without the consent and recognition of the ecclesiastical Hierarchy.” This constant presence of the Orthodox Clergy in the Orthodox society and, especially in the Greek constituency of the Ottoman period, was due not only to “the enhanced authority of the Church that resulted from the disappearance of the authority of the Byzantine Emperors, but also to the deliberate policies of the Ottomans.” Mohamed II and his successors followed the previously established pattern of Arab Moslem conquerors in preserving the institutions and hierarchical structure of the Orthodox Church. This pattern had been established long before the fall of Constantinople, but “it was now greatly enhanced because Sultans and Patriarchs appeared together in the same city.” This *modus vivendi* cannot be explained simply “in terms of political necessity, but in terms of preserving the real balance of interests in the two communities, which prevailed in spite of occasional problems and crises.”

Having thus presented his scope, the author clarifies what he tries to accomplish in his book. It has to do with the role of the Orthodox Church in general and of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in particular on the basis of a thorough study of primary sources. He acknowledges the value of the research accomplished in this area so far, but he observes its limitation, which is due to “the fact that it has been based on sources derived from the Orthodox environment (Greek and Slavic), or from European archives and reports of European visitors.” What for him is primarily needed, however, is the utilization of “the rich resources and primary data of the Ottoman documents.” Only such documents would show beyond doubt “the lawful Ottoman order that existed at that time and how the various types of relations between the Great Church and the Ottoman Administration were born and developed.” Such a task, says the author, has actually been undertaken during the last thirty or so years and the author refers to the works of J. Kabrda (1969), M. Maxim (1981), B. Braude (1982), H. Inalcik (1982 and 1991), Trickovic (1990), E. Zachariades (1996) and his own (1985-1997). These studies showed that “the knowledge of the Ottoman political order of things and especially of Ottoman institutions is indispensable for understanding the history of the Church at that time.” They also showed that “the integration of the Patriarchate into the Ottoman administration was accomplished rather gradually, during

the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and that to a large extent it was quite different from what existed before in the context of the Byzantine-Roman state or in the context of the Canons of the Church." The Church not only survived, but also "emerged as an economic, social, political and ideological agency and played a very important role in the international political arena as well."

The Contents of the book include a thorough-going "Bibliography" (pp. 19-38), an "Introduction" (pp. 39-51), Chapter I, "Texts and their Diachronic Development" (pp. 53-119), Chapter II, "From a Sultan's Appointment to Representational Election: the Ottoman Authority, the Patriarchate and the Social Developments in the Orthodox Community" (pp. 121-164), Chapter III, "Economic Parameters: The Patriarch's Donations to the Porte and their Consequences" (pp. 165-208), Chapter IV, "*Berats* and Constitutional Charters: The Territorial Jurisdiction of the Patriarch according to the Ottoman Administration" (pp. 209-293), Chapter V, "The Patriarchate and the Ottoman Lawful Order" (pp. 295-361), an "Epilogue" (pp. 363-371), an "Appendix" (pp. 373-390) providing a restoration in translation of a renewed *Berat*, which was given to the Ecumenical Patriarch Seraphim II, a little after the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1757, due to the ascendancy on the Sultan's Throne of Mustafa II. The volume concludes with extensive "Notes" to the preceding Chapters (pp. 391-479), eight "Indices" to Patriarchal and Metropolitan *Berats* (pp. 481-501), two extensive "Indices" to names and subjects, one in Greek and another in Latin characters (pp. 503-564) and four maps indicating: the geographical jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate during the period 1767-1783, the approximate limits of the territorial jurisdiction of the Archbishoprics of Ochrid and Ipekion before 1766/7 and, finally, the cathedrae of the Orthodox Patriarchates and autocephalous Archbishoprics before 1766/7.

This splendid and scholarly volume supplies a host of extremely valuable historical information based on primary and official sources concerning the key-role the Ecumenical Patriarchate played during the period that followed the fall of Byzantium in the Orthodox world of the Ottoman Empire (1453-1923). The Turkish Sultans were those who officially determined the enhanced power of the Patriarchs in all sorts of domains beyond the religious one on account of political need and expediency. This is clearly brought out in the Ottoman documents, which are presented in this volume and bring to light the official Turkish viewpoint. This volume shows exactly how this scheme worked and,

particularly, how it was developed during the five centuries of its life, undergoing important changes at specific times (in 1640/1, 1714, 1741, 1757, 1763, 1766/7 and finally in 1860/2) before being abolished in 1923; changes, however, which did not affect the essential ecumenical authority of the Patriarchs and the Patriarchate inasmuch as they continued to exist hand in hand with the multi-ethnic character of the Turkish empire. It was precisely this role that prevented the Ecumenical Patriarchate from aligning itself with the ethnic insurrections that shook the Balkans in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The clear insights into the relations of Sultans and Patriarchs that this volume provides, makes it indispensable for those who study the history and development of this venerable Center of world Orthodoxy, the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In the concluding words of the author, "Although the *Berats* simply supply the Ottoman viewpoint concerning the *status quo* of the Patriarchate, they constitute a significant source for understanding and recording its history, in a way that is free from stereotypes, emotional charges and myths, and contribute, through being combined with other sources, to a rational and scientific perception of crucial matters. Investing the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the bearer of the ecumenical world-view *par excellence*, with an ethnic role, especially at times when ethnic fervor hardly existed, would be at least a historic anachronism and an attempt to project contemporary problems on the past. It is a fact that the Great Church co-existed for five hundred and twenty years with the Ottoman State. This co-existence in no way minimizes its historic role as the Center of Orthodoxy and of Hellenism in its ecumenical dimension" (p. 371 last paragraph of the Epilogue).

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

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*The Splendour of Orthodoxy, 2000 Years: History – Monuments – Art*, vols. 1 and 2, Ekdotikê Athênôn, Athens 2000, 516pp and 542pp.

This truly magnificent work is the latest and one of the greatest publication achievements of the well-known Athenian Publishers "Ekdotikê Athênôn." It was designed to mark the celebrations for the completion of 2000 years of Christianity. It comprises two lavishly produced de lux volumes, which present in a comprehensive and



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## Reflections

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BETTY PSALTIS DUNCAN

Having accepted the invitation to be a panelist in this symposium, I began to ponder a suitable approach to the subject at hand, reflections on my life history. Fortuitously, a recent trip to Puerto Vallarta with my husband and my sisters provided me with a fitting focal point. The beautiful bougainvillea vines that surrounded our hotel transported my mind's eye to the home where my mother was born in Temeni, a lovely seaside village near Aighion on the Peloponnese. It is here my reflections begin, in Temeni — and then with my mother's arrival in America. Embedded in her story are elements of a tale which has been at the very basis of my own life history.

Panayota Mallyaris, my mother, was one of three daughters and four sons of Elias and Paraskevi Mallyaris. Having finished secondary school and being an excellent student, she was encouraged by her mother to continue her education in Athens. Thus, my mother made the journey from Temeni to Athens where she moved in with her cousins from Aighion who had already settled there as students. I as an adult listened to those cousins during my own first visit to Greece as they recalled nostalgically their halcyon days spent together while they pursued their studies and as they started their respective careers. Panayota embarked on her studies in medicine, her chosen field, and by the time she departed for America she had already been assisting the renowned Dr. Louros and was on her way to becoming an obstetrician with her own practice in Athens. She had, by then, her own apartment in Kolonaki in Athens and had brought her two sisters from Temeni to live with her.

Her brothers, especially Michael who was closest to her in age and had been in America for quite a few years, had written repeat-

edly to Panayota urging her to come to visit. Panayota found it difficult to take the time necessary from her responsibilities in Athens for such a long journey. However, she eventually decided to go. Taking an extended leave from her position, entrusting her sisters to look after the Kolonaki apartment, and leaving behind all her belongings (including the "beautiful" custom-made shoes which to my amusement she was to miss and to mention from time to time in the years ahead), Panayota embarked on her adventurous journey to California in 1922.

Aboard ship Panayota met Eleni, a shy young lady from the island of Kythera who had been compelled by circumstances to travel alone because her father had become unable through illness at the last moment to accompany her. These two young women found much comfort in each other's company, staying together through the entire Atlantic crossing, and they were sad to part on the docks of New York. Eleni was met by her intended husband who, holding a bouquet of roses, was at the head of a line of promised grooms each awaiting his promised bride. Panayota departed on her own, boarding the trans-continental train to her destiny. She was prepared with enough English to help her meet her needs on her way. She was already competent in French and, as was normal at that time in Athens, she spoke *kathareuoussa* (puristic) Greek. Little did either Panayota or Eleni know of their final destinations.

Reaching California, my mother was made welcome in her brother's home in Oakland. Inevitably she longed to resume her life in Athens as she had planned. While she was preparing to return to Greece, however, two respectable pioneer Greek ladies, Mrs. Sardell and Mrs. Pagonis, insisted that she should meet a man, Demetrios, known as James here in America, who they said was of "good character." Coming from the Ionian island of Kythera, he had arrived in San Francisco, across the bay from Oakland, in 1906, when he was 22 years old, immediately after the great earthquake that racked the city that year. Although he had completed only the third year of school as the older women admitted, he had become the owner of the well-known Corbett Grill on Market Street now, operating the business alone, doing his own book-keeping and reading American and Greek alike with relative ease. His establishment was a meeting place for City Hall politicians as well as various San Francisco celebrities. He was successful in business; and — the wise older women also re-

ported — he was handsome as well. Intrigued, my mother agreed to meet him. She liked him. Shortly thereafter, on February 4, 1923, Panayota was wed to Demetrios (James) Psaltis. I was born nine months later.

My own story, therefore, evolves from the perceptions of a first-born female child. I remember my father being active in all of the Greek religious and social causes of his time. He served as a member of the Annunciation Cathedral board for many long years; moreover, he was asked to help save Holy Trinity Church from closing by becoming its president. A charter member of the Golden Gate Chapter of the American Hellenic Progressive Association (AHEPA), he sailed on their first excursion to Greece in 1929. His home-coming from that trip stands out in my memory as a very exciting experience for me as a young child. The Kytherian Society of California, still active today, was founded by him and two of his friends from the island, George Cominos and John Alfieris. Typical of those years, my father brought all of his brothers and a nephew who wanted to come to America from the island, and gave them work in his business. He provided dowries for his nieces and brought the eldest niece here also, helping her to find a good husband. One of my father's outstanding attributes was his generosity. He helped many people withstand hardship, often of a financial nature, especially during the Depression when he was well known as a good friend who gave help without requiring the signing of formal notes or the payment of interest. Not everyone repaid their loans, and this was a source of disappointment to him, not because of the money but because it resulted in his losing faith in those who had given their word. During WW II, my father took an active role in fund-raising for the Greek War Relief; and his popular Corbett Grill became a meeting place for American soldiers.

To continue with my mother's early experiences, I shall refer to a significant event that occurred to her during her honeymoon. As my father was taking her to a lovely and exclusive lodge in Monterey, California, they stopped on the way to visit his compatriots from Kythera who owned the Cominos Hotel in Salinas (which has been immortalized by the novelist John Steinbeck, a native of Salinas himself). The Cominos brothers gathered to meet their fellow Kytherian's bride. As they sat chatting in this magnificent establishment, a young woman in the fullness of child-bearing entered, approaching through

the far door. Coming closer, she appeared absolutely amazing to my mother as Panayota found herself standing face to face with her friend from the voyage, Eleni.

What a splendid stroke of serendipity! Eleni had married Harry Cominos: it was he who had stood at the quay in New York, flowers in hand, to meet this promised bride; and it was to Salinas that he had brought her. Little had the close companions Panayota and Eleni known of the proximity of their respective destinies in the farthest reaches of the new land. Little could the two young women have imagined of the coincidence that would bring them together again as married women here. In the joy of that reunion, Eleni promised her next child to Panayota as a godchild. So it was that Theodore Cominos became my mother's and father's godson, and Eleni's family became an extended family with ours. These close relationships came to include the families of the other Cominos brothers also. We shared mutual relatives in Oakland; and I am delighted to say that these cherished relationships continue to this day.

Fidelity was among the prominent values in our family, along with religion and education. Going to church regularly, and attending school and various private lessons, filled the days of us children. We had a tutor coming to us at home to teach us to read and write in the Greek language until after-school Greek language classes were instituted in the public schools. While so firmly rooted in our Greek background, my parents were equally intent that we should branch out. When I was six years old, my mother engaged a cultured French lady, who happened to come to our door seeking employment as a domestic during the tragic conditions of the Depression, to teach me French. Thus my love for the study of other languages was initiated. Later when I was twelve, my mother enrolled me in the Saturday morning German school on Larkin Street to learn German. Little did she know that the school was a front for Naziism! She did not keep me in that school. Fortunately, I was not indoctrinated. Also at the age of six, I was given a lovely shiny piano by my father; and soon a tall, distinguished-looking, gray-haired English piano teacher arrived who taught me very quickly to play the quintessential English composer Percy Grainger's "In a Country Garden."

It seems my parents could hardly wait to provide me with every kind of educational opportunity they could imagine as I was the first child in the family. Nevertheless, all four of us children (as they had

three after me) were given music and dance lessons, and each of us benefited from our parents' love of music. When my younger sister Eugenia had, in her turn, become six years old my mother found her a violin teacher who was a fortunate choice. He was the assistant concert master of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. Under his tutelage and under the influence of my mother's artistic sensitivity, my sister's life-long devotion to music emerged. My father's own support of the finer arts also contributed to this development of ours. I remember how pleased my father was and how hard he had worked to produce a recital in San Francisco's Scottish Rite Auditorium for a fellow Kytherian, Jean Fardoulis, an opera singer from Paris. We are all so proud to be a part of that event. I recall it as vividly as I do the formal reception given by the Greek community in the early 1930s, again in the Scottish Rite Auditorium, to welcome Alikí Diplarakou, Miss Greece, later to become Miss Europe.

Some years ago, among the many coincidences in my own life, I met Lady Russell, who is the former Alikí Diplarakou, residing now in London. We see each other from time to time in church and at events arranged by various societies in the London Greek community. Of course I have told her of my memories: my mother having a peach satin dress made for the event in San Francisco and my father bringing home the evening's program with Alikí's photograph on the cover.

Growing up in California, we were constantly reminded not only of the manifold finer aspirations and possibilities in our generations but furthermore of the ideals and accomplishments of our ancestors. As we learned and were told again and again, they had created "the glory that was Greece" and then centuries later had fought the oppressive Ottoman Empire to regain their independence and freedom. Who could forget our excitement at the Greek Independence Day celebrations on March 25th? Each year in San Francisco, the day would begin with the Divine Liturgy to commemorate the feast of the Annunciation. Our church would be filled to capacity with people from all parts of California: the parishioners in their holiday finery; the priests, the bishop and sometimes even the archbishop in colorful robes; the Consul General of Greece delivering the annual oration on the importance of the two inextricably related historical events.

Our eternal liberation from the chains of sin and death is proclaimed through the Annunciation. Our temporal freedom is restored

at Independence from the shackles of social and political oppression. Faith in the first supported our appreciation of the second.

The evening's secular celebration each year offered more oratory on our history, with heroes being acclaimed and achievements recounted over and over again by our pioneer Greek community leaders. Dancing would always follow in the civic auditorium to the orchestral of John Afendras.

A highlight of every March 25th celebration were the Greek folk-dances performed by the youth in regional costumes.

This tradition initiated by immigrants to preserve the age-old traditions continues today in the Greek Orthodox communities throughout America. Just a week before this symposium, more than three thousand Greek-American youth and their family members were celebrating this inheritance in the Western Diocese's annual Folk Dance Festival of Greek Orthodox dance groups held this year in Ontario, California. This is one example of the legacy from the early endeavors of our pioneers who maintained traditions and established institutions (churches, schools and fraternal organizations) on these shores, making the transition to America an easier one for newer immigrants today.

There were many opportunities for the community to meet together. Three ladies' societies, each with charitable and cultural purposes — the Philoptochos, the Daughters of Penelope, and Proodos (my mother was active in all of them) — organized dances, luncheons, dinners, lectures and recitals. I remember how much I enjoyed the AHEPA Christmas parties where we were entertained by Ted Stephens and Agnes Korakakis performing what seemed to have become their trademark songs: "Siboney," "Granada," and "Misirlou." All of these societies contributed much to the fostering of a positive Greek identity among the young.

From an environment where Greek culture reigned, we children of immigrants emerged inevitably into the neighborhoods that surrounded our homes and we went to school, thus taking our first steps in assimilation. In these surroundings, we learned about differences in cultures as a normal part of our civic life; we cultivated the sense of being American and came to appreciate our American heritage. The neighborhood I grew up in was a perfect milieu for this development. It was predominantly Irish Catholic with a Protestant family next door to us and a French family on the corner. We were the only

Greek Orthodox family. My mother chose to send us to St Agnes Roman Catholic Grammar School, whose pupils she had noticed carried books and wore uniforms. She felt we would receive a good education in this school. Arranging a meeting with the Sister Superior, my mother said she wanted eventually to enroll all four of her children and said furthermore that while she would like us to participate in catechism lessons to learn as much as possible about religion she did not want her children to be pressured to convert: "Please do not try to convert them: we have our own religion." When I started school I spoke no English at all, yet I embarked on twelve happy years, receiving an excellent education, being taught by dedicated, competent, caring nuns, first at St. Agnes' school and then later at Presentation Academy.

The aspirations of many Greek immigrants in San Francisco often included a college education for their off-spring, and many parents made immense sacrifices to achieve this goal, to ensure their children a better future. I entered the University of California at Berkeley, which as long as I could remember I had been told was the best in the world. For a young woman from a rather sheltered and formal convent education, a smaller setting might have better suited my needs; nevertheless, I soon adjusted to this also, as I became involved with my studies. I became active in the Greek Students Society, where I met other students whose backgrounds were similar to mine, and this helped to foster a sense of belonging. We organized many social activities and enjoyed ourselves together. Ultimately, I was fortunate to make many wonderful life-long friends at Berkeley from various backgrounds.

The war came while I was still in university. It changed our lives, delaying the realization of our dreams, deferring the accomplishment of our goals and compounding the normal problems of adolescence. Our world changed. As Greek-Americans, we experienced much pride in the heroic stance of Greece against the spread of Fascism and Nazism. Throughout the conflict, our generation fought valiantly to preserve our American way of life, which we knew was based on those democratic principles enunciated by our ancient Greek ancestors (about which we had heard so often in our youth). Our loyalty to the United States of America was total and unquestioned.

As was usual among many educated women in my day, I became a teacher. Actually it was a natural choice for me. Many of my teach-



ers throughout the years stood out as role models: especially my very first teacher, my mother, who was herself an influence on the attitude that I would bring to my profession. I recall my mother's activities in producing children's plays with the Greek school pupils. She wrote the plays, sometimes the poetry, she directed the children's performances and she produced the entirety, even selecting and arranging appropriate music for each play. My sister Elly recently reminded me of her own stage debut in our church hall as a young girl portraying an old lady, replete with white hair, long shawl and cane, sitting on a rocking chair reciting "To Paramythi tês Yiayias" ("Grandmother's fable"). Our mother had orchestrated that performance, too. I remember my mother's cheerful yet serious demeanor in all creative endeavors. So it is little wonder that as a teacher I would develop, almost automatically, an interest in the creative process and its cultivation, and later as a professor concerned with teacher education I would make a contribution in the area of creativity in teaching.

Consistent with the aspirations and ideals instilled in me in my formative years, my education did not end with the Bachelor's Degree at Berkeley. A Master's Degree in Counseling and Guidance followed, and shortly thereafter I moved to New York. In that city's dynamic environment, all parts of the personality found nourishment: intellectual and creative potential was realized. While teaching at Brooklyn College, I discovered an aptitude to instruct at the university level, which led me to earn a doctorate in education at Columbia University in 1962. At completion, an academic position in the San Francisco State University was offered, which took me home. Returning with a renewed confidence, a heightened feeling of self-assurance, an urge to undertake new challenges and a will to succeed, I found the kind of support and recognition in this university that every professional person deserves. With a rapid advancement to full professor, my teaching engaged the whole of my ability and talents. At home with a career, who could ask for anything more?

In August 1973, the regular symposium on creativity that I had initiated in the university had just finished for that year, and I found that I needed to go away and relax before the fall semester would begin.

Thus a summer holiday commenced in Honolulu — one which was to evolve into an adventure that would change my life completely.

That fateful summer, I met my future husband: James Blair Duncan. Fortuitously on his return to London, he had stopped in Honolulu for a brief respite after a business trip to Australia. Our initial encounter was brief as he needed soon to depart on the final segment of his journey; we met again the following year in England where I took a group of teachers on a study tour. In August of that year, he and I were later reunited in Honolulu, and were married the following December in the Annunciation Cathedral, my family's parish in San Francisco.

Although the ramifications of such a decision were rather severe because it entailed my leaving my career, family, friends and country to live with him across the Atlantic, I knew it was meant to be — just as my mother had known fifty years earlier.

Together, my husband and I continue to share a mutual zest to extend our horizons and to experience yet more of the world. Travel has therefore remained an important part of our life. Still our life together has remained centered on our home in London, my new world. My experiences here have been broadened through my husband's numerous involvements and enriched through social events peculiar to the British culture, which preserves the pomp and ceremony of many of its traditions and rituals. For example, we were received formally by the Lord Mayor in company with bishops, cabinet ministers and other dignitaries prior to the Lord Mayor's annual dinner in the historic Guildhall. On a further occasion Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth received me as the wife of one of the captains of industry who was himself being honored in the Guildhall.

Together, he and I have enjoyed the honor of dining as guests of Her Royal Highness Princess Anne in Buckingham Palace; and on a further occasion the privilege of strolling in the magnificent grounds of Buckingham Palace as guests of Her Majesty the Queen at one of her garden parties. On a most special occasion, I watched my husband being knighted by the Queen in the Throne Room of Buckingham Palace, a ceremony which resulted in new titles for both of us, Sir James and Lady Duncan.

I knew merely a handful of people when I arrived. Among these was my only relative from Greece living in London, the warmth of whose family compensated me for the loss of my immediate family now in my new home. My circle eventually widened and strengthened to include the devoted parents who have entrusted their children

to me as my god-children here, and to include even a relative from California who came here after my own arrival. As soon as I had arrived, I began going to the Cathedral of Aghia Sophia in Moscow Road, which has become my parish where I have worshipped during the past twenty-five years now. My husband, I am pleased to note, has accompanied me on all of the major feasts and holidays observed by the Greek Orthodox Church. Furthermore from the start, I gradually became involved in a number of organizations at my own initiative and served on their executive committees, among them: The American Women's Club and the Junior League of London (both American associations), the Royal Lifeboat Institution and the Cancer Research Society (both British Associations), the Ionian Society, the Lykion Hellinidon and the Greek Orthodox Charity Organization (Greek Associations). In addition to these, various civic and residential committees involved me in my new neighborhood, Knightsbridge, providing me with opportunities to make even more new friends and to develop significant relationships among them also.

All of these activities have provided me with a sense of belonging here. The loss that I feel at being an expatriate is minimized by this companionship of my loving and beloved husband, my good friends and relations and kind neighbors. However, I remain here so very far away from my immediate family, so far away from my homeland.

Within this sense of a loss of homeland and family, I particularly remember my mother, Panayota. Often I feel as if she and I are one; as I continue to walk along the path she tread. Always I feel her strength to be mine as I draw upwards from the deep roots she cultivated in me, and as I grow even now further into the dimensions she began to develop early in me.

Recalling my former life, a nostalgia sometimes overwhelms me as if the past (the homelands and forebearers) from which we spring has been irrevocably lost. I first heard this type of nostalgia expressed when I was a little girl in San Francisco, during a dinner party in my parents' home, listening to the lines of a poem recited by Marie Damianakes who so mesmerized me with her old-fashioned elocution that the memory has remained vivid in me since. The lines are from the "Song of the Greek Poet," written by Lord George Gordon Byron:

*The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece!  
where burning Sappho loved and sung-*

*where grew the arts of war and peace-  
where Delos rose, and Phoebus sprung!  
Eternal summer gilds them yet;  
But all, except their sun, is set.*

We do stand in the continuous light of the ideals and achievements of our heroic ancestors, whose own times have set. Yet their struggles, and their nostalgia, are ours. And their strength is ours. We are the beneficiaries of their courage and accomplishments. We Greek-Americans are particularly the beneficiaries of the efforts made by that pioneer generation of self-reliant settlers in America at the turn of the century who paved this path for their children.

In San Francisco, at the extremity of their new world, they kept their ideals and traditions alive while they quickly adapted to new environments and new ways and entered into ever widening relationships.

It is my strong wish that we should preserve these ideals and traditions, ever to grow upwards from these sturdy deep roots and - ever to branch outwards - in a light that is our inheritance - that we should remain secure in a faith that has been given to us from generation to generation and claim a creative affirmative freedom that is our legacy. It is my strong wish that we should pass this essence, this unsetting light, to the next generations by teaching them the history of Greece throughout the breadth of her many centuries, through the wisdom of her philosophers, poets and scientists, and through the richness of her Greek Orthodox faith. In this way, we shall be offering the children an opportunity expressed by Plato's wise advice: "Know thyself." And with this self-knowledge we may be offering them a deep source from which they may meet the challenges of their own generations creatively and affirmatively in a world ever changing and ever new.

My mother Panayota planted these seeds, this essence, in me and cultivated these roots just as her mother had done for her by encouraging the young Panayota to travel to study in Athens and then allowing her to journey into a new world from amidst the sweet (and always remembered) beauty of the bougainvillea of Temeni.

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# Scholastic Influences On Greek-Orthodox Manuals Of Dogmatic And Symbolic Theology During The 20<sup>th</sup> Century (General Principles of Orthodox Theology)

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PROFESSOR NIKOS A. MATSOUKAS

Translated From The Greek Original  
By Fr. George Dion. Dragas

## I.

The dogmatics and symbolics of Orthodox academic theology in Greek Orthodox Schools during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century is from the outset and in its formal structure fully dependent on the prototypes of the corresponding Western theology, mainly that of Protestantism. In addition, the total structure of theological courses is established upon the four known branches (*hermeneutical, historical, systematic, and practical*), which Western theology sanctioned with the clear approval of the purely anthropocentric thought of F. Schleiermacher. The Protestant reformation of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as is known, constituted a deep and sharp incision in all the subsequent developments of Western civilization. At the same time, the contest between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism on the basis of the *dogmas* and *symbols* of the tradition became all the more insistent, systematic, and historico-critically academic, always retaining predominant its systematic character. It was natural that in this contest the Orthodox Church would also be entangled, as it continues to be to this day, with a notable presence in the sphere of the ecumenical movement. Consequently, the conformity of the Orthodox theology of the Schools to the formal structure of the theological courses of the West is something completely

natural. In the meantime, it remains a matter to be examined whether this formal structure altered to a lesser or greater extent the content of the Orthodox dogmatic teaching.

*Symbolics*, combined with *Dogmatics*, a pure product of the West after the Reformation, was originally restricted to the accentuation of the differences between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and was basically polemical (*Polemik*). Later on, it became dominant in the two churches as pure *symbolics* (*Symbolik*), which examines as much the differences as the similarities without polemical probing. In our days, and from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *symbolics* tends to become “ecumenical” (*Ökumenik*) and “peacemaking” (*Irenik*), considerably leaving aside all contrasts and emphasizing to the utmost the similarities in the dogmatic teaching of the churches.

In any case, *symbolics* is basically rooted in the scholastic method of the Western Middle Ages, when autonomous reason in relation to self-existing general concepts, the so-called *universalia*, could elaborate and articulate the sacred texts, and thus arrive with this kind of systematic operation at the position of understanding and formulating the topics of Christian teaching. In the meantime, I ought to underline that the *symbolics* of more recent times, according to the positivist spirit, is rooted not only in the scholastic prototypes, but also in the historico-critical method of contemporary sciences, by means of which the *symbolic standards* of each ecclesiastical tradition are set beside each other and are comparatively examined.

In this case, I must note parenthetically, by way of a general clarification, whatever relates to the character of Orthodox theology. At the start this theology specifies the fact that the revelation of God in the creation and in history is not simply and only the content of a doctrine, but a continuous gift of life, progress, illumination, and glorification through healing of the wounds and illnesses of sin. There are no new truths to be revealed, but this *partial* knowledge, as the Apostle Paul says (1 Corinthians 13:9), “constantly supplies this therapeutic gift of light.” Consequently, doctrine and the gift of life continue to be unceasingly in an indissoluble historical continuity, that of Israel and the Church of the Paraclête. This occurs, because the revelation takes place in the midst of and during theophanies, in which Patriarchs, Moses, the Prophets, the presence of the discarnate and incarnate Word, the teachers, the saints, the whole Church (Acts 15:22) with its mystical (sacramental) operations charismatically play

the leading role. All the mysteries (sacraments) in this historic community, as much of Israel as also of the Church of the Paraclete, are connected with historical events. These events precede the institution of the mysteries (sacraments) that follows. For instance, the baptism of the Israelites is accomplished in the crossing of the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup> In the New Testament era, baptism is instituted by the death on the cross and the resurrection of Christ. The same is the case with the mystery (sacrament) of the Eucharist, as well as with all the other mysteries (sacraments). Thus, one easily understands that theology is primarily the charismatic experience of real things and events in a historic community, which forms and institutes tradition, standards and operations. This is a charismatic operation in the life of a body. Whatever the interpretation and description of these real things and events might be, they constitute, I would say, to a large extent the academic theology, which is practiced in a secondary way by the charismatic Holy Fathers of the Church, and even by the academic theologians and any other teachers of theology. Consequently, charismatic theology precedes and life and descriptive academic theology follow. On the one hand, these are distinguished and on the other hand, they are combined and collaborate with each other. The scholastic method is completely excluded from this fluid climate. Those who hold that John Damascene is a scholastic theologian definitely have not understood the charismatic operation of Orthodox theology. The use of extracts from the works of the Damascene in scholastic systems says nothing at all.

All the above, as I believe, could be fully clarified even by means of only two examples from the tradition of the Orthodox Church. Gregory the Theologian in his *First Theological Oration* states right from the start, in the context of the variety of charismas, that not everyone is able to *philosophize* about God – presumably, here *philosophy* means *theology*. What is needed is *purification* and *vision*, in other words, a process that brings about *therapy*, *illumination*, and finally *vision of God*. This is nothing else but the *charismatic theology* of the Saints in the fluid atmosphere of theophanies or light-appearances (*phôtophanies*) of the revelation. Nevertheless, at the concluding chapter of the same *Oration*, he opens broad avenues admonishing each member of the body to *philosophize about all things* – “philosophize for me about the world or the worlds,” – and indeed, he notes that to *succeed* in this is useful, whereas to *fail* is not



dangerous!<sup>2</sup> What happens then? Does Gregory contradict himself so openly and provocatively? There is no paradox here. This is the case of charismatic theology as life and experience on the one hand and of descriptive or academic theology on the other – the paradox is something else; that there are many researchers who, coming across such points, triumphantly discover contradictions in the Greek Fathers, imitating in a misguided manner the enthusiasm of Archimedes!

In addition, the *Synodical Tome* of the Synod of 1351 – a synod that took place at the Palace of Vlachernai and condemned the anti-hēsychasts, Barlaam and Akindynos – contains highly characteristic statements of Gregory Palamas, which constitute the finest vintage of charismatic theology according to the tradition of the Orthodox Church. Palamas, opposing every abstract doctrine of the scholastics, stresses with a mighty emphasis that *he engages in a struggle about dogmas and real things*; for the *confession of faith accurate and exact* formulation is required, whereas any opposing talk or any other hermeneutical research can operate on a broader field than the context required for *accurate* formulation.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, the *dogmas as real things*, the *accurate* formulation in a *confession* and the free hermeneutical research constitute this operative pairing of charismatic and descriptive or academic theology.

Thus, whatever scholastic influences may have intruded in the manuals of dogmatic and symbolic theology of the 20<sup>th</sup> century existing among us, they are protected and to some extent corrected, as they operate within the fluid climate of the living tradition of the ecclesiastical body. The most important manuals that dominate in the Greek Orthodox sphere are the following: 1) Jōannēs Messolōras, *Συμβολικὴ τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* = *Symbolics of the Orthodox Eastern Church*, vols. I-II, Athens 1893-1901; 2) Chrēstos Androutsos, *Δοκίμιον Συμβολικῆς ἐξ ἐπόψεως Ὁρθοδόξου* = *An Essay on Symbolics from an Orthodox Point of View*, Athens 1901; 3) Zēkos D. Rōsēs, *Σύστημα Δογματικῆς τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* = *A System of Dogmatics of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, vol. I, Athens 1903; 4) Chrēstos Androutsos, *Dogmatics of the Orthodox Eastern Church*, Athens 1907; 5) Iōannēs Karmirēs, *Σύνοψις τῆς Δογματικῆς Διδασκαλίας τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* = *Synopsis of the Dogmatic Teaching of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, Athens 1957; 6) Iōannēs Karmirēs, *Τὰ Δογματικὰ καὶ Συμβολικὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* = *The Dogmatic*

and Symbolic Standards of the Orthodox Catholic Church, vol. 1, Athens 1962(2<sup>nd</sup>), and vol. 2, Gratz-Austria 1968(2<sup>nd</sup>); 7) Panagiôtês Trembelas, *Δογματική τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* = *Dogmatics of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, vol. 1, Athens 1959, vol. 2, Athens 1959 and vol. 3, Athens 1961. Certain topical monographs of K. Dyobouniôtês and the patrologist D. Balanos are also interesting in this case. At the same time, Iôannês Karmirês contributed not a little through his researches to the purging of several scholastic elements from Orthodox Theology. Besides, Karmirês, however timidly, made reference to Palamite Theology, like Grêgorios Papamichaël, within a context of total ignorance of this theology.

## II.

Orthodox theologians, as a rule and mainly in the context of the ecumenical movement, in their examinations of Western theology, Roman Catholic and Protestant, persistently and schematically identify dogmatic deviations, such as the papal primacy, infallibility, the *filioque*, and in the case of Protestantism, errors in the area of apostolic succession, the seven sacraments,<sup>4</sup> the ecclesiastical tradition in general, etc. All these, however, and even the rest of the deviations or errors, constitute symptoms of a manner of life, a manner of life which up to a certain time, or for a long time, has had no place in the charismatic climate of Orthodox theology. Simultaneously, this does not mean that Orthodoxy calls the other churches to return to this charismatic climate; it simply tries to enrich the manner of life of the other churches, so that a flowering in them may be a renewing enrichment. The rest is the work of the divine will, in other words of the gift of light of the Paraclete.

In any case, one easily understands that in a theological dialogue it is good not to start from well-defined symptoms of deviation without examining in its totality the manner of life of charismatic theology. In other words, even in the case of failing to reach the target of a doctrine in certain details, one ought to specify theologically what is endangered from this manner of life of the ecclesiastical body. Thus, in the present case underlining scholastic influences in manuals of Orthodox dogmatic and symbolic theology, I would make as selected illustrations the following observations:

1. Chrêstos Androutsos in his manual of dogmatics writes the

following: "Any view that brings God outside the universe and only accepts His presence in it as a potentiality subjects Him to space and deprives Him of His absoluteness...But this view is untenable also in another way, i.e., as separating essence and energy which are inseparably united in God."<sup>5</sup> Thinking, in this case, purely scholastically Chrêstos Androutsos refutes word for word without knowing it whatever Athanasius the Great writes concerning this matter: "...On the one hand He is outside everything according to essence, and on the other hand He is in everything by His own powers, beautifying all things and spreading His own providence over all in all, and vivifying each and all together."<sup>6</sup>

One easily understands, beyond the ironic coincidence in this comparative juxtaposition, which Chrêstos Androutsos unintentionally makes with patristic theology, that in the said manual of *dogmatics* a dangerous dogmatic error has intruded. Luckily, at the same time this is simply a theoretical carelessness on the part of Androutsos. In other words, the right ecclesiastical manner of life projects the truth without constraint, concerning the direct, active (ἐνεργειακή) and real relation of God and the world. Those, for example, who cannot understand what Gregory Palamas says in distinguishing the un-participated essence of the Godhead from its uncreated energies, in which the entire creation participates for the purpose of having *being, life, reason, and deification*, could be helped by the reading of Holy Scripture. Almost in every page of the biblical texts and by means of fascinating images mention is made of God who is *unapproachable* in every respect and at the same time *approachable* by means of his glory. When Palamas, then, speaks of the uncreated energies of God explicitly, he means the manifestation of the divine glory, and nothing more or less. The distinction of created – uncreated establishes the *theophanies* of revelation, the manner of ecclesiastical life and every theological interpretation relative to this. Palamas during his anti-hesychastic struggle remained intransigent concerning the *theophanies* of *Sinai* and *Thabor*. No one can see the face of God and live; he can see, however, the manifestation of his glory.<sup>7</sup>

According to the biblical and the subsequent patristic literature, these things are very clear. The *inapproachability* of God according to his essence derives from the fact that God and the creatures are not *consubstantial* realities; the creatures, derived *ex nihilo*, that is, *not from the divine essence*, are radically *alien in essence* from the

uncreated God. Hence, a direct, active and uncreated relation of God to the world means a therapeutic and redemptive salvation by means of revelation; an indirect, moral and created relation imposes a moral and juridical religion. In therapeutic salvation, doctrine and sacraments have a redemptive and realistic character, while in moral religion, doctrine loses its divine authenticity by and large and the sacraments acquire a symbolic character. What is more important, therapeutic salvation renders love, diaconia and repentance most powerful, while moral religion produces authority and strengthens the legal and juridical spirit. In the first case, purification means healing, whereas in the second it means punishment. All the heretics, from the early Docetists, Arians, Nestorians, Monophysites, Iconoclasts, etc., and up to the Scholastics, and those who align themselves with them, have one concern: to impose moral religion. The Orthodox fathers fought not for an *iota*, as unfortunately even some historians claim, but in order to clarify what healing salvation is. In this case, we have in force the dictum *choose and take*. When, however, the distinction of created-uncreated is ignored or rejected, or is simply referred to, without being conscious of the implications and ramifications that are derived from this, then the primary chapter of *dogmatics*, which is *theology*, is rendered useless and impotent to the extreme.

2. Scholastic influences also render impotent the *Christology*, as one can observe even in contemporary educated theologians. This has to do with the freedom of the incarnate Word, i.e. of Christ. In other words, the scholastically minded theologians under discussion misinterpret or bypass the dogma of Chalcedon thinking stochastically (reflectively) according to what seems right to them. The question they raise is, whether Christ could sin or whether he freely accomplished sinlessness, since he overcame the fall – the so-called *potuit peccare*; or whether he could not sin, in which case his sinlessness was a natural consequence of the hypostatic union of the two natures, the divine and the human – the so-called *non potuit peccare*. These scholastically minded theologians accept that sinlessness is a product of freedom. One easily understands that, to begin with, they want a Christ who is a *moral prototype*, without estimating in all likelihood that humanity has a multitude of moral prototypes available, but not real saviors; and what is more, that the intrusion of moral religion is quite powerful. Nevertheless, the dogma of Chalcedon is clear; Christ is a *redemptive prototype*, savior of

humanity. His sinlessness, by virtue of the hypostatic union, is real and immutable. This applies to all the phases of his activity. Christ's freedom *permits him* to suffer the human [experiences] without sin. John the Damascene states it characteristically: "*It was by his own free will that he was hungry willingly, thirsty, fearful, and experienced death.*" No man chooses freely to be hungry, thirsty, fearful, or to die. Only in this way can one understand the radical difference between *human* and *divine-human freedom*. Christ's *voluntary suffering* does not mean choice between sin and sinlessness, but his *free concession* to doing something himself which for man is a consequence of creaturehood and sin, such as death. For this reason our own *natural sufferings* are to Christ *according to nature and above nature*, and so the principle "*non potuit peccare*" (=he could not sin)<sup>8</sup> is applicable to him. These things are derived from the dogma of Chalcedon, and it is always allowable to *pick and choose*: to begin with, is Christ a *moral* or *redemptive prototype*? Chrêstos Androutsos correctly criticizes his colleague Basileios Antôniadês, Professor of the Theological School at Halkê, because he holds the theory of Christ as moral prototype based on freedom of choice between good and evil.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, Orthodox theology does not distinguish the three offices or threefold work of Christ, namely the *high priestly*, the *royal*, and the *prophetic*. In other words, every operation of Christ is redemptive, triumphant, and didactic. He acts as *high priest*, *king*, and *prophet*. Scholastic attempts and approaches wish to locate when and where the act of Christ derives, from the one or the other office. It is true, of course, that in the case of this or that act of Christ one office may be accentuated, but the other two offices are never excluded. The descent into Hades, for example, amply reveals all three offices; the king enters in as a victor, redeemer, and prophet. One can easily realize the extent, to which our *dogmatic* and *symbolic* theology was in earlier times dependent upon unassimilated western prototypes, if one perhaps reads only the criticism of D. Balanos, which he advances against the *dogmatics* of Chrêstos Androutsos. In this criticism, one will find the discussion of three original theologians of that time, Chr. Androutsos, K. Dyobouniôtês and the author of the study, D. Balanos, where their disagreements present contradictions and sometimes nearly inexcusable inconsistencies. I will refer only to the teaching concerning Hades. Balanos writes the following, "*The descent into Hades, which the author (i.e. Androutsos) develops in the royal office belongs rather*

to the prophetic one, because for our Church this is regarded as a continuation of the prophetic office on the Earth – preaching to the spirits in prison.”<sup>10</sup> In this case, the Orthodox theologian greatly wonders about Balanos’ correction, which appeals indeed even to “our Church.” Balanos could easily have understood what our Church holds, if only he had paid attention to the iconography of the Resurrection, where the descent of Christ into Hades is depicted as crushing gates and barriers and filling all things with light. Also, he should have paid a little attention to the hymnology of our Church which tells us that Hades, “*has been robbed of its trophies and led into captivity, and death has been put to death.*” Naturally, all these things are not done in a little sermon. Christ is king, redeemer, and prophet when he enters into Hades, a fact that the three theologians under discussion do not accept, for each of them tries to submit each work of Christ to one of these three offices.

3. Scholastic tendencies also harm *Ecclesiology*. Those who are entangled in a scholastic establishment or institutional presentation of the Church maintain the tug-of-war between hierarchy and laity. Since some exalt or absolutize the hierarchy, or generally the clergy, and others the laity.<sup>11</sup> Presumably, in this case the only valid Orthodox presentation of the Church as a charismatic body, where no comparison or antagonistic relation between clergy and laity exists, is lost. In the body there is a variety of charismas, and private or domineering charismas are unthinkable. At this point there is the dramatic impasse which Panagiôtês Trembelas faces in his attempt to give a definition of the Church: “*It is obvious here, that, although the internal and external aspects of the Church are indissolubly connected, and the institution of salvation and communion of believers are identified in the Church, yet just as the head of the Church preceded and Her body came to be afterwards, being constantly completed until the consummation of the ages, in the same way the whole Body of the Church is primarily an institution of salvation and then a communion of believers!*”<sup>12</sup> Thus, whereas Trembelas identifies institution and communion, he afterwards makes a distinction, and indeed he does not keep it as a secret anymore, but says it expressly: *The Church is primarily an institution!* How then can these two be identified, if the Church is first institution and then communion? It is obvious that Trembelas faces a difficulty, having, as he ought not to have in mind the bogey of Roman Catholic and Protestant perceptions. Thus, he

tries to reconcile according to the scholastic prototypes the two notions of institution and communion, which absolutely and rationally cannot be subject to one definition. In this case, G. Florovsky very aptly and characteristically says that what one lives no one can define; and the Church is *life* and *experience*. Besides, today according to the current scientific data, scientists have ceased to define notions, but only describe things and develop appropriate applications. When it comes to the Church, then, as a charismatic body of *life* and *experience*, we speak in terms of icons, as indeed the biblical and patristic texts also do.<sup>13</sup> Since, however, this charismatic body follows a dramatic course, in the midst of *pains* and *tribulations*, within history, institutional organization is necessary, which is also subsequent and secondary.

Whereas Trembelas in his definition of the Church holds in a misappropriated manner Roman Catholic perceptions, on the relation of Holy Bible to Church – consequently on the topic of divine inspiration – he borrows, certainly unwillingly, Protestant perceptions: “*Although Augustine expresses an unshakeable truth in saying, that he would not have believed in Holy Scripture, had he not been prompted to this by the authority of the Church, nevertheless Holy Scripture does not derive its authority from the Church (sic), but directly from God, who speaks in it. It is not the Church that creates Holy Scripture out of itself.*”<sup>14</sup> One easily understands that in this particular case, Trembelas is crushed under the weight of unverified and consequently unfamiliar perceptions. One also wonders how the unshakeable truth of Augustine finally is not valid! Yet, according to Orthodox theology everything takes place within the charismatic body of the Church: it is in it that theophanies occur and inspired truths are revealed.

4. Orthodox Theology remains steadfast with regard to the therapeutic character of salvation. Nowhere in the biblical and the extended patristic literature can one find support for establishing the theory concerning the satisfaction of divine justice. Anselm of Canterbury, on the other hand, expressly articulates this theory in the 12<sup>th</sup> century in his work, *Cur Deus-Homo* (?). Satisfaction of divine justice, absolute predestination and systematization of sacred texts are by-products of the scholasticism of the West. Paradoxically, the satisfaction of divine justice also intruded into our own academic theology. We read in the work of an Orthodox dogmatician: “*On the cross the Savior having taken all the sins of the world and becoming*

a curse for us, bore instead of us all the sins, punishments, and especially death, all that the human species that had sinned had to undergo. Through His blood Christ fully satisfied (sic) the divine justice, which demanded the punishment of the transgressor.”<sup>15</sup> Sin, however, is sickness. One could write volumes, if he were to gather the extracts from the biblical and patristic texts, which speak of sin as sickness and for salvation as *healing*, and not, of course, as a procedure of punishment. “*For sickness is forgivable, not punishable.*”<sup>16</sup>

One could also refer to other points and characteristic details of scholastic influences on Greek theology, however, as I believe, the above-mentioned four points complete the image satisfactorily. At the same time, beyond scholasticism there are other contemporary dependencies and some conscious or unconscious ideological influences. Indeed, this easily occurs, because like the whole life of the Orthodox Church, so the various theologians in it move within the context of a comfortable freedom without formalizations and constraining prohibitions. Thus, from the middle of the 1950’s and onwards notable academics and other theologians pulled out systematically basic dogmas of the Church and dressed them up morphologically with the language of our time. Much discussion has taken place, and continues to do so, concerning the *person* – and who does not know what a sweeping current contemporary personalism has been – concerning *Eucharistic theology*, concerning *freedom* etc. These initially interesting studies were also introduced into the centers of the West, as a rule in the sphere of the ecumenical movement, and as far as I know, they made a great impression. Personally – according to the admonition of Gregory the Theologian, *philosophize for me about everything* – I have considerable reservations for two basic reasons: 1) a good number of theses were articulated without any reference to sources or primary texts of Orthodox theology, and therefore certain dogmatic mistakes have intruded undetected, and 2) there is total absence of the dramatic factor of history, of purification through tragic circumstances, of demonology,<sup>17</sup> and of others. Thus, a magical and idyllic image of Christianity is projected, foreign and completely unknown to the dramatic history of the divine economy, and in the life of the Orthodox Church *par excellence*. I do not wish to extend myself on this very important issue, but simply to note it; it is easy to understand that western theologians do not possess a good knowledge of Orthodox theology and especially of its presuppositions,



and hence their easy enthusiasm about such theses and studies.

### III.

To begin with, younger Orthodox theologians rightly stress that Orthodoxy is not a religion, but a manner of life in freedom. I would add, as I have insisted for decades, that this manner of life has produced and can produce civilization. This is what we must mean, when we say that the revelation of God in the world has a historical character. In this case, independently of the variety of definitions, which a good number of people could give to the technical term *religion*, we, saying that Orthodoxy is not a religion, ought to mean that the manner of life within its bosom does not satisfy individual needs nor does it foster *individualism*, but enrolls the members in a community of love, brotherhood, and of an elevated civilization in the context of *social friendship*. At this point, however, the greatest attention is needed so that we may not end up, as I have already noted, with an idyllic Christianity. *Individualism* is never fully abolished; it is *this* that is healed through the manner of life of Orthodoxy and is transformed into *person*, personal distinctiveness, beauty and glorification with the crushing of *servile fear* and *self-interest*. This process is militantly dramatic. Thus one easily understands that what is initially desirable for any member of the Church is to seek through the veneration of an icon, for instance, his health or the healing of his relative and friend, as long as he senses his dependence on the God of love and places this request in the glory of the Kingdom of God. If we get accustomed to projection of an idealized Christianity, then we can easily classify such phenomena as superstition and an expression of cheap individualism. I would indeed add that we easily slip from a sweet Christianity of puritanical perceptions into an idealized Orthodoxy. Yet, the final distillation of Orthodox teaching is this highly notable conclusion: *there are neither absolutely idealized, nor absolutely corrupted things*. Orthodox theology is in any case strongly anti-Manichean.

One could argue that, if we are to be delivered from such tendencies to idealize or to corrupt things and events (in theory and in act, of course!), we are obliged to lay aside, or even to oppose, scholastic influences and other ideological dependencies. In other words, theology as life and description of this life must be unceasingly vigilant,

militant. From the middle of the 1950's, then, Orthodox theology began mainly from Thessalonica to orientate itself towards patristic sources, and therefore the scholastic influences came to be visible and curable! Here I will insert a highly necessary clarification. When we speak of a correct or genuine Orthodox theology, *in nothing and in no way at all* do we wish to stress its exclusive superiority, and indeed denigrate or invalidate western theology. Away with such nonsense! Simply, we finally need to understand that a theology without power and integrity, with misappropriated imitations is detrimental to the life of any church, and therefore renders the dialogue highly problematic. Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant theologians ought to be authentic and genuine, so that the enrichment might be achievable among all the churches. In this case, I could supportively refer to the fact that, whereas in the Western theologies of our time certain scholastic tendencies are superseded, in Orthodox theologians they continue to survive.

Returning to what immediately preceded, I note that, thanks to the initiative of Professor Panagiôtês Chrêstou at the beginning of the 1960's the works of Gregory Palamas began to be published. This theologian was the great unknown in academic theology for many decades and unfortunately, today continues to be the most misinterpreted theologian or condemned and not read or read and not understood! At the same time, however, Palamas enters as a *breath of fresh air*! Of course, as I noted already, Grêgorios Papamichaël and Iôannês Karmirês of the University of Athens had referred much earlier to Palamas, but this simple hint could not bring the renewal of theology. In any case, the theology of Gregory Palamas beginning again from Thessalonica contributed not a little to the enrichment of patristic theology in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Parallel to this, Father Iôannês Romanidês, recipient of a doctorate from the Theological School of Athens, as Professor of Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology during the 1970's at the School of the University of Thessalonica, gave a special tone to the teaching of Orthodox theology and to the polemic against the scholasticism of the West.

Notable theologians of the two Theological Schools, of Athens and Thessalonica, during this second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, through their research reached satisfactorily academic theology in the sphere not only of dogmatic and symbolic theology but also of patristic, biblical, liturgical, and historical studies. Their radiance was not restricted only

to the Greek context, but also to the international church and university community.

Personally, finding myself at the beginning of the 1960's to this day at the theological community of the University of Thessalonica and other research centers outside the University, such as that of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, I devoted myself with great interest to the study of the theological process under discussion. I see the right theological research in whatever refers to the *dogmatic* and *symbolic theology* in the unity of biblical, patristic, liturgical and historical-dogmatic studies. Thus, all the kinds of primary texts and other official data of the tradition are indispensable in this research. In this case, along with others, I received great help from the theological thought and especially from the research of George Florovsky. Whatever extensions in the given data of each new epoch the dogmatician can and should do, this presupposes that he knows well the primary standards of the tradition and the ongoing history of the region where these standards emerged.

In order to clarify better and briefly the scholastic influences on our theology, I will cite certain principles of Orthodox theology, or even some of its basic points:<sup>18</sup>

1. The center of dogmatic teaching is the creation *ex nihilo*, in other words, the production of all the creatures *not from the divine essence*, but through the divine will, according to the *creative reasons* (λόγοι), as new and radically *alien in essence* realities. The uncreated God and the creation are not *co-essential things*, consequently this distinction of created-uncreated is the key that leads to the understanding of the terms of *creaturehood*. Thus, created beings – all things are initially good – sometimes become *better* and sometimes *worse*; sometimes they move along the path of the *good mutation* (καλή ἀλλοίωσις) and sometimes of *evil mutation* (κακή ἀλλοίωσις), yet *creaturehood* as such is not the cause of evil, because thanks to it rational beings become worthy to develop into a condition of *beauty* (κάλλος), *glory* (δόξα) and *deification* (Θέωσις). In any case, this distinction of *created-uncreated* has basic implications for the whole development of creation, the fall, the path through *pains* and *tribulations*, salvation, glory, deification. To understand it and to appropriate it one must have *life* (βίος) and *reason* (λόγος) in the right context of the charismatic life and of the scientific description of things and events in the divine economy.<sup>19</sup>

2. The salvation that the Church practices and offers, as already noted through its basic characteristics, is purely therapeutic. This therapeutic character of salvation is wholly apparent in the biblical and subsequent ecclesiastical primary data of Orthodox theology, something that is not as self-evident in the manner of life and theology of the West, where the legal and forensic character of salvation is dominant. It would be forcing it to regard the latter as therapeutic. Thus, one understands why *absolute predestination* became dominant in the West, whereas in the Orthodox East such a teaching not only would be unthinkable, but the *restoration of all things* of Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus the Confessor was incorporated into her theology as a sort of disputed point of doctrine (θεολογούμενον), which is actually consistent with her basic presuppositions. In this way, *paradise* and *hell* are not different describable places, but existential conditions, as *receptivity*, in the uncreated glory of the Kingdom of God, so that the former will be equal with *participation* (μέθεξις) and the latter with *lack of participation* (ἀμεθεξία).

Whatever we might say, *absolute predestination*, the forensic character of salvation and Puritanism contributed by and large to the misleading image of Orthodoxy, which younger western researchers formed and disseminated with a certain passion, especially Protestants. Their aim was a catharsis of the Orthodox Church whereby she would regain her puritanical brightness by returning to the biblical truth of the 1<sup>st</sup> century after Christ. Naturally, the term catharsis implies here not therapy but a sort of passive sheep-like cleansing! A characteristic representative of this group is the renowned Adolph Von Harnack. Through his otherwise interesting work, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, he leads my thought to the modern dictators – the articulators of western absolutism –, who by collecting the defects of democracy asked for its catharsis by means of totalitarian regimes. Harnack with his puritanical Bible in hand, collecting defects from the history of Orthodoxy – and is there anywhere that these do not exist? – in spite of all the wise, particular historical/critical analyses concerning the mint, the dill and the cumin, demands the catharsis of Orthodoxy by its return to biblical purity! There are different worlds, and the well-known axiom always applies: *pick and choose*.

3. The Church as charismatic body, since it is the very body of Christ, “is denoted by the mysteries (sacraments),” according to the highly accurate and comprehensive expression of Nicholas Cabasilas.

In other words, the whole Church is a mystical (sacramental) body by its participation in the uncreated glory of the Kingdom of God, and its extension dynamically to the whole created reality. "The mysteries are the body and blood of Christ," not mere symbols, but reality interwoven into the fabric of a charismatic body, like the beatings of the heart, the branches of a tree, and the shoots of the vine. Cabasilas tells us of this again and again. Here I may insert that Cabasilas, during the crucial 14<sup>th</sup> century of the hesychastic disputes and the presence of Gregory Palamas, was a theologian who raised to the summit the teaching concerning the mysteries (sacraments) of the Church. This teaching was a *thin breath* of air, a fragrance of peace, and at the same time the incontrovertible refutation of the scholastics. The scholastic opponents of Palamas at that time and the contemporary scholastic-minded theologians, whether knowingly or unknowingly, claim that Palamas, speaking about the uncreated light as coming down to creation, marginalizes or nullifies the mysteries (sacraments). One easily understands that these scholastics are trapped in the seven sacramental ceremonies – presumably for them merely symbolic – and overlook the glory of the charismatic body of the Church, whose mysteries (sacraments), as *liturgies* and *ceremonies*, are not numbered; they are the *body* and *blood* of Christ, according to this so apt expression of Cabasilas, who along with other Saints, expressly states that the mysteries are *heavenly windows and gates of righteousness*, the very *life in Christ*.<sup>20</sup> Naturally, Cabasilas did not number the mysteries (sacraments). What is highly paradoxical is the fact that today some powerful opponents of scholasticism hold to the numbering of the mysteries (sacraments) and are defensively trapped into the seven mysterial (sacramental) ceremonies of the Church. Probably, one could easily throw scholasticism out of the window, but the one thrown out can equally easily reenter through the window.

Here I would note with emphasis that scholasticism is not only disputed by Orthodox theology; it is also superseded in the West, and because it is naked, clothed only with autonomous logic and its reputed *reasoning*, it received the merciless blows of western science and philosophy of modern times, so that today not even its remains can be found. Already in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, at the time of the Reformation, Erasmus with his *In Praise of Folly* (*Stulticiae Laus*), thoroughly castigated scholasticism as no Orthodox theologian ever did. And what is amazing in this case is that Erasmus, recognized the

right way of *reason* (λόγος) and *life* (βίος) even though he did it indirectly.<sup>21</sup>

4. The reformers of Protestantism initially fought Scholasticism, but after the Protestant orthodoxy of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the insistence on the literal inspiration of Holy Scripture and its exclusiveness, it was easy to wind up in modern times in natural theology and historical/critical research, becoming more and more autonomous and at the same time attached to puritanical particularity.<sup>22</sup> Since the Orthodox Church is established on charismatic theology, as life and experience, having as an extension the descriptive or scientific theology, one ought to make the following basic clarification; descriptive theology could be rendered autonomous, but in this case it would not have an organic relation to the body of the Church, but would merely be an auxiliary science. I have the impression that scholasticism and autonomous historical/critical research of the ecclesiastical documents cannot constitute an organic part and member of ecclesiastical life. In the charismatic body of the Church, the things to be *believed* (*credenda*) are at the same time things to be *practiced* (*agenda*) and *vice-versa*.<sup>23</sup> In other words, *word* (λόγος) and *life* (βίος) establish the members of this charismatic body.

5. The Church as holy, apostolic and catholic is dynamically ecumenical. Besides, by its participation in the uncreated glory of the Kingdom of God, her limits are expanded unceasingly. Her course passes through creation and history. In the phase in which we live, there is no way that we could locate its therapeutic activity outside these realms. At every attempt of Israel to confine itself in the closed walls of an ethnic exclusivity, the preaching of the minor prophets, like that of Amos and Jonah and, above all, that of the major prophets, prevented this contraction by indicating the open horizons of an ecumenicity, emphasizing the universality of God and recalling that the community of this people has a heavy mission to fulfill within history. The same also applies to the preaching and activity of Christ and of the Apostle Paul.

Besides, the catholicity and ecumenicity of the Church derives from the very charismatic life of her body. This initially means service (διακονία), progress, peace and struggle against evil not with authoritarian but transformational means; the means which exist in the power of *social friendship*, selfless love. It is within such a blossoming of life that any dogmatician of the Church ought to move,

in which case there is a place also for an *ecumenical dogmatics*.<sup>24</sup> The charisma stretches the limits, whereas the *over-lording*, which is the exact opposite to *ministry*, contracts them.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See for example John Damascene, “Διάλεξις Σαρακηνοῦ καὶ Χριστιανοῦ,” *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* IV (ed. B. Kotter), Berlin 1981, pp. 430-431. Ἦν πρὸ Χριστοῦ βάπτισμα κατὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου φάσκοντος ὅτι οἱ μὲν διὰ νεφέλης, οἱ δὲ διὰ θαλάσσης ἐβαπτίσθησαν.”

<sup>2</sup> Gregory the Theologian, *Θεολογικὸς πρῶτος*, P.G. 36,13CD: “Οὐ παντός, ὦ οὔτοι, τὸ περὶ Θεοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐ παντός· οὐχ οὕτω τὸ πρᾶγμα εὖνων, καὶ τῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων ... Οὐ πάντων μὲν, ὅτι τῶν ἐξητασμένων καὶ διαβεβηκότων ἐν θεωρίᾳ, καὶ πρὸ τούτων, καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα κεκαθαρμένων, ἢ καθαίρομένων.” See also in the same Oration, the following ch. 10, PG 36,13CD: “Εγὼ σοὶ κἀνταῦθα παρέξομαι πλατείας ὁδοῦς· φιλοσόφε μοι περὶ κόσμου ἢ κόσμων, περὶ ὕλης, περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ λογικῶν φύσεων βελτιόνων καὶ χειρόνων, περὶ ἀναστάσεως, κρίσεως, ἀναποδόσεως, Χριστοῦ παθημάτων. Ἐν τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐπιτυχᾶναι οὐκ ἄχρηστον, καὶ τὸ διαμαρτάνειν (the underlying is mine) ἀκίνδυνον.”

<sup>3</sup> Iōannēs Karmirēs, *Τὰ Δογματικὰ καὶ Συμβολικὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (*The Dogmatic and Symbolic Standards of the Orthodox Catholic Church*), vol. 1, Athens 1962(2<sup>nd</sup>), p. 378.

<sup>4</sup> The closed number seven of the mysteries (sacraments) is the work of scholastic theology, especially of Thomas Aquinas (cf. *Summa Theologiae*, 3,64,1). In Orthodox theology, and primarily in the academic sphere, this view was sanctioned in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>5</sup> See his *Δογματικὴ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*=*Dogmatics of the Orthodox Eastern Church*, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> See *De Incarnatione* 17, P.G. 25:125AB.

<sup>7</sup> See for example, Exodus 33:19-23. “Οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἴδῃ ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ ζήσεται.”

<sup>8</sup> *De fide Orthodoxa*, 3,20, P.G. 94,1984A: “Ἀμέλει τὰ φυσικὰ ἡμῶν πάθη κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἦσαν τῷ χριστῷ. Κατὰ φύσιν μὲν γὰρ ἐκινεῖτο ἐν αὐτῷ ὅτε παρεχώρει τῇ σαρκὶ πάσχειν τὰ ἴδια· ὑπὲρ φύσιν δέ, οὐ προηγεῖτο τῆς θελήσεως τὰ φυσικά· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἠναγκασμένον ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ θεωρεῖται, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐκούσια· θέλων γὰρ ἐπεινάσε, θέλων ἐδίψησε, θέλων ἐδειλίασε, θέλων ἀπέθανεν.”

<sup>9</sup> See Chrēstos Androutsos, *Δογματικὴ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*=*Dogmatics of the Orthodox Eastern Church*, p. 193, where the following citation from B. Antōniadēs is given: “To sin is a human possibility and it could have occurred in Jesus Christ, without *any restraint being exerted by the divine nature* (the italics are mine). Here actually lies the moral height and magnitude of the Savior, in the fact that although to fall was a possibility for him, he did not fall but remained sinless, not because he could not sin, but because he could also abstain from sin.” Hence, Androutsos’ proper criticism of Antōniadēs, since the latter’s position is

clearly Nestorian. Unfortunately, there are contemporary Orthodox theologians who, despite the texts, hold a similar position.

<sup>10</sup> See D. Balanos, *Κρίσις τῆς Δογματικῆς τοῦ κ. Χρήστου Ἀνδρούτσου* (*A Critique of the Dogmatics of Chrēstos Androutsos*), Jerusalem 1907, p. 24.

<sup>11</sup> Scholastic influences are obvious in the Orthodox symbolic texts that appeared from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, especially in reaction to Roman Catholic and Protestant proselytism. Sometimes these texts exhibit contradictions, since Protestant sources are at times used against Roman Catholicism and similarly Roman Catholic sources are employed against the Protestants. In most of these cases this is not done deliberately but inadvertently. For example, the answer of the Orthodox Patriarchs of the East to Pope Pius IX, in 1848, declares that the people (the λαός) defend the Church: "Again with us neither Patriarchs nor Synods were ever able to introduce new things; hence, the defender of religion is the body of the Church, i.e. the people..." Yet, the Encyclical of the Synod, which was summoned in Constantinople in 1836 against the Protestant missionaries, attributes the defense of the Church to the Hierarchy (cf. Ἰωάννης Καρμιρῆς, *Τὰ Δογματικά καὶ Συμβολικά Μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*=*The Dogmatic and Symbolic Standards of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, vol. 2, Athens 1953, pp. 920, 884). Besides, the Roman Catholic Church is indirectly recognized through the criticism advanced against Luther: "He (Luther) showed his insubordination to the Church, and his followers imitated him... Such is the blasphemous, odious to God and corrupting doctrine of this new teacher, which, having contaminated the Western Church, now struggles to contaminate and corrupt our Orthodox Eastern Church by deceit and a multitude of devices" (cf. the above work of Ἰωάννης Καρμιρῆς, pp. 876, 878).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Δογματικὴ τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*=*Dogmatics of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, vol. 2, Athens 1959, p. 341.

<sup>13</sup> G. Florovsky, "Le corps du Christ vivant," *Cahiers Théologiques* 4, Neuchâtel-Paris 1948, pp. 9ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Δογματικὴ τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*=*Dogmatics of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, vol. 1, Athens 1959, p. 102.

<sup>15</sup> Andreas Theodorou, *Ἡ οὐσία τῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας*=*The essence of Orthodoxy*, Athens 1961, p. 77. On the other hand, according to Orthodox theology (and indeed, according to its essence!) neither death, as sickness and corruption, is a punishment, nor is the purpose of salvation the satisfaction of divine justice (*satisfactio dei*). Cf. Gustav Aulén, *Christus Victor*, London 1953.

<sup>16</sup> See for example, Maximus the Confessor, *Μυσταγωγία*, P.G. 91,716C.

<sup>17</sup> See Ignatius, Ephes. 13,1, P.G. 5, 656A: "Σπουδάσατε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ δόξαν· ὅταν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε, καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ."

<sup>18</sup> A fully developed discussion of these points with supportive texts one can find in my studies which were published in the 1970s and after, such as my work on Athanasius the Great, the problem of evil, Maximus the Confessor, John Damascene, and others, especially in my four volumes of *Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology* (*Δογματικὴ καὶ Συμβολικὴ Θεολογία*).

<sup>19</sup> At this point and in order to clarify this position, I am tempted to recall the following incident, which is, in my opinion, highly instructive. When at the beginning of 1970, in one of my studies on evil and on the theology of Athanasius the Great,



I stressed the distinction of *uncreated-created* a well known theologian characterized it in one of the dailies as pantheistic! Later on, he had no difficulty in adopting it. Meantime, as I said earlier, it is not sufficient simply to mention it. What is needed is the correct understanding of the consequences of this distinction from a theological viewpoint.

<sup>20</sup> Nicholas Cabasilas, *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας*=*Interpretation of the Divine Liturgy*, P.G. 150,452CD: "The Church is denoted in the mysteries, not as in symbols, but as members in the heart and as branches in the root of a plant and, as the Lord said, as branches in a vine. For here we do not have just a communion of name, or an analogy of likeness, but an identity of a reality. Because the mysteries are Christ's Body and Blood; and to the Church, they are food and drink." Also, *Περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ζωῆς* = *Concerning the Life in Christ*, P.G. 150,524A: "Indeed, Baptism is exactly to be born in Christ and to receive being and to exist out of non-being." P.G. 150,504BC: "Thus, through these sacred mysteries the Sun of Righteousness enters through windows, as it were, into this dark world." P.G. 150, 508A: "On this account, the most sacred mysteries would obviously be called gates of righteousness: P.G. 150,521C: "For Baptism is birth, and the Myron is in us as energy and movement; and the bread of life and the cup of the Eucharist are true food and drink; and indeed, it is not possible to *move* and to *eat* before one is *born* (the italics is mine).

<sup>21</sup> Erasmus, *In Praise of Folly (Stulticiae Laus)*, Greek transl. By Stratēs Tsirkas, Athens 1970, p. 114: "When they meet such imperfections in Chrysostom, Basil, or Jerome, our theologians make pronouncements by writing on the margin: "unacceptable." And this is because the Fathers of the Church refuted the pagan philosophers and the Jews, people who were obstinate by nature, rather with their life and miracles than their arguments, and none of them would have been able to understand even the slightest of the matters noted by Scott."

<sup>22</sup> The words of Harnack, the purist, concerning *Dogmatics* as a theological course, are well known: "Wir stellen die Dogmatik zur schönen Literatur." Cf. H. Schultz, *Tendenzen der heutigen Theologie im 20. Jahrhunderte*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1966, pp. 46, 48.

<sup>23</sup> See H. R. Mckintosh, *Types of Modern Theology*, London 1934, pp. 11ff.

<sup>24</sup> See Edmund Schlink, *Ökumenische Dogmatik-Grundzüge* (mit Geleitworten von Heinrich Fries und Nikos A. Nissiotis), Göttingen 1983.

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## Obituary

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### † METROPOLITAN SILAS OF SARANTA EKKLÊSIES

Metropolitan Silas of Saranta Ekklêsies, formerly Metropolitan of New Jersey, one of the most dedicated and loved Hierarchs of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, died of a massive heart attack on Tuesday evening December 12, 2000, following hip surgery in hospital in New York. The funeral service was held at St. John the Theologian in Tenaflly in New Jersey on December 16 and the internment took place at Holy Cross grounds according to his wish on December 18, 2000.

Metropolitan Silas was born Savas Koskinas on December 27 1919, in Corfu in the family of Gerasimos and Magdalênê Koskinas. After graduating from High School in Corfu he studied Theology in the University of Athens and graduated in 1943. On June 22, 1944, Metropolitan Ezekiel of Thessaliôtês ordained him to the priesthood, having previously ordained him Deacon on August 15, 1941 in Athens. His first ministry as a priest was in the Greek army where he served as a chaplain and preacher in Epirus, and then in the Sacred Metropolis of Iôannina and in the sacred Church of the Divine Transfiguration in Athens.

On July 10, 1946, he came to the USA following an invitation of Archbishop Athenagoras (later Patriarch of Constantinople) and ministered as priest in charge at various parishes, St George's in Albuquerque, New Mexico (1946-1949), St. Sophia's in New London, Connecticut and at the missionary Stavropegiaic Monastery of St. Paul in Byron Springs, California, (1949-1951), St. John the Baptist's in Boston, Massachusetts (1951-1957), and at St. Nicholas' Cathedral in Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania). During his service at St. John the Baptist's in Boston he taught Theology at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline.

From 1951 to 1957 he taught New Testament at Holy Cross Greek

Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline, while serving as priest in charge at St. John the Baptist's in Boston, and during this time he completed a Master's degree in Sacred Theology (S.T.M.) at Boston University (1957).

On September 13, 1960 he was elected first Suffragan Bishop to Archbishop Iakovos with the title Bishop of Amphipolis and on October 9, 1960, he was ordained by Archbishop Iakovos at the Church of the Holy Trinity in New Orleans, taking up pastoral responsibility in the 8<sup>th</sup> Archdiocesan District based in New Orleans, Louisiana.

In November 1965, Archbishop Iakovos of North and South America transferred Bishop Silas of Amphipolis to the 1<sup>st</sup> Archdiocesan District in New York City.

On March 15, 1979 Bishop Silas was elected Bishop of New Jersey by the Holy and Sacred Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and was enthroned on April 5, 1979 at St. John the Theologian's Cathedral in Tenafly, New Jersey. On January 24, 1980 he was elevated to Titular Metropolitan of New Jersey by the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

On January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1987, the feast of the Three Hierarchs, Metropolitan Silas was honored at Hellenic College/Holy Cross with the Honorary Doctor of Divinity "for his many years of dedicated, faithful service to the Greek Orthodox Church, the Archdiocese and HC/HC.

While serving the Diocese of New Jersey as Titular Metropolitan, he also served from 1987 through 1989 as President of Hellenic College, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

Metropolitan Silas of New Jersey served the Archdiocese in various capacities, as Chairman of the Department of Missions for more than 25 years, Chairman of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Theological Dialogue, Senior Bishop of the Holy Eparchy Synod of the Archdiocese of North and South America, Presiding Bishop of the Synodical Committee for Canonical and Administrative Affairs, Vice-Chairman in American Life and in Inter-faith delegations. The National Conference of Christians and Jews honored him with a Gold Medallion award "for courageous leadership in inter-creedal relations."

On October 15, 1996, Metropolitan Silas was elevated to the rank of full Metropolitan of Saranta Ekklesies (a see in Eastern Thrace, 10<sup>th</sup> in rank of the Metropolises of the Ecumenical Patriarchate).

The late Metropolitan was a distinguished pastor, theologian and author. The citation on the conferral of the DD degree at Holy Cross in 1987 summarizes these characteristics of his personality in a succinct way: "Pastor and theologian, he has nurtured his flock through the spoken and written word, as well as by the example of his Christian life... contributed to the growth of the Church through his administrative skills and pastoral experience... a staunch supporter of Orthodox unity in America ... sought to strengthen the fraternal bonds among the Orthodox Churches ... a proponent of Christian reconciliation in the mold of his mentors, Patriarch Athenagoras and Archbishop Iakovos. His theological and historical writings reveal the breadth of his thought and his faithfulness to Orthodox Theology."

Perhaps his legacy can be best expressed by his exhortation to the students of theology in 1987, "to follow the example of the fathers of the Church, who like them, faced the dilemma of a pluralistic society."

The following selection from his written work is indicative of his ecclesiastical and theological interests:

*Publications::*

"Metropolitan Athenagoras of Corfu and Paxai," *Orthodox Observer*, 32:555 (1966) 133-134 [special issue].

"The Church in Greek-American Life," *Greek World* March-April 1977.

"The dependence of Hellenism in the Diaspora," in *Charistêria: In Honor of Metropolitan Geron Meliton of Chalcedon, Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies*, Thessaloniké 1977, pp. 511-516 [in Greek]

"The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the development of the Orthodox Church in the new world," in *Orthodox theology and Diakonia*, Hellenic College Press, Brookline Mass. 1981, pp. 209-248.

"The doctrine of the Fourth Gospel concerning the Paraclete," in *Mnêmê Synodou Hagias B Oikoumenikês Synodou*, Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, Thessaloniké 1983, pp. 505-533.

"The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox consciousness of the people of Corfu," in *Charisteion Serapheim Tika, Archbishop of Athens and All Greece*, Thessaloniké 1984, pp. 125-146 [in Greek]

"Greek-Americans in Crisis: The period of upheaval in the Greek

Orthodox Church of America (1918-1923) and the Synodical Exarch, the Bishop of Monemvasia and Lakedaimonia, Germanos Troianos," *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, compiled and edited by Rev. Miltiades B. Efthimiou, and George A. Christolopoulos, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, New York, 1984, pp. 37-66.

"The Eschatological approach to the Divine Eucharist in the New Testament," in *XENIA, to Archbishop Iakovos of North and South America, On 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of His Archiepiscopal Service*, care of Athanasios An. Angelopoulos and Athanasios E. Karathanasés, Thessaloniké 1985, pp. 156-178.

"The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Development of the Orthodox Church in the New World," *Orthodox Theology and Diakonia: Trends and Prospects, Essays in Honor of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, Hellenic College Press, Brookline MA, 1991, pp. 211-248.

[The above Obituary was based on articles in, *Orthodox Observer*, 25 (1960), 30 (1965), 46:836 (1980), 51:956 (1985), 53:988, 991 (1987), *The Illuminator (Pittsburgh)* 17:111 (1996); *Hellenic Times* 27:14 Dec. 1-22, 2000; *National Herald*, December 16-17, 2000; *The Church Messenger* lvii:1 21 Jan. 2001].

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

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This book is a very useful handbook that demonstrates the uninterrupted cultural continuity from Greek antiquity to the present. The volume is focused on the fine arts, language, literature, science, philosophy, and religion. The permanent embodiment of the classical Greek heritage in the Christian faith is well presented and eloquently articulated.

The book is a must for every library and especially in the library of every Orthodox home. I highly recommend this book to the scholars and the general reader and especially to the new generation to better understand the classical values of our Hellenic Heritage.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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J. P. Cavarinos, *St. Gregory of Nyssa on the Human Soul*, Belmont, Ma: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Belmont Ma 2000, 95pp.

The late Professor John Cavarinos had a long successful career as professor of Greek and Latin Literature and authored several scholarly studies. His most important contribution was his cooperation with Werner Jaeger editing and publishing the texts of Gregory of Nyssa.

The present study originally was a doctoral dissertation submitted to the faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University. The book was re-written by the author and later his brother Constantine made various improvements and prepared it for publication.

The study addresses the subject of the human soul, its nature, its origin, and its relation to the body, its powers or faculties and its destiny. It is a unique book for it presents the Christian philosophy-theology of the human soul. The topics treated in the book are anthropology, the nature of the soul, origin of the soul, the soul after death, the relation of the soul with the body, faculties of the soul such as spiritual power, the appetitive power as well as free will and virtue. The author makes St. Gregory come alive as a Hellene and Christian thinker. St. Gregory was greatly steeped in the Greek culture and Greek philosophy.

St. Gregory was very much influence by Plato especially on the arguments for the immortality of the soul as presented in *Phaedo*. Though Gregory had a deep knowledge of the classical philosophy,



he remained true to the Scriptural understanding of the soul and the doctrine of man. Regarding the soul he defined it as “a substance or entity that is begotten, living, spiritual, and that imparts to an organic and visible body the power of life and perceiving visible things by dwelling in the body, to the extent that their nature renders possible” (p.29-30). The soul is the principle of life for the body but also of intelligence and discernment. The author presents the several theories of the soul as elucidated by St. Gregory who accepted the generation of the soul and its immortality. St. Gregory as a Christian philosopher/theologian rejects the philosophical solution of the origin of the soul as preexisting. St. Gregory refuted the theory of the preexistence of the soul entering the body as a punishment and expounded by Origen. He also refuted the metempsychôsis, transmigration of the soul as incompatible with the Christian view of creation and generation. He stated that these doctrines are “a Hellenic deceit.” He adopted the doctrine of “traducianism” or generationism instead of creationism that some fathers espoused such as Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret of the East, and Ambrose, Hilary and Jerome of the West. His reasoning in support of traducianism is based on the unity of the human nature. That is, he supported the simultaneous beginning of both body and soul (pp. 34-41). In addition Gregory offers reasoning of the resurrection of the bodies that the “goodness and justice” may prevail. “Gregory believed not only in the immortality of the soul, but also in the resurrection of the body, both to be present before the Supreme Judge when time of judgment comes” (p.45).

The book is well organized, that provides a bibliography and an index, which is very useful to the reader.

I highly recommend this book to scholars, to the general readers, to students, clergy, Sunday School Teachers and to those interested in the vital topic of the human soul.

I was fortunate to know the late professor John Cavarnos as my professor at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and as a friend. We also connected in Texas where he was teaching and I was serving as a priest there.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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## The Dual Doctrine of the Relations of Church and State in Ninth Century Byzantium

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DR. DESPINA STRATOUDAKI-WHITE

The relations between Church and State in Byzantium went through stormy periods during its long existence. One of the most critical and interesting times was in the ninth century when the learned Photios ascended to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople in 857 A.D. The influence of Patriarch Photios through his extensive writings and his personal conduct had a great impact in the development of the relations between Church and State during this period.

In a number of his letters one can see that Patriarch Photios adhered to the dual doctrine in the relationship of Church and State which was finally stated explicitly in the *Eisagôgê* to the Laws or as it is also known *Epanagôgê*.<sup>1</sup> The *Epanagôgê* is a collection of laws, which according to recent inquiries was compiled during the last year of the reign of Emperor Basil I.<sup>2</sup> The author of the work, is believed to be Patriarch Photios.<sup>3</sup> In the *Epanagôgê*, the duties of the emperor as well as the duties and the prerogatives of the patriarch were specifically defined for the first time. Accordingly, the emperor is responsible for the welfare of his people and their protection and safety under the laws of the state.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the patriarch is the living icon of Christ on earth, the guardian of the scriptures and the sole interpreter of dogmatic issues.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, it is clear, that the dual doctrine of the relationship of Church and State, as it is stated in this late ninth century document, does not support the separation of Church and State. Rather it advocates a close association, a *synallêlia-consonantia*, under well-defined and specific

duties and obligations.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, in this relationship the Church was to keep its autonomy regarding issues of faith, dogma, and church life. The State (when one refers to the state, in this period, one means the emperor) was to have control over everything else and assume the role of guardianship (the *kêdemonia*) of the Church.<sup>7</sup>

Earlier, in the sixth century, the emperor Justinian in his legislation and especially in the sixth *novella* made a clear distinction between *Sacerdotium* and *Imperium* as two separate gifts to mankind from God.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the emperor's task, from earlier times, was to watch and assist the church.

At the time when the protoasêcrêtês Photios was called to become patriarch the clergy in Constantinople was divided into two factions: the zealots or conservatives, who were demanding heavy punishments for the iconoclastic clergy, and the moderates, who wanted *oikonomia*, that is, a more lenient program of social action. Unfortunately, in A.D. 847 Patriarch Methodios, who was a moderate, died. As his successor, the Empress Theodora, the widow of Emperor Theophilos and regent for her young son Michael, appointed the monk Ignatios from the party of the zealot extremists, without synodical approval.<sup>9</sup>

The new Patriarch Ignatios, with his unbending attitude, broadened the schism among the clergy. The Patriarch and his followers came into incisive conflict with the government, especially with Caesar Bardas, the brother of Empress Theodora. Patriarch Ignatios was confined to his monastery on the island of Terebynthos and soon it was announced that he had resigned from his See.<sup>10</sup> A Synod, without losing time, elected Photios, who was a layman at that time and held the office of the *prôt(o)asêcrêtês*, to become Patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>11</sup> Reluctantly, as we gather from his letters,<sup>12</sup> Photios accepted the appointment and in five successive days received all the offices and degrees of the priesthood: lector, sub deacon, deacon, priest and, finally, bishop. On Christmas Day of the year A.D. 857 he was enthroned as Patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>13</sup>

From the beginning of his episcopate Patriarch Photios wanted to set correctly the position of the Church. This is evident from the content of his letters, especially the two he sent to Caesar Bardas at this time. In these letters he castigated Bardas and demanded that he stopped persecuting the priests and monks who were partisans of the deposed Patriarch Ignatios. "The man," the Patriarch writes to Bardas, "paid for his 'unbridled tongue' by severe bodily tortures. Let the matter of

his punishment stop here. The temple of God is sacred and an asylum to all the pious that have taken refuge inside it. The priest of the temple intercedes on his behalf.”<sup>14</sup>

In the following letter to Bardas written in April of 858 A.D., the tone of the Patriarch is more severe. Photios reminds Bardas that even though he was “forced to this position (as patriarch), why should he remain as head of the Church, when he could not intercede on behalf of a priest whose tongue had been cut out?” In conclusion, the Patriarch reminded Bardas: that “God did not forget.”<sup>15</sup>

The guidelines, however, that Patriarch Photios followed as head of the Byzantine Church were not new. The Great Fathers of the fourth century had already set the guidelines and rules, which the Christian Church of the East had faithfully followed since that time. Patriarch Photios was a student and great admirer of the Cappadocian Fathers (especially of St. Basil), and he venerated St. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople (398-404). Patriarch Photios revered the great figure of St. Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria during the fourth century. St. Athanasius fought for Church independence from imperial authority. He fought Arianism throughout his entire life and for his beliefs was sent into exile five times by the emperors, Constantine the Great, his son Constantius and Julian the Apostate. St. Athanasius died in A.D. 373.<sup>16</sup> The works of these Great Fathers of the Eastern Church were a constant source of inspiration and strength for Patriarch Photios especially when he faced difficulties and problems with the emperors.

One can summarize the teachings of the Great Fathers of the fourth century A.D. regarding the relationship of Church and State as follows: a) Both Church and State derive their existence from God; accordingly, both the Patriarch and the Emperor received their powers from the Trinitarian God; b) Nevertheless, despite their common source of power, the duties of these two authorities, according to a homily of St. John Chrysostom, are different. In his words, he states “ἄλλοι οἱ ὄροι βασιλείας καὶ ἄλλοι ἱερωσύνης.” Also in the same homily, Chrysostom states that: “the emperor takes care of the body and the priest the soul of the man.” And again according to Chrysostom “God gave the law and men should obey... and not by way of favor, but by way of debt.”<sup>17</sup> In addition, according to the Great Fathers, the Church should help the work of the State with prayers and charitable works;<sup>18</sup> c) When, however, there is conflict between the human and the divine

law, the divine is supreme, according to St. Gregory Nazianzen;<sup>19</sup> and lastly, d), each of these two powers should respect the laws of the other and should not interfere in the internal affairs of the other. Each should remain ἕσω τῶν οἰκείων ὅρων.<sup>20</sup>

Patriarch Photios, as we gather from his letters, followed the principle set by the Great Fathers, regarding the relations of Church and State, not only in governing the Church, but also in his personal life. Patriarch Photios suffered exile twice, first in A.D. 867 under Emperor Basil I,<sup>21</sup> who later recalled him and appointed him tutor to his children and even re-appointed him patriarch (A.D. 877); and second, following the demise of Emperor Basil I, in A.D. 886 under the new Emperor Leo VI the Wise, who succeeded his father Basil I on the throne of Byzantium and who had been a student of the Patriarch. Thus, the life of Patriarch Photios was similar to the life of St. Athanasius and to that of St. John Chrysostom, since all three of these Patriarchs suffered multiple exiles and punishments by under their emperors. In a letter of Patriarch Photios from exile to Emperor Basil I, in 870 A.D., which is still extant, while the Patriarch does not challenge the authority of the emperor to banish him, he reminds him that both of them were equal under God, and as such he should be treated accordingly. The main complaint of the Patriarch, in this letter was that his books were taken away from him, whereas Patriarch Athanasius, who like him had suffered greatly, was allowed by his emperor to keep his books.<sup>22</sup>

Being obedient to the teachings of the Great Fathers and the Sacred Scriptures, Patriarch Photios after his elevation to the See of Constantinople was always careful not to interfere in the affairs of the State. In fact, the Church in the East never claimed any political offices or power, as did the Church of Rome. This fact is evident in the epistles of Patriarch Photios to Pope Nicholas I, especially in the two 'enthronement' Epistles. In the first Epistle to the Pope, immediately after his ordination, Patriarch Photios began writing as if he were writing to a brother bishop, another co-celebrant bishop, feeling free to discuss matters of internal affairs in the Church.<sup>23</sup> On the occasion, however, when the same Pope asked for the return of the patrimonies which had been taken away from the Church of Rome by the Emperor of Constantinople Leo III – an event that occurred during the iconoclastic upheaval – and were given by the emperor to the Church of Constantinople, Patriarch Photios stated, through his second Epistle

to Pope Nicholas I, that this request was a matter of the state and only the emperor had the power to deal with it and not the Patriarch.<sup>24</sup> But, when Pope Nicholas referred (in the same letter) to the elevation of Photios from being a layman to being patriarch as irregular, because this was a matter that fell under the authority of the Church, the tone of the Patriarch's writing becomes extremely severe:

Since nothing prevents brothers to speak freely concerning the truth...may I be permitted to say, not by way of writing an antilogy but of presenting an apology (defense)...that above all, as you know, I was forced under this yoke, and thus I should not be castigated but shown pity...It is said that the rules were violated because I ascended to the height of the hierarchical dignity from the lay status; and who is the transgressor? He who enforced this, or he who was forced against his will?<sup>25</sup>

In the same epistle Patriarch Photios does not hesitate to write, that Pope Nicholas should be honest and straightforward. For example, instead of declaring in his letter that

"...we accept and delight in all other matters...but your elevation from a lay status is not praiseworthy...you should write, Leave the patriarchal See; resign from the priesthood."<sup>26</sup>

In the same Epistle, Patriarch Photios further explained to the Pope that through tradition and usage the two Churches did some things differently, such as the appearance of priests, choice of hymns during the church services, etc., i.e. matters that were not of great consequence. What was serious, however, was the strict observance of matters concerning the Faith, from which to deviate even infinitesimally was a mortal sin.<sup>27</sup> In very explicit and clear language Patriarch Photios pointed out the necessity of observing uniformity in essential and freedom in secondary matters. Thus, the Patriarch of Constantinople underlined, through this Epistle, as well as others, the tradition of the Eastern Church, which upheld unity in diversity and dissimilarity, in contrast to the Western Church's policy, which was that of unity in conformity and uniformity. Accordingly, the Patriarch thought that matters such as differences and changes in prayers for the Eucharist, fasting, the rule regarding married or unmarried priests, etc., should be dealt with locally, by a local synod, so that the unity of the entire body of the Church is not jeopardized. In contrast, dogmatic

issues and questions such as the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed by the Western Church, which Patriarch Photios adamantly opposed, should be determined uniformly and by an Ecumenical Synod.<sup>28</sup>

In his long Epistle to Boris-Michael, Tsar of the Bulgarians, on the occasion of his conversion to Christianity, Patriarch Photios expounded in ample and learned phraseology the doctrines of the Christian Church as defined by the Ecumenical Synods. In this Epistle, the Patriarch clearly set out the boundaries between Church and State, especially by outlining the religious duties of the ruler. Accordingly, the ruler is obliged to execute many good deeds and to pray in private as well as in public so as to set a good example for his subjects. Also, the ruler needs to take care for the building of churches, but he should not serve in religious services, for this belongs only to priests.<sup>29</sup> Continuing on the same theme, Patriarch Photios points out that the ruler should watch his entire conduct, because "the ways of a ruler become law to his subjects."<sup>30</sup> Discussing justice, the Patriarch remarks: "The greater the power, the more he (the ruler) should excel in virtue."<sup>31</sup> He also admonishes: "Rule your subjects with reliance upon their good will and not upon your power."<sup>32</sup>

The Patriarch's insistence upon ethical rules cost him many hardships and personal humiliations throughout his life and especially during the long years he spent in exile. In his vast correspondence with fellow priests and bishops also in exile, and in his letters to the emperor and other high Byzantine officials, while complaining for the harsh conditions under which he had to live, the Patriarch never challenged the authority or power of the emperor. In this connection, his long Epistle entitled, "From Exile to the Bishops also in Exile," is particularly significant, because it helps the researcher recover the views of Patriarch Photios regarding the relations of Church and State.<sup>33</sup> Here Patriarch Photios sets forth his ideas quite clearly: On the one hand he states that,

"Christ has made us from a non-people His own people by His own blood, and not mere people but a beloved and anointed nation and a royal priesthood;"<sup>34</sup>

But on the other hand, he does not fail to remind the bishops that,

"the divine Paul exhorts us to pray for sovereigns,<sup>35</sup> and Peter, too, the chief of the apostles says, Be submissive to every human institution for the Lords sake whether it be to the emperor as supreme,"<sup>36</sup>



and again, "Honor the emperor."

Similarly at the closing paragraph of this great Epistle Patriarch Photios reminds the bishops that,

"even before Peter and Paul, our common Master and Teacher and Creator Himself taught us from His incalculably great treasure, to pay tribute to Caesar by deed and by custom, namely, to observe the privileges which have been assigned to emperors."<sup>37</sup>

The following points may be used as a conclusion to this brief study. Patriarch Photios, as faithful guardian of Orthodox beliefs in his private life, as well as in his public life, first as a high state-official and then as Patriarch of Constantinople, followed the teachings of the Great Fathers of the Church and of the Holy Scriptures concerning matters relating to Church and State. More particularly, he followed the commandments of Christ; "Give back to Caesar what is Caesar's," and "My kingdom is not of this world." His attachment to these commandments is clearly evident in his writings and especially in his letters.

These commandments constitute Patriarch Photios' basic principle regarding Church-State relations. By adhering to this principle, however, he did not advocate a Church-State separation. On the contrary, for the Patriarch, these two authorities could co-exist in absolute agreement as both derived from the same source –God.

As mentioned above, emperor Basil I commissioned the *Epanagôgê*, in the later part of the ninth century<sup>38</sup> and the undisputed author of this work is Patriarch Photios.<sup>39</sup> Although the *Epanagôgê* never received an *imprimatur*,<sup>40</sup> Patriarch Photios had the opportunity to state explicitly the duties and prerogatives of the Emperor and the Patriarch, and thus to introduce for the first time in Byzantium the dual doctrine of the relationship between Church and State. Until the ninth century, then, Byzantium's focus was not on two institutions, but on two figures: the Emperor and the Patriarch.<sup>41</sup> Yet, with the definition of the duties and prerogatives of each of them, through the above-mentioned legal text, this situation acquired a different focus. The authority of the emperor in the internal affairs of the Church was specified and limited. In chapter ten of the *Epanagôgê*, the Patriarch's authority was limited to "the Metropolises, Episcopates, Monasteries and Churches..." In chapter eleven, the Patriarch was named as the

only arbiter regarding heresies, and that only he could delegate this authority to his Metropolitans and to his Bishops. These restrictions on the powers of the State (Emperor), however, were only in the books, for no one had the power to censure the Emperor, except God. The only real power the Patriarch had over the Emperor was to refuse him communion. Therefore, it is evident that in Byzantium Church-State relations were marked by a peculiar duality: a coexistence of two authorities, that of the emperor and that of the Patriarch, which could coexist in harmony, because both had the same purpose, the protection and welfare of the people.

So, as the soul is superior to the body, the ecclesiastical laws should supersede the laws of the State. On the other hand, in the State remained the duty to protect the divine laws, with the power and authority of its own laws, which it must preserve and impose in human society. According to this agreement, the State needed the cooperation of the Church in spiritual matters, where the Church with divine guidance and influence could incite in man his love and his tendency for the good. The Church, at the same time, needed the help of the State and its laws to spread with greater freedom and facility the Christian teachings and principles.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Ioannes Zeppos, Panagiotes Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, (J.G.R.), vol. II (Athens, 1931), 229-68. The title of this work is: "Prooimion of the *Epanagôgê* of the Law, under Basil, Leo and Alexander."

<sup>2</sup> A. Schmink, *Studien zu mittelbyzantinischen Rechtsbchern* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986), 12-14; according to manuscript tradition the correct name by some is: *Eisagôgê* of the Law.

<sup>3</sup> J. Scharf, "Photios und die *Epanagôgê*," *Byzantinischen Zeitschrift* (BZ), 49 (1959), 68-80; The monk Kallistos in his "Study of the Nomokanon of the Saintly Patriarch Photios of Constantinople," *Nea Siôn*, 3 (1906), 133, ft. 1 states that "...the style, wording, of the prologue prove the authorship of St. Photios.

<sup>4</sup> Zepos, *J.G.R.*, II, 240; the second title states: "ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστὶν ἔνομος ἐπιστασία κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις."

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 242, The Third Title.

<sup>6</sup> Panagiotes Androustos, *Ἐκκλησία καὶ Πολιτεία ἐξ ἐπόψεως Ὁρθοδόξου*. (Athens, 1920), p. 15

<sup>7</sup> Konstantinos Mouratides, *Σχέσεις Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας*, vol. I

(athens, 1965), 104.

<sup>8</sup> *Procheiros Nomos*, in K.E. Zacharia von Lingenthal, *Jus Graecoromanum* (Heidelberg, 1856-1870), IV, 1865.

<sup>9</sup> Vlassis Phidas, *Ἑκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, Πανεπιστημιακαὶ Παραδόσεις* (Athens, 1973), II, 69-70.

<sup>10</sup> Nicetas Paphlagon, the biographer of St. Ignatios, insists that Patriarch Ignatios did not resign from his See: *MPG*, 105: 224.

<sup>11</sup> George Hamartolos wrote: "Bardas appointed Photios, who was the *prôtoasêcrêtês* and a very erudite man, as Patriarch", *MPG*, 110: 1063.

<sup>12</sup> Ioannes Valettas, *Φωτίου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἐπιστολαί*, (London 1864), epistle 157, 492.

<sup>13</sup> The Continuator of Theophanes, *Χρονογραφία*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1832), 4: 458.

<sup>14</sup> Valettas, *Φωτίου Ἐπιστολαί*, ep. 158; *MPG*, 102: 624; Despina Stratoudaki-White, *Photios Patriarch of Constantinople: His Life, Scholarly Contributions and Correspondence*. Translation into English of Fifty-two Letters (Brookline, Mass. 1981), epistle 32, 173.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, ep. 33, 175.

<sup>16</sup> *MPG*, 25: 608, "Apology to Emperor Constantius."

<sup>17</sup> St. John Chrysostom, Homily 6, I, *MPG*, 49: 81.

<sup>18</sup> St. John Chrysostom, *MPG*, 25: 608.

<sup>19</sup> St. Gregory Nazianzen, Oration on "Philoptôchia" 14,27, *MPG*, 35: 889.

<sup>20</sup> St. John Chrysostom, Homily 4, *MPG*, 56: 126.

<sup>21</sup> According to George Hamartolos, emperor Basil I, exiled Patriarch Photios because he would not give him Holy Communion after the murder of emperor Michael III. *MPG*, 110: 1076.

<sup>22</sup> *MPG*, 102: 765; D. White, *Photios*, ep. 17, 161.

<sup>23</sup> Valettas, *Φωτίου Ἐπιστολαί*, ep. I: "To the most Holy most Saintly and Co-celebrant Brother of Ours, Nicholas Pope of Old Rome, Photios Bishop of Constantinople, New Rome," p. 133.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* ep. 3, p. 146-165.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* p. 152.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* p. 148.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* ep. 4, pp. 165-81; D. White, "Epistle of Patriarch Photios of Constantinople to the Metropolitan of Aquileia," *Journal of Modern Hellenism*, 6(1989), 191-206 (English translation): Patriarch Photios on the "Mystagôgia of the Holy Spirit," *MPG.*, 102:301 and on.

<sup>28</sup> Valettas, "Letter to Pope Nicholas," No. I, p. 140-42.

<sup>29</sup> Valettas, ep. 6, pp. 202-220; Despina Stratoudaki-White, Joseph R. Berrigan, Jr. *The Patriarch and the Prince* (Brookline, Mass. 1982), 39-58.

<sup>30</sup> White, *The Patriarch and the Prince*, 59.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 63.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 63-64.

<sup>33</sup> Valettas, ep. 146; *MPG*, 102: 741.

<sup>34</sup> D. White, "Patriarch Photios' Letter to the Bishops in Exile," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 19 (1974) 113-129.

<sup>35</sup> D. White, *Photios*, ep. 8, p. 154; I Tim. 2:2.

<sup>36</sup> I Peter 2:13.

<sup>37</sup> Matth, 17:24-27.

<sup>38</sup> As regards the chronology of the composition of the *Epanagôgê*, Schmink set it in early 880: *Studien*, 92-95: Zacharia von Lingenthal, *Prochiron XCIII*, "...epanagogen intra 883 produisse oportet, and *Collectio* 56 (232) "...epanagogen inter 884 et 886." Zacharia in *Geschichte* 22 im Gegensatz zur *Geschichte* 2,14, sets the *Prochiron* between 870-879 and the *Eisagôgê* between 879-886. J. A. B. Montreuil agrees with these dates: *Histoire du droit byzantin ou du Droit Romain dans l'empire d'Orient* (Ndr. Osnabruck, 1966), 11, 64.

<sup>39</sup> The dates of the composition of the *Epanagôgê* coincide with the date of the second Patriarchate of St. Photios, 877-886. The style and the phraseology of this work evidence Patriarch Photios' style as we note in his previous writings. J. Scharf, "Quellenstudien zum Prooimion der *Epanagôgê*," 73. Zepos, *JGR*, Prooimion, p. 237, 1-4.

<sup>40</sup> A number of scholars of Byzantine Law do not believe that the *Eisagôgê* became law, as, for instance, E. Zacharia, *Geschichte des griechisch-romischen Rechts*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Berlin, 1892), 84-85. G. Heimbach, *Geschichte des griechisch-romischen Rechts*, Ersch und Gruber, "Encyclopadia der Wissenschaften," t. 86, 305. A. Voigt, *Basil I Empereur de Byzance et la civilisation Byzantine a la fin de IX siècle* (Paris, 1908), 135. H. G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische literature im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 48. Of the scholars who believe that the *Epanagôgê* became law we may mention: J. A. B. Montreuil, *Histoire du Droit Byzantine*, t. 2, 39-46. K. Mouratides, *Σχέσεις Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας*, (Paris, 1934-44), p. 101. Βλάσης Φειδᾶς, *Περὶ σχέσεων ἐκκλησίας καὶ πολιτείας τοῦ Φωτίου (εἰς τιμητικὸν τόμον εἰς Βαρνάβαν)*, Ἀθῆναι 1968.

<sup>41</sup> Σπύρος Τροϊάννος, Ὁ Μέγας Φῶτιος καὶ οἱ Διατάξεις τῆς Εἰσαγωγῆς. Μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις ὡς πρὸς τὶς σχέσεις Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας. *Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία*, τομ. 1 (1989-1991), 493-495.

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# The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the World Council of Churches

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## 1. THE MID-WAR YEARS

The vivid and highly contested world of multilateral ecumenical relations was born during the mid-war years as the result of several parallel initiatives of tolerance, good will and cooperation. While their structural identity should be ascribed to the relevant Protestant movements, their theological conscience was shaped on the basis of the efforts made by the Great Church of Christ to promote collaboration and smoothen the way to unity. Hence, studying this introductory period is a great help to understanding and eventually reforming the World Council of Churches today.

Ecumenism as a concept of co-existence, mutual acceptance, common social action and dialogue of all confessions appears in embryonic form in the Patriarchal letter addressed in 1902 by Joachim III to the heads of the sister Orthodox Churches. According to it, *if we cannot yet hope for the union of all as ever being a possibility, yet because divine grace is constantly active and men are being guided in paths of evangelical love and peace, one must consider very carefully whether it might be possible to prepare the (at present) anomalous way which leads to such a goal and to find points of encounter and contact, or even to turn a blind eye to certain irregularities until the completion in due course of the whole task, whereby it might be fulfilled to our joint satisfaction and benefit of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ's saying about one flock and one shepherd.* Nonetheless, proselytism does not allow sharing this enthusiasm: only the creation of the League of Nations will concretize this generalized desire for *rapprochement* and unity.

Living in a multi-religious environment and contacting other Christians in the Diaspora, Constantinople early in 1920 codified its considerations in the synodical encyclical *Unto the Churches of Christ Everywhere*. Holding that *fellowship between the various Christian Churches is not excluded by the doctrinal differences, which exist between them*, this document of timeless importance is proposing the establishment of a *league (koinonia) between the Churches*, aiming at the removal and abolition of all the mutual mistrust and bitterness, which arise from the tendency of some of them to entice and proselytize adherents of other confessions. At times when manifold dangers attach the very foundations of the Christian faith and the essence of Christian life and society...love should be re-kindled and strengthened among the Churches...for the preparation and advancement of that blessed union which will be completed in the future in accordance with the will of God. On a more practical level the Ecumenical Throne summarizes the preliminary steps in the acceptance of a uniform calendar, the exchange of brotherly letters on the occasion of the great feasts, the relationships between the representatives of all Churches and the theological schools, the exchange of students, the convocation of pan-Christian conferences, the impartial and deeper historical study of doctrinal differences, the mutual respect for the customs and practices, the use of each other's cemeteries in foreign lands, the settlement of mixed marriages, the mutual assistance in the endeavors for charity. The Pan-Orthodox Conference of 1923 (Constantinople) and the Preparatory Commission held in 1930 in the Vatopedion Monastery (Mount Athos) adopted similar positions with the aim of organizing the Holy and Great Synod of Orthodoxy.

Almost simultaneous with the synodical encyclical, the first conference of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches met in St. Beatenberg. Although it had rather loose connections to ecclesiastical structures, this ambitious forum succeeded in bringing together Protestants and Orthodox from Constantinople, Serbia, Romania, Greece, and Bulgaria. However, the ambivalence of its aims, and the parallel evolution of the Life and Work and Faith and Order movements did not allow the Alliance to survive the establishment of the WCC.

A year later the need for common missionary activity led American Protestants to found the International Missionary Council as a confederation of relevant national associations, later on closely col-

laborating with the WCC, and finally a section thereof (1961). *De facto* not involved in the above-mentioned scheme, the Great Church used all further post-war opportunities to preach on the spirit of this encyclical. Hence Faith and Order, an ecumenical movement due to the efforts of American Episcopalians and relying on Church representation, officially asked the Ecumenical See to attend its first gathering. Coming at the days of analogous considerations at the Phanar, the invitation was warmly accepted, and delegates from Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Serbia, Romania, Cyprus, Greece, and Bulgaria attended the preliminary meeting of Geneva (1920); the team was headed by Germanos of Seleucia (Thyateira), who succeeded in persuading the assembly to adopt most points of the relevant synodical encyclical, and to play a crucial role in organizational matters.

At the first conference of the movement (Lausanne, 1927) only Antioch and Moscow were absent. Although Germanos of Thyateira can be credited with the common *Church's message to the world*, the strong minimalist tendencies of most delegates obliged the Orthodox to abstain from voting and to read a statement on their standpoints, explaining that theological dialogue should prevail, because they *cannot entertain the idea of a reunion confined to a few common points of verbal declaration; for...where the totality of the faith is absent, there can be no communio in sacris*. Nevertheless, still emphasized were the need for a fruitful pastoral cooperation and the importance of a theological *rapprochement* among related Churches.

Later on, statements will become the main way of expressing Orthodoxy within a general ambiance of compromise and syncretism. As a result, during the second conference on Faith and Order (Edinburgh, 1937), at which only Serbia, Romania and Georgia were absent, the address made by Metropolitan Germanos repeated the considerations of 1927, yet at the same time it stressed that progress had been made, and *great spiritual profit has been drawn from the daily intercourse with representatives of other Christian Churches*.

Born from the labors and initiative of the Swedish Archbishop Nathan Soederblom, Life and Work was also based on the Churches and aimed at pastoral and charitable cooperation. The movement embraced the encyclical *Unto the Churches of Christ Everywhere*; thus a small group of Orthodox headed by Germanos of Seleucia attended the preliminary meeting at Geneva (1920). The ecumenically minded



Metropolitan was elected vice-president of the executive committee as early as 1922. In the first conference (Stockholm, 1925) - the first official ecumenical gathering of Churches - Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Serbia, Romania, Cyprus, Greece and Bulgaria were fully represented, and had no hesitation in praying with their brethren in Christ and signing the common message on the problems facing humankind and the role of the Church in solving them. Repeating the words of the synodical encyclical, the last sentences of this carefully prepared document confer the new experience of fellowship and ecumenical meaning and outline the future of the relations: *the nearer we draw to the Crucified, the nearer we come to one another, in however varied colors the Light of the World may be reflected in our faith*. In a similar manner, but under less optimistic external circumstances, the second conference (Oxford, 1937) brings together Protestants, Oriental and Eastern Orthodox - except Moscow - and Old Catholics in the search of possibilities for the practical expression of love for man, and in the preaching of an independent Church.

By far more mature than the early portion of the century, the mid-war years were a period of great disappointments and great hopes. Although reconciliation often remained a *desideratum*, international fellowship movements multiplied, and Christians slowly began to know and appreciate each other. Naturally, the International Missionary Council or the World Alliance had aims only partially encountering the vision of doctrinal unity. On the other hand, Life and Work and Faith and Order were based on the Churches and should in fact be considered as the real precursors of the World Council of Churches in both its achievements and weaknesses.

The above-mentioned movements echoed the general desire of the mid-war period for dialogue, and at the same time they expressed a purely Christian longing for sacramental *Koinonia*. Hence, both worldly categories of thought and hasty agreements of a sentimental order tortured the ecumenical relations and often led to hasty unifications. Boldly uttered in the encyclical of 1920 and the consequent statement, the role of the Ecumenical See during these years consisted in balancing the tendencies into a careful differentiation of pastoral partnership and doctrinal consensus. This duty continued to characterize the ecumenical relations of Constantinople in the post-war area, when the WCC asked its member Churches to take a responsible and binding position towards ecumenical activities.

## 2. ESTABLISHING THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The first twenty years in the life of the WCC were a period of political and social restructuring for most countries; thus, this *privileged organ* of multilateral relations was called to exercise charity, while remaining a forum open to theological dialogue. Seeking equilibrium between these two poles, the Council acknowledged the arduous and insistent initiatives of the Great Church, and kept its transcendental references, creating an identity worth respecting and trusting.

Formed in Utrecht in 1938 by the fusion of Faith and Order and Life and Work as a fellowship of Churches, represented officially and permanently and actually active since 1946 with the inauguration of the Ecumenical Institute in Bossey/Geneva, the WCC carefully prepared its first General Assembly, and requested the assistance of Constantinople, already present in Utrecht. High-ranking members of the Council visited the Phanar and encountered a very positive atmosphere, since the Throne was willing in principle to join forces with a movement aiming at *Christian collaboration in all good deeds*.

However, only Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Cyprus and Greece were finally counted among the members, the split arising from the position taken by Russia and imposed on the Churches of Eastern Europe on the very eve of the General Assembly. In fact, a conference held in Moscow on the occasion of jubilee celebrations (1948) resulted in considering the Council as a suspicious organ of political involvement, and rejected any relation to what was conceived as a substitute for the *Una Sancta*. The Ecumenical See was aware of a dangerous vagueness in ecclesiological matters, but insisted on the belief of 1920 that Orthodox visions of unity are better served by openness to dialogue.

The inaugural General Assembly of the WCC (Amsterdam, 1948) had the theme *Man's Disorder and God's Design*, which bears a rather searching character. Nevertheless it succeeded in declaring that the Council was *a simple organ of cooperation*, actually *a fellowship of Churches* aiming at promoting relationships, facilitating common action, supporting missionary work, continuing all initiatives of Faith and Order and Life and Work. The basis of the constitution is the acceptance of Jesus Christ as God and Savior.

After Moscow and due to post-war obstacles, Orthodoxy was represented in Amsterdam solely by Constantinople, Cyprus and Greece. Rather reserved, the head of the delegation, Germanos of Thyateira, expressed his anxiety in response to the theological inadequacy of certain decisions. Although this event has much in common with the beginnings of the 1920's, the careful initiative of the synodical encyclical was now replaced by an enthusiastic minimalism. The mid-war difficulty with ecumenism was already returning in a sharper form.

Orthodoxy was hesitating, and doubts were partially relieved only after a reassuring declaration of the Central Committee (Toronto, 1950), stating that the WCC *is not and must never become a super Church*, nor does it *negotiate unions*, while its members are recognizing in each other *elements of the true Church*. Although this effort at ecclesiological self-identification was rather vague, it bears an immense importance, as it prevented Orthodox alienation and strengthened the Council's reliability. In evaluating the new parameters, an encyclical signed by Patriarch Athenagoras (1952) insisted on *practical goals* and moderating the nature of the movement and renouncing isolation. All sister Churches should be represented in this multilateral forum, acting unanimously and after common previous consideration of the topics; all the same, any implication in doctrinal discussions and common worship should be avoided, while being necessary that *our Church informs the heterodox on the content of its faith and teaching*.

Constantinople, Antioch and Cyprus were present at the third world conference on Faith and Order (Lund, 1952) and Athenagoras of Thyateira addressed the meeting stating that *in the Orthodox Church the individual theological opinions have no value whatsoever in themselves...because she is not dealing with human teaching and human precepts but divine ones, and no one has the right to confuse these with individual opinions about them*. Even withdrawing from discussion, the Orthodox delegation actually catalyzed the plenary decision to abandon descriptive approaches and undertake the common study of Christian revelation, thus inaugurating the multilateral theological dialogue.

Focusing on *Christ-the hope of the world*, the second General Assembly (Evanston, USA, 1954) took advantage of the experience acquired to re-examine the nature, role and structures of the WCC.

The Orthodox came from Constantinople, Antioch, Cyprus, Greece and several American jurisdictions, and were headed by Gennadios of Hélioupolis. While practically oriented American confessions were confronted with central European Lutheran spirituality, Orthodox statements on the main topic and in the framework of Faith and Order conferred to the assembly the theological dimension of the message, pointing out that unity can be achieved only on the basis of the totality of the faith of the ancient undivided Church. Soon afterwards (1955) a permanent patriarchal delegation - presided by Iacovos of Melita (America), Emilianos of Meloê (Selibria), and after 1985 by Fr. G. Tsetsis - was established in Geneva, and it immediately began to *exercise a profound influence on the relations of the WCC with Orthodoxy*, since it spoke in the name of the Patriarch, and informed him, as well as all other Orthodox Christians, concerning the evolution of the ecumenical movement. This *embassy* was to play a preponderant role in reconciling Russia and the Council. Inaugurated by the political considerations of the post-Stalinist era, the *rapprochement* was facilitated by the Throne in a crucial meeting in Utrecht (1958). Consequently all Churches present in Moscow a decade earlier joined the WCC.

In 1960 the Central Committee adopted at St. Andrews (Scotland) a memorandum of far-reaching importance, scrupulously echoing the thoughts of Constantinople concerning its Trinitarian and ecclesiological views. The document stated that *unity is being made visible as all in each place who are baptized into Jesus Christ and confess Him as Lord and Savior are brought by the Holy Spirit into one fully committed fellowship, holding the one apostolic faith, preaching the one Gospel, breaking the one bread, joining in common prayer, and having a corporate life reaching out in witness and service to all, and who at the same time are united with the whole Christian fellowship in all places and all ages in such wise that ministry and members are accepted by all*.

On the eve of the next plenary gathering, the first Pan-Orthodox Conference (Rhodes, 1961) expressed deep deference to the encyclical of 1920 and declared that Orthodoxy should maintain unity in all its ecumenical activities and relationships.

By the end of 1961 the third General Assembly of the WCC in New Dehli was discussing *Jesus Christ - the light of the world*. Counting several new members - Russia, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland and

the American jurisdiction known as *Metropolia* –, Orthodoxy was fully represented in this major Christian reunion. The memorandum of St. Andrews having been accepted and ratified, Athenagoras of Thyateira proceeded to read a contribution, proposing *ecumenism in time*, that is the return to the faith of the undivided Church. On the occasion of the assembly, the basis was given a more Trinitarian character: it now stated that *the WCC is a fellowship of Churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God the Savior according to the Scriptures, and therefore seek to fulfill in common their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit*. Autonomous by decision of the General Assembly, Faith and Order met in Montreal (1963), its fourth world conference, treating *Scripture, Tradition, and traditions*. For the first time Orthodox positions on the apostolic and patristic teaching were included in the official documents, their lengthy separate elucidation was obviously no longer necessary. During the early 1960's Georgia (1962), Serbia (1965) and Czechoslovakia (1966) joined the WCC, while Moscow established a permanent delegation in Geneva (1962). Later on, in 1967 Patriarch Athenagoras visited the Council - *common home of all Christians* - in a gesture of great symbolic meaning, anticipating the positive evaluations made by the fourth Pan-Orthodox Conference (Geneva, 1968); which additionally pointed out the necessity for a broader participation of Orthodox structures and theologians in the WCC.

The fourth General Assembly took place in Uppsala on the twentieth anniversary of the Council; the theme was *Behold, I make all things new*. Heading a large Orthodox delegation, Meliton of Chalcedon was keen to point out that the socially oriented gathering was acting as a great charitable society rather than as *a Christian movement, able to explain and direct the ways of the world*.

The first two decades in the life of the WCC were characterized by multiple social interventions on behalf of suffering or marginalized people all over the world. By far more complicated - due to the official character of the members - was the effort to determine a proper theological identity, to balance minimalist tendencies and ecclesiological reservation. At that point Constantinople assisted the organized ecumenical movement in realizing that it is simply a *fellowship of Churches*, possessing no right to act as the *Una Sancta*. Nevertheless, in the ensuing years worldly tendencies and syncretistic compromises would continue to block the slow progress of the

Council towards unity, obliging the Throne to keep raising the positions expressed in the encyclical of 1920.

### 3. TOWARDS AN ECUMENICAL FELLOWSHIP

After Uppsala the WCC enjoyed a period of prosperity and consequent deep involvement in charitable activity, often of a purely worldly character. Neglecting the theological parameters, however, the very foundations of ecumenism were shaking. The Ecumenical Throne renewed its effort to give the movement an ecclesiological identity and a vertical-transcendental dimension.

In 1973 the WCC celebrated twenty-five years of efforts and achievements. Participating in the jubilee, the patriarchal message welcomed the *constructive contribution* of the Council, approved the use of new categories, familiar to the people of God, returned to questions of worship and inter-communion, called attention to the contribution of the Ecumenical See in shaping the theological identity of the Council, and underlined that its main role consisted in *promoting Christian unity* by assisting Churches in their theological relations and coordinating their common witness.

Inaugurating the new era, a conference on Faith and Order held in Accra (1974) would establish the basis of the greatly contested document on *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (BEM). Of great theological importance, this study aimed at universally accepted approaches to the sacraments, thus proposing an innovative multilateral way towards unity. The Great Church was to evaluate the endeavor in due time.

The fifth General Assembly was held in Nairobi at the end of 1975, with the theme *Jesus Christ frees and unites*. Although a new constitution oriented to practical activity was voted on and approved, the meeting essentially focused on conciliarity and appears to have been profoundly influenced by the patriarchal message of 1973. Hence, it preached the abandonment of an *easy ecumenism* and conferred priority to theological discussions, ratifying the document of faith and Order on the *visible unity of the Church*, while its message was understood as a call to prayer.

Japanese Orthodoxy joined the Council as a member in 1973. Meliton of Chalcedon, heading a multi-national delegation, succeeded in safeguarding the prerogatives of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem over

the Holy Land, as well as postponing a premature proposal on fixing Easter Sunday.

Soon afterwards, Faith and Order sent BEM to the Churches for official study, and at the same time it somehow anticipated its reception by proposing the syncretistic *ecumenical liturgy* of Lima (1982), broadly adopted by Protestants; the preliminary draft of a further study, entitled *Towards a common expression of the apostolic faith today*, reaffirmed the unifying importance of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. Nevertheless, minimalist tendencies within the Council seem to have given these lengthy ecumenical efforts an academic character.

Thus, the Pan-Orthodox Pre-Synodical Conference (Geneva, 1976) kept on insisting on the unifying importance of the vertical parameter, and asked for a larger representation of Orthodoxy in Faith and Order. At the same time, two consultations held in the Finnish monastery of New Valamo (1977) and in Sofia (1981) discussed the problem of inter-communion, rejected any political aspect of ecumenism, and adopted a series of *desiderata* which were formulated by Constantinople concerning representation quotas, the institutionally focused voting system, and the necessity for a *clear and adequate articulation of Orthodox theological thinking in all stages in the elaboration of WCC documents*.

The sixth General Assembly (Vancouver, 1983) returned after three decades to the North-American world of parallel jurisdictions and multiple selections. The theme *Jesus Christ-the life of the world* allowed a focus on the Eucharistic dimension of faith, and the neutralization of extreme minimalism. Headed by the local Archbishop Iakovos, all Orthodox Churches - including Finland, a member since 1982 - were represented; their impact upgraded Greek to working language status in the WCC.

In the meantime, Orthodoxy was discussing BEM, a remarkable document of doctrinal convergence, *an experience of a new stage in the history of the ecumenical movement*, though not binding for the member Churches. The response of Constantinople (1986) to BEM commented that this important study strongly contributed to the creation of a living theology in the service of unity; yet it did not necessarily lead to ecclesiological or practical recognition of the three sacraments of Churches not in communion with Orthodoxy, since its ecclesiological foundations were inadequate and should never replace

the declaration decided in 1952. Consequently, both the second Inter-Orthodox Preparatory Committee (Geneva, 1986) and the third Pan-Orthodox Pre-Synodical Conference (Geneva, 1986) adopted the argumentation of the Ecumenical Throne on the importance of efforts at convergence, *instrumental in bringing Churches together*, but insisted on the authority of the Toronto Declaration. A meeting on Faith and Order (Bucharest, 1989) agreed with the great Church concerning the need to reconsider ecumenical ecclesiology.

Further evaluations of the second Inter-Orthodox Preparatory Committee underlined the danger of giving the Council a political character, considered unity possible only by confessing the faith of the *Una Sancta*, and repeated the *desiderata* of Sofia. The third Pan-Orthodox Pre-Synodical Conference would also recognize the organized ecumenical movement and its recent even-handed decisions, and remarked that *the Council's manifold activities in the fields of evangelism, diakonia, health, theological education, inter-faith dialogue, opposition to racism, promotion of peace and justice, responded to the particular needs of the Churches and of the world, providing opportunities for common witness and action*, observing however that Truth should not degenerate into compromise.

On the occasion of the visit of Patriarch Demetrios to Geneva (1987), the Council heartily thanked the Throne for the encyclical of 1920, and its constant persistence in *offering the richness of Orthodox tradition* and boldly accepting ecumenical responsibilities. The late patriarch referred to the visions of his predecessors, and expressed his satisfaction for the documents, *BEM* and *Towards a common expression of the apostolic faith today*. In fact, in 1990 the latter would lead to a document elucidating the Nicene/Constantinopolitan Creed on the basis of biblical and patristic criteria. The patriarchal message on the fortieth anniversary of the WCC (1988) would join the voices of congratulations which viewed the Council as a glorious achievement of the encyclical of 1920, and observed that its main role consisted in the triple task of sustaining multilateral dialogue, providing Christian witness and exercising diakonia, in so far as social commitment is a means and not a goal in itself. Although important as a reminder of the positions of the Ecumenical Throne, the message did not introduce new elements in the relationship and maintained an optimistic jubilee tone.

Actively present in the world conferences on *Mission and evange-*



lism (San Antonio, Texas, 1989), an Orthodox delegation - headed by Bartholomew of Chalcedon (Constantinople) - would attend the seventh General Assembly of the WCC (Canberra, 1991) jubilant with regard to the novel Trinitarian character of its theme *Come, Holy Spirit - renew the whole creation*. However, in spite of emphasizing communion, the Council appears to have promoted models of *easy ecumenism*, and Faith and Order was slowly waning in importance. Thus, the Eastern and Oriental Churches found themselves obliged to express their anxiety in the *Reflection of Orthodox Participants*, a short document of great theological importance, which stressed the imperative of *working for visible unity* without anticipating it by mis-using *communio in sacris*, expressed concerns about increasing divergence from the initial goals, and criticized the way priorities were set, e.g. through marginalizing Trinitarian theology and the work performed by Faith and Order.

The Churches of the Eastern tradition would meet again in Geneva just a few months after Canberra to express their anxiety about the future of ecumenism, and discuss ways for balancing the two dimensions of Christian commitment, by honoring the basis of the constitution and rejecting syncretistic *rapprochements*, while emphasizing the importance of Christian education and ecumenical formation.

Proving in all respects that the desire for unity is always being kept alive, the fifth conference on Faith and Order was held in Santiago de Compostela (1993) with the theme *Towards koinonia in faith, life and witness*. The meeting ratified the two major documents on convergence - BEM and *Towards a common expression of the apostolic faith today* -, thus bringing to an encouraging end the first phase in the evolution of multilateral theological dialogue. The following years would be spent examining ecclesiological aspects of the above-mentioned topics in an effort to reach *a deeper understanding of the Church and its apostolic character in light of Holy Scripture*.

A serious identity crisis was now facing the Council, unable to balance the divergent tendencies and to define its priorities. Members were asked to articulate their views, in order to form a *Common understanding and vision of the WCC*. This discussion would begin in Harare.

Even before officially uttering its considerations, the Great Church kept encouraging ecumenical initiatives aiming at the unity of the

ancient Church. Hence, a related Orthodox consultation (Geneva, 1995) characterized the WCC as a useful forum for theological dialogue, while condemning minimalist tendencies and the revival of proselytism, and affirmed *the imperative of placing the confession of the one apostolic faith and the ecclesiology of the one undivided Church into the heart of the work of the WCC*. Almost simultaneously, a patriarchal memorandum pointed out that *after fifty years of fruitful cooperation within the WCC its members are obliged to clarify the meaning and the extent of the fellowship they experience in it, as well as the theological significance of koinonia*; it insists that new members should be accepted on the basis of definite ecclesiological criteria and proposed *decision-making by consensus, particularly on matters concerning faith, ecclesiastical order and Christian ethics*. Many views of the commentary would be considered and reflected upon in the related text submitted to the General Assembly.

During his visit to Geneva (1996) the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew would repeat these thoughts and urge the WCC to reconsider its positions. However, the split could not be avoided, since Georgia and Bulgaria found themselves obliged to withdraw in 1997 and 1998 respectively, because proselytism went on and reluctance increased among the people of God. Under these circumstances a meeting was convoked in Thessaloniki (1998) in order to evaluate the situation. In agreement with the introductory thoughts of Constantinople and overcoming increasing bitterness, this consultation agreed that *the WCC has been a forum where the faith of the Orthodox Church, its mission and its views on a number of issues such as justice, peace and ecology were made widely known to the non-Orthodox world*. However, today *the Council must be radically restructured in order to allow more adequate Orthodox participation*. In this frame, the creation of a Mixed Theological Commission was recommended, and delegates to Harare were requested to abstain from voting in plenary sessions or participating in common worship. While Eastern and Oriental Orthodox ratified these proposals in Damascus, the Orthodox Task Force summarized fundamental questions to resolve *the nature of the unity we seek, membership and ecclesiology, the nature and character of WCC documents and decisions, ambiguity of terminology, the ecclesiological problem, the WCC agenda and priorities, representation and participation, worship, the question of inter-communion, and Orthodox culture*.

By the end of 1998 the Council held its eighth General Assembly in Harare. Under the theme *Turn to God and rejoice in hope*, more than three hundred and thirty member Churches observed the fiftieth anniversary of the WCC in a conscientious effort to renew the structures and perspectives of organized ecumenism. Therefore, the working text on a *Common understanding and vision of the World Council of Churches* stated that *the Council is the fellowship of Churches on the way to full koinonia*, actually it forms a *dynamic, relational reality*. In materializing the above-mentioned thoughts and referring to the encyclical of 1920, the new constitution declared that no longer the Council itself, but rather *the Churches through the Council will promote the development of deeper relationships through theological dialogue, facilitate common witness, express their commitment to diakonia, nurture the growth of an ecumenical consciousness, assist each other in their relationships*. All the same, the presence of extreme confessional groups was to weaken any effort to resolve theological and ecclesiological issues. The *malaise* and reservation of all traditional members kept growing, and even the majority-based system of voting was now considered inadequate for a Christian forum of theological aspirations.

Balancing between reality and the new perspectives, the Orthodox delegation - headed by Athanasios of Hélioupolis and Theira and happy to welcome Albania, a member since 1994 - was rather reserved, and expressed its anxieties and hopes in the words of the patriarchal message commemorating the anniversary, a text of recollection and criticism, rejoicing in the fact that what *the Throne saw in 1920 eventually became a reality*, but observing that heterogeneity and diversity not only *highlight the great richness of the Christian faith*, but also *reflect the tragic reality of Christian division*, thus demonstrating that the Churches need to *redefine the nature of the WCC and to reorient its work*, far from any *institutional logic*, in order to *work towards its formation as a fellowship in which, through being, working, reflecting theologically and witnessing together, and above all by sharing a common vision of what the Church is, they will come to the point of confessing not only the one Lord but also the one Church*. The primary duty would then be *to consider together the ways in which the Christian faith was handed down by the Apostles to the undivided One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church and expressed in the Nicene/Constantinopolitan Creed should be interpreted*

*in our times, in the midst of the problems faced by humankind.*

Realistic and challenging, the considerations of the message were largely adopted by the Secretariat, and a special commission was appointed as a sixty-member body under the co-moderatorship of Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Ephesus. Its work, expected to last three years, would lead to the eventual preparation of proposals for *necessary changes in structure, style, and ethos of the Council*, thus opening new horizons in the effort to give the WCC a well defined role as a fellowship of Churches, and allow Orthodoxy to remain an active partner in the ecumenical world. At an expanse of almost a century from the patriarchal letter of Joachim III, about eight decades from the synodical encyclical *Unto the Churches of Christ everywhere* and the foundation of Faith and Order and Life and Work, fifty years after establishing the World Council of Churches and thirty after its coming of age in Uppsala – on the eve of the millennium the organized ecumenical movement is reconsidering many of its choices and goals. Shared Christian heritage is no more a vague notion, but an essential reality which brings Churches together in an effort to witness to the Truth, exercising *diakonia* and entering into dialogue. Ecumenism as a return to the faith of the undivided Church is a duty towards the Lord and towards the world, and should not be constrained by theological syncretism and ecclesiological vagueness.

Relying on Orthodox tradition and delicately balancing the longing for unity with theological sharpness, the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople contributed in a most essential way to the shaping of the WCC, and to assisting it in its thorny ascent towards self-identification. Today this dialectic relationship is anew permitting Christendom to define the meaning of real unity, while leading Orthodoxy to the fulfillment of its ecumenical destiny. As it was said, *above all else, the WCC is an expression of faith*, and Constantinople is conferring this faith as the Truth of the undivided Church.

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# THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

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## THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

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Prof. Vlassios Phidas, Prof. Vasil Th. Stavrides,  
Dr. Evangelia A. Varela, Rev. Dr. George Papademetriou

## THE ARCHDIOCESE OF AMERICA

Rev. Dr. Miltiades B. Efthimiou, Rt. Rev. Dr. George Papaioannou,  
Very Rev. Dr. Joachim (John) Cotsonis

## A CASE STUDY IN GREEK-AMERICAN ORTHODOXY: THE ASCENSION CATHEDRAL OF OAKLAND CALIFORNIA

Dr. James Skedros, Mary Kumarelas Mousalimas, Speros Vryonis Jr.,  
Paul G. Manolis, James Steve Counelis, Constantine J. Skedros,  
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**Book Reviews:** Rev. Dr. Alexander F. C. Webster,  
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Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou, Fr. George Dion. Dragas

**Periodical Reviews:** Fr. George Dion. Dragas

**Obituary:** Metropolitan Silas of Saranta Ekklesies

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# **The Greek Orthodox Theological Review**

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The Greek Orthodox Theological Review (GOTR) is published quarterly by Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, MA to promote theological study and scholarly discussion regarding the Orthodox Church, its history, theology, and liturgical practice with emphasis on the Greek Orthodox Tradition.

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**A.D. 2000!**  
**A CELEBRATORY VOLUME**  
**DEDICATED TO**  
**THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE**  
**OF CONSTANTINOPLE**  
**AND THE GREEK ORTHODOX**  
**ARCHDIOCESE OF AMERICA**



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# **The Greek Orthodox Theological Review**

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*Published with the blessings of*

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*Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America*

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**Archimandrite Joachim (John) Cotsonis, Ph.D.**

*Advisory Editorial Board*

*The President, the Dean and the Faculty of*

**Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology**



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## Editor's Note

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This Celebratory Volume, marking the completion of the second millennium A.D., is dedicated to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America. The first two Sections include concise but comprehensive histories of the Patriarchate and the Archdiocese and also a number of essays relating to these venerable institutions. The Section on the Archdiocese includes a case study in Greek American Orthodoxy which is offered here as a model for other similar studies that might be undertaken in the future. There is also the usual spread of scholarly articles relating to Canon Law, Church and State, Orthodox Church History, Systematic Theology and Social Ethics, as well as Sections for Book Reviews and of Greek Orthodox Theological Periodicals. Some of the essays of this volume have already appeared in other periodicals but are here reprinted by kind permission of the Editors of these periodicals as noted in each case. This volume has introduced a new convention for the transliteration of Greek words. The ω, as distinct from the ο, is ô. The η, as distinct from the ι, is ê. The υ is u in diphthongs and y in all other cases. This convention does not usually apply to transliterated Greek words found in quotes from already published texts. Special thanks are due to Fr. Joachim Cotsonis, Director of the Archbishop Iakovos Library and Learning Resource Center who read through most of the texts of this volume and made suitable corrections. The belated appearance of this volume is regrettably due to technical problems.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas



**THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE**



His All-Holiness The Ecumenical Patriarch  
Bartholomaios I of Constantinople







**THE GREEK ORTHODOX  
ARCHDIOCESE OF AMERICA**





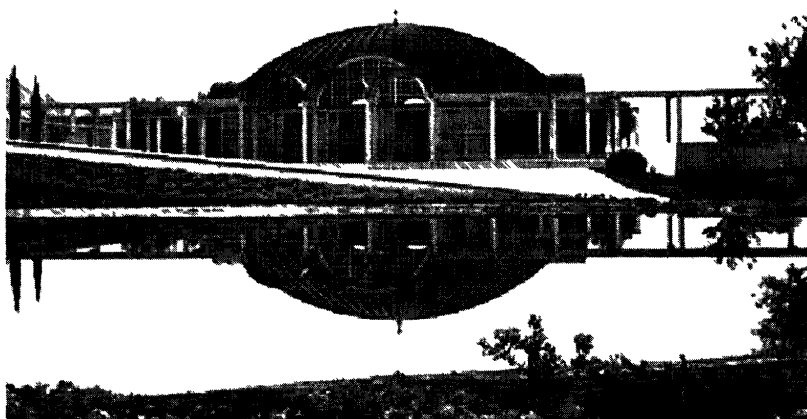
Patriarch Meletios IV (Metaxakês) surrounded by lay and clerical leaders in Chicago.

**A CASE STUDY IN GREEK-AMERICAN ORTHODOXY:  
THE ASCENSION CATHEDRAL OF OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA**

Proceedings of the Symposium

THE PRESERVATION OF OUR HISTORY: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

Edited by  
Mary Kumarelas Mousalimas  
Ascension Historical Committee



The new Ascension Cathedral



The old Ascension Cathedral

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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A shared vision enabled the convening of the symposium. Therefore along with the gratitude extended to the members of the Ascension Historical Committee of Oakland, California, who organized the event, profound gratitude for their intellectual and active support is also extended to the co-conveners: particularly to Chris S. Metos, Constantine J. Skedros and the Hellenic Cultural Association of Salt Lake City, Utah; and to Paul G. Manolis and The Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute of Berkeley, California.

Acknowledgement is due notably to Dina D. Argyres and Parthena Kanelos; to Andrew S. Mousalimas for his constant support; to the committee chairs, whose organizational skills made this inaugural event possible, and to all the members of the Ascension Historical Committee whose dedication and faith is gratefully acknowledged: Dina D. Argyres, Teresa Andreini, Marina C. Caredis, Zetta Chrissanthos, Rosaline Colisos, Anna Counelis, Sophia Cumbelich, George Daskarolis, Dean D. Gassoumis, Patricia Georgiou, John Kanelos, Parthena Kanelos, George Konstantopoulos, Titika Koplos, Jeanne Lekas, Gregg Kosmos, Paul G. Manolis, Andrew S. Mousalimas, Roxie Palazzotto, George Paris, Sophia Paris, Anna M. Phillips, James C. Skedros, Marge Phillips, Elaine Platias, Catherine Polos, George Retelas, James Treposkoufes, Mary West, George Zuras, and Mary Zuras.

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We would be remiss if we did not express our appreciation particularly to Helen Papanikolas for her encouragement and support and for her pioneering work in documenting the Greek immigrant experience.





## CO-CONVENERS

### **Ascension Historical Committee in The Cathedral of The Ascension**

The Hellenic Community of Oakland and Vicinity was formally established by California state charter on February 15, 1917; thus named because it represented the entire East Bay Area at that time. Liturgical services were held in various rented assembly halls in downtown Oakland until the Greek Orthodox Church of the Assumption, at Tenth and Brush Streets, in Oakland, California, was built, and dedicated on May 22, 1921. The "Brush Street Church," as it is fondly remembered, is listed on both the National and State Registers of Historic Landmarks and is still in use as a house of Christian worship by its new owners. It served the Greek Orthodox community until the parish moved to the newly erected Greek Orthodox Church of The Ascension at 4700 Lincoln Avenue in 1960.

Determined to preserve the rich heritage of the Hellenic Community of Oakland and Vicinity, interested members established the Ascension Historical Committee (AHC) in August, 1989, under the aegis of Dean D. Gassoumis, president of the Parish Council, as an arm of the Cathedral's Parish Ministry Program, and as such, is partially funded by the Parish Council. The AHC's activities include the cataloguing and custodianship of documents, preparation and publication of historical works; and documentation of the customs and traditions that are no longer observed in our daily lives and are disappearing from our consciousness.

The AHC established and maintains the Historical Library, housing its collections of documents; photographs; out-of-print publications and artifacts from the old church, which include the original baptismal font and segments of the *iconostasis* with the All-Seeing Eye, two six feet tall signed icons on canvas and a hanging *kandyli* from 1899 used in an immigrant's home. The documents include the 1898 discharge papers of a Greek immigrant who served in the United States Navy during the Spanish American War; old baptismal certifi-

cates, World War II Greek War Relief documents, etc. The archives also hold more than one hundred hours of both oral and video taped interviews, including those of immigrants who arrived in this area during the early part of this century, relating their experiences and living conditions. The AHC anticipates the publication of this collection upon the completion of the transcriptions.

The AHC has instituted the annual Founders Day Commemoration, observed each February with a *mnymosyno* and a luncheon following the Divine Liturgy. Members of Oakland's Altar Boys Alumni Association (ABAA), whose average age is seventy-two now, robe and serve in the altar on that occasion. We believe the ABAA, founded in 1983, to be the only association of its kind in the country. The annual Greek Independence Day 10 K Run, now in its fifth year, is held in March on the shores of Lake Merritt, and attracts runners from other states. With the proceeds from that run, the AHC has installed a bench and two plaques near the only olive tree at Lake Merritt Park which was planted by first and second generation Greek Americans in the 1930s. The photographic collage of the history of the community for the seventy-fifth anniversary commemorative album, incorporating photographs from the archives, was prepared and edited by the AHC.

Several well-received exhibits have been staged by the AHC; the most recent being at the Oakland History Room of the Oakland Public Library, whose curator, Bill Sturm, stated that the exhibit drew the largest crowd the library had ever experienced for such an event.

The convening of the inaugural symposium on The Preservation of our History, Past, Present, and Future, will further our goals of mutual support and cooperation among those of us involved in documenting our history in this country.

The Committee realizes the importance and the urgency of documenting the Greek American experience in this country; for we are the last living link with those pioneers who established our communities.

Ascension Historical Committee in

The Cathedral of The Ascension

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Oakland, CA 94602

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## Hellenic Cultural Association And Hellenic Cultural Museum

The Museum, sponsored by the Hellenic Cultural Association is acknowledged to be the first authentic Hellenic Cultural Museum in the United States, and has received awards on both a national and regional level. The Museum emphasizes the personal aspect of the Greek immigrants to Utah and their descendants, reflecting their struggles, achievements, social life and tragedies through displays, clothing, costumes, artifacts, photographs, personal histories, and much more. The Greek presence in Utah dates back as far as 1870.

Attendance at the Museum has had a steady increase each year averaging a yearly attendance of approximately 5,000, with no admission charge. School children and guided tours from all parts of the state, as well visitors from various part of the country, are all warmly received. The museum gift shop specializes in hard-to-find books, cultural objects, tapes on Greek language instruction, Greek recipe books, etc.

Awards and Commendations that the museum has received include: the Utah Heritage Award, July 17, 1992, presented by the Utah State Historical Society; the Certificate of Commendation, September 29, 1994, cited in national competition by the American Association for State and Local History at its meeting in Omaha, Nebraska (the only ethnic museum in America to merit an award in 1994); and a commendation for "Landmarks-Past and Present in America," Spring 1995 issue of *Labor's Heritage*, published with photographs by the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, Silver Spring, Maryland.

The latter commendation, published as an article (as cited above), included a description of a monument erected on the Salt Lake City Cathedral grounds near the museum. The article's researcher, Archie Green stated, "Some years ago, elders in Utah's Greek-American community raised a red granite memorial at the Cathedral's edge — listing military names and victims, mainly first-generation immigrants, of fire or explosion in Utah's coal and metal mines. I know of no similar standing monument that links the dead at Verdun or Bataan to those on industrial fronts." A Commemorative Resolution of January 19, 1996, by the Utah House of Representatives and the Utah State Senate during the State of Utah Statehood Centennial Celebration stated with regard to the curators of the Hellenic Cultural Museum:

"The keepers of Utah's history have made an outstanding contribution in making the Utah Statehood Centennial Celebration a most memorable event. This organization, has, over the years, kept the integrity of Utah's history and we are grateful for their insight, dedication and public service for this most noble of pursuits."

The Hellenic Cultural Library is the newest entity of the Hellenic Cultural Association in Salt Lake City. It is currently being equipped with state of the art computers, software and printers. Emphasizing the Greek experience in America, the Library is steadily building its supply of books, magazines, newspapers, and research materials in preparation to serve serious readers and scholars.

Hellenic Cultural Museum and  
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### **The Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute**

The Patriarch Athenagoras Institute (PAOI), of Berkeley, California was formally dedicated at a joint convocation with the Graduate Theological Union (GTU) in February, 1987, at which time the Alexander G. Spanos permanent chair in Orthodox Christian Studies was formally inaugurated. As an affiliate of the GTU, the Institute offers courses of instruction at the Graduate Theological Union.

Housed in three buildings directly facing the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, the PAOI includes the Chapel of St. Demetrios, open daily for liturgical services and private prayer. Vespers Divine Liturgy is celebrated in English each Tuesday evening at 6:00 p. m. during the academic year, followed by a fellowship hour. Students are encouraged to attend. The Vespers of St. Demetrios are celebrated every October with widespread Pan Orthodox participation and are open to the public. The Institute's Contos Hall offers facilities for meetings and lectures as well as a lounge for students to gather informally.

The Paul G. Manolis Library of the Institute contains the most extensive collection of books and periodicals relating to Orthodox Christianity in the Western United States. Considered one of the richest

resources available in this country for research into Eastern Christianity the Institute's library supplements the extensive GTU collections. The Institute's library is particularly strong in the areas of patristic literature and patristic studies as well as Byzantine studies. Works related to doctrine, the history of doctrine, ecclesiastical history, liturgics, architecture, icons and sacred music are also well represented. The Institute's music materials are quite extensive, with music scores in both Byzantine and Western notations, and with audio recordings. While Greek and English are the primary languages of the collection materials in Arabic, Armenian, Bulgarian, Church Slavonic, Coptic, French, Georgian, German, Italian, Latin, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Ukrainian and other languages are also collected.

Through Lectureships, annual spring colloquia, outreach ministry, publications and ecumenical activities the Institute realizes its mission to embody a strong and effective Orthodox presence in Berkeley as a vital center for the study and dissemination of Orthodox thought and culture within the ecumenical setting of the GTU.

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## Preface

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DR. JAMES SKEDROS

Christianity is a religion with a historical consciousness. The history of the Church, whether written as the history of individuals, of local communities, or of the universal body of believers, plays a fundamental role in the life and consciousness of the Church. For the Orthodox Church in particular, the history of its diverse and multiple communities throughout the centuries—its collective history—is an organic part of its identity. Although certain periods of time in the history of the Church have contributed perhaps more to the collective identity of the Church than others, there is no one period, outside of the time of Jesus, which has a normative priority over any other period. The medieval Byzantine period, whose contributions to the collective identity of Orthodox Christianity may be quantitatively immense, does not have a qualitative priority in its contribution to the life of the Church in relation to that of the period of the history of the early decades of the twentieth century.

The work contained in the several papers here presented, which are the nucleus of a groundbreaking symposium on the preservation of the historical identity of Greek Orthodox communities in America, make an important contribution to the individual and collective history of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Western United States. It is no small occasion that the proceedings of this symposium are being published in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*. Although a journal dedicated to Orthodox theology, *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* is an appropriate place in which to find these proceedings. In academia, history and theology are often treated as separate fields or disciplines. For Orthodox Christianity, however, history and theology are interdependent and interrelated. Theology

occurs in history since God acts in and through history. The history of the Greek immigrant experience in America is as much a theological enterprise as it is a historical one.

Historical memory has underlying importance for the constitution of the Church and provides the necessary context for the evaluative process in the life of the community. The contributions made by this symposium are therefore paramount to the health and vitality of the community of Greek Orthodox Christians in America. Not simply because it is good to record the history of our forebears and emulate their successes while trying to avoid their failures. Rather, as Christians we are called to love our neighbors, our friends, our enemies. Historical memory is an act of love; to remember is to love. In the Christian context love is always dynamic and personal. Love is not static, nor individualistic. To remember the sacrifices, the contributions, the joys, the heartaches, and, yes, the names, of those who toiled to build the churches, pay the clergy, erect the monuments, teach the children, in short, to do all the things that laid the groundwork for the future life and success of the Orthodox Church and Greek community in America is, nothing else, than an act of love.

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## Introduction

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MARY KUMARELAS MOUSALIMAS

Webster's Unabridged Dictionary defines the word "symposium" from the Greek as: "a convivial meeting, usually following a dinner for drinking and intellectual discussion" . . . especially, "a meeting at which several speakers talk on or discuss a topic before an audience." Although "drinking" was limited to a brief social hour preceding our dinner, the discriminating presentations and discussions proceeded throughout the day and evening. This was, to our knowledge, the first ever meeting of its kind.

This inaugural symposium materialized out of the shared perception of the co-conveners: the Ascension Historical Committee of Oakland, California, The Hellenic Cultural Association of Salt Lake City, Utah, and the Patriarch Athenagoras Institute of Berkeley, California, who recognize the need to discuss and seek solutions to shared problems; to facilitate a network of communication; to cultivate and nurture future historians; and to establish guidelines for budding researchers

To promote these goals, articles announcing the symposium were published in the Greek-American press; and they drew requests for further information not only from the western states but also from New Hampshire, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Missouri, as well as London, England.

The symposium weekend began on Friday, February 20, 1998, with active participants from five states other than California: Utah, Arizona, Colorado, Washington, and Texas. During the evening of the commencement, the symposium participants were guests of the



Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute where a vesper service in the Saint Demetrios Chapel was followed by a tour of the Institute, a brief orientation and a dinner reception. Saturday's events at the Ascension Cathedral complex began with an opening prayer and a light breakfast and closed with dinner. The entire day was spent in presentations and discussions. At Sunday morning's Divine Liturgy we commemorated our annual Founders Day with a *mnêmosyno* and concluded with luncheon. The inaugural event closed with the observation that future symposia are essential if we are to cultivate and inspire others to document our history in this country.

The camaraderie, interest and enthusiasm experienced in Oakland resulted in a second symposium, the Greek Cultural History Project, held in Phoenix, Arizona on February 27, 1999. The third annual symposium on "The Preservation of our History, Past, Present, and Future" is being planned for the spring of 2000 in Stockton, California.

The success of the historic symposium is due to the foresight and cooperation of the co-sponsors; to the dedication, perseverance and organizational skills of the committee heads; to the cooperation of our presbyters and parish council; and most importantly, to the enthusiasm and immediate response of our speakers, whose support and encouragement have been gratefully acknowledged and whose papers will be read in this collection.

Responding promptly to our invitation to address the symposium Professor Speros Vryonis Jr. sent a letter stating, "In my opinion, your comprehension of the importance of preserving the written and material sources for the history of our community is of extreme importance . . . this is an indication that the time is right for a systematic effort to identify, catalogue and preserve the archives and cultural objects of the community past." His presentation gives us a view of the Greek diaspora from ancient times to today. He acquaints us with the status of the communities of Australia, Canada and England, and the differences between those communities and ours in the United States. Stressing the importance of this continuing history today, he informs us of the expanding library holding over 45,000 volumes of available research material at the Speros Basil Vryonis Center for the Study of Hellenism.

Paul G. Manolis, a seasoned and expert researcher, focuses on instructions for archival research; locations and availability of research

materials; procedures for cataloguing retrieved archival materials; and the importance of establishing a "prosopography." His research has culminated in the publication of *The History of the Greek Church of America*, volume 1, due to be published in late 1999. As Director of the Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute he has amassed a significant collection of icons and other artifacts, and stocked an impressive library of accessible research materials on Orthodoxy.

James S. Counelis defines six technical terms that are part of the historian's paradigm: Document (a material which provides symbolic meaning); Context (a set of circumstances or facts); Meaning (significance); Provenance (source of origin); External Criticism (determining authenticity); and Internal Criticism (determining credibility). Each reflects the processes for discerning the character that a particular object appears to have and the quality it appears to be. He then proceeds to use examples to define and illustrate the historian's vocabulary; concluding his chapter by providing a bibliography of suitable resource materials.

During the symposium, Constantine J. Skedros began his presentation with a video film of the interior of the Hellenic Cultural Museum in Salt Lake City, Utah, and informed us that it is available upon request from the museum. In his chapter in these proceedings, he proceeds with a detailed account of the genesis and fruition of the award winning Greek ethnic museum in the United States, while discussing funding, volunteer labor, site acquisition, and existing collections. Along with his commitments as one of the founders and directors of the Hellenic Cultural Association, and Hellenic Cultural Museum, he also serves as the appointed volunteer historian of the Greek community of the state of Utah.

Gabrielle Morris, representing the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library in the University of California at Berkeley, presents a succinct outline detailing the procedures necessary for conducting an oral history interview, and a list of materials designed for both the novice and experienced interviewer.

Betty Psaltis-Duncan provides us with an example of personal reflections. Fortunate in having had the anthropologist Margaret Mead as her advisor while preparing her doctoral thesis at Columbia University, and then becoming the first woman of Greek ancestry to be a professor at San Francisco State University, she brings qualified perceptions into her personal narrative. While relating her parents' history

to us and showing us facets of life in San Francisco's Greek community, she takes us along on her journey through life and brings us to the present with her current life in England; all the time realizing the similarities between her own and her mother's experiences.

The conclusion to these proceedings is provided by Helen Papanikolas who has been traveling through her "land of Greekness" for five decades, narrating the experiences of the Greek immigrants in Utah. This adventure, as she calls it, has convinced her that "each of us must want to see tangible evidence of our people's experience in this country." She believes that "we must have museums because memories fade, voices are silenced; ignorance prevails. She continues: "The past is part of us; we need it. Museums assure us that our fore-fathers have not been lost to history; they also teach us necessary truths." Emphasizing that there is only one path for a historian to follow – honesty — she refuses to surrender her integrity to those who deprecate her for documenting that history as truthfully as she possibly can. She has chronicled that history through her many publications, including her book titled *Eleni and George*, her own parents' biographies; through her own life experiences; and through ceaseless research and interviews. Through her resolute support and encouragement, Helen remains the inspiration for those who follow in her footsteps.

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Many groups wish to preserve the history of their communities, and we are encountering the same critical problems nation-wide. These problems were identified during the symposium as: indifference, aversion, suspicion and funding. Researchers find that some indifference and even aversion exist from numerous sides: (1) from immigrants themselves who too often exclaim, "Who cares?," "I have nothing to say;" (2) from the second generation who choose not to be reminded of their own struggles for assimilation and choose to ignore their own humble beginnings; (3) from the third and fourth generations of Greek-Americans who see no merit in recalling the past and who are unaware of their rich legacy of discarded customs and traditions; (4) from clergy who exhibit neither concern nor sensitivity for the origin of our establishments and tend to resent efforts to focus on our early immigrant history, ignoring the fact that our churches and communities in this country were established and governed by those same immigrants; (5) from new converts to our faith who hold the opinion

that our community history should be concerned only with ecclesiastical history. Often heard from them is the insistent remark, "This is about the church, not about the Greeks!" – as if the history of our communities in this country and the history of the Greek pioneer immigrants who struggled to establish the churches here were not one and the same. Therefore while other ethnic groups are trying to discover their roots, our own rich heritage is being diminished and even distorted.

As we researchers proceed through the first two obstacles, indifference and aversion, we may find that we are initially viewed with suspicion when we seek to collect family histories and artifacts, as if the researcher were coming into a home to "look for dirt" or to unearth family skeletons. Once trust is established and interest is excited, attitudes may change but not always towards cooperation. Artifacts that have long been ignored, locked away in trunks or moldering in basements until the historian shows an interest in acquiring them, suddenly become prized possessions to their owners who then refuse to share them.

Finally there is the problem of funding. There is often too much concern and effort wasted in establishing the means for funding a research project, which merely serves to hasten the loss of available primary sources and artifacts. This problem is more chimerical than real; when in reality, time and commitment are the only prerequisites necessary to begin documenting a community's history. The researcher simply needs an abundant amount of dedication and stamina to set out successfully. Archives are available for research; the cost of index cards, pens and pencils is minimal; while a tape recorder, tapes, paper and pencil are the only equipment necessary to conduct oral histories.

All of those problems, unfortunately, are recurrent. Each was addressed in discussions during our symposium; after which we agreed that all of them are to be expected but none of them is insurmountable. These problems will be mitigated through education and through the passage of time. For example, we have seen through our efforts that indifference can suddenly turn into active interest during a visit to a museum or during the viewing of a photographic exhibit or a collection of artifacts; particularly when a family comes to recognize that their indifference will cause their own family's history to be excluded.

Our centuries-old Greek legacy of oral tradition is no longer practiced in this country; therefore the need for researching and documenting our history becomes acute. We have already lost the opportunity to record the experiences of our early pioneers, and we are rapidly losing the older first generation now, whose vivid memories still retain their parents' stories as well as their own childhood stories in this new land. The consensus of the symposium participants was that we must nurture and encourage budding historians to continue the work we have begun, helping to weave a rich tapestry of past events which will inform and educate future generations.

Coordination is necessary in order to further the attainment of our goals through mutual support and assistance. A network of communication must be established among those researching their communities' histories throughout the country in order to enable us to establish dialogue with one another, establish a protocol of available research material, avoid duplication, and keep us aware of one another's progress. The most obvious means of communication in today's electronic world are the web-sites, making instant communication with one another a reality. The introduction of our own web-site, for the Ascension Historical Committee, is anticipated before the turn of the new millenium.

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As we continue to coordinate our efforts, another consideration becomes imperative. It involves the correction of a propensity that exists to create a simplified and elitist view of our history. The simplification occurs when some vital categorical differences are overlooked.

One difference which should be recognized is that between the experiences of the early major wave of immigrants into this country from Greece at the beginning of this century on the one hand and the experiences of the later wave of immigrants on the other hand. Large-scale immigration from Greece was allowed until the 1920s, when United States law diminished the quota. During the subsequent four decades, few immigrants (among the reduced numbers allowed into this country from Greece) reached the western states; and the initial immigrants who had settled in the western states were furthermore separated from contact with Greece due to the difficulties involved in trans-continental and trans-Atlantic travel at that time, especially during the 1940s and World War II. The children of the early immi-

grants grew to adulthood and started their own families during those decades.

In the 1970s, the immigration laws were altered again. Large-scale immigration from Greece resumed. Immigrants who came in this second large wave of immigration, as well as some of the relatively few who had come after World War II, were far better educated and better skilled than most of the early immigrants, and they were more familiar with America and the English language. Many of the later immigrants were reunited with kinsmen of the early immigration who had already established themselves in this country and who were able to assist them in the process of acculturation. They found institutions such as churches, choirs, youth groups, Sunday schools, Greek schools, all of which were in place here through the efforts of the earlier groups. While the newer immigrants encountered what to them was comedic – such as the Greek language transliterated into English; and some customs and superstitions which appeared archaic, having been preserved here from turn-of-the-century Greece – they encountered little if any racial prejudice because by then it had become “chic to be Greek.” Their easier, more recent experience tends to overshadow the severe difficulties encountered by the earlier immigrants.

A difference should also be perceived among the earlier immigrants themselves. It was geographical. The living and working conditions of early Greek immigrants in the western parts of the United States differed greatly from those in the eastern parts. Greeks arriving in the eastern states before World War I initially obtained work in established industries, textile mills, shoe factories, stock yards, and steel mills, etc.; while those going to western parts were occupied initially as workers on the railroads, which were then being built, and as workers in mines until they could establish their own businesses. In most cases, the early Greeks arriving in the eastern states found compatriots in the cities with whom they shared familiar customs and language. In contrast, the early Greeks who came to the western regions found themselves dispersed within vast territories that were altogether new even for the United States. Utah and Arizona had not yet achieved statehood when the first Greeks settled there. Neither had Idaho and Montana. The states of California, Oregon and Nevada had joined the Union less than fifty years before their coming. These immigrants were pioneers in new territories who contributed

to the building of vast new states while establishing their own enterprises and communities – and they confronted some oppressive obstacles.

When the Ku Klux Klan enjoyed a resurgence, reaching a peak in the 1920s, the Greeks were targeted in racist slurs and actual attacks. That resurgence fuelled the fires of American national xenophobia, (which caused the alteration of the immigration quotas in the 1920s), and resulted in virulent prejudice against Greek immigrants throughout the western states. Today very few of the surviving Greek immigrants wish to recall such horrid experiences, and few of their Greek-American off-spring wish to describe such experiences either. It is difficult for a Greek immigrant parent of the first-generation in Utah to admit that a lovely daughter of six years old had the force of a water-hose turned on her by prejudiced American neighbors calling the sweet little girl a “dirty Greek.” It is difficult for Greek-American off-spring to allow a parent to be remembered for having been beaten and tarred-and-feathered by the KKK in Oregon. Instead, the Greek tends strongly to prefer to describe successes.

Adversity may be mentioned but without much description while the manifest successes in family life, in education, in social contributions and in business – these victories over adversity – are described at greater length. This propensity may be a characteristic of the Greek soul, with its emphasis on honor (*philotimo*); and a study of this characteristic may yield insights. Nevertheless as a result of this propensity, the popular trend today seems to depict all Greeks as well educated and financially successful – the first and consecutive generations, the earlier and later immigrants alike. In supporting this trend, we are promoting an elitist attitude which ignores other vital aspects of our experience, alienates some significant personalities who crumbled under the pressure of the adversity, and negates our true history in this country.

Permit me to dwell on this thought a moment longer. A few of the earlier immigrants distanced themselves from the mainstream Greek communities. Some, through out-marriages, some who considered their “Greekness” a liability; some, because they felt they had not reached the high expectations that Greeks typically place on themselves, others for not having conducted themselves in a manner of life that was considered to be sufficiently respectable while contributing resources to the founding of our institutions nevertheless.

Distanced, they are easily forgotten. Some died alone and neglected in their sparse apartments. Others died neglected in veterans homes in the western states; although they had served diligently in the American forces during World War I or World War II, they were bachelors without close families here. The Philophtochos (the women's philanthropic societies in our church communities) assumed the responsibility of providing funerals and burials for those lone men in Oakland, who were otherwise forgotten souls.

Perhaps even more interesting is the plight of some of the youth in the second generation who could not cope with the intense psychological pressures we experienced during the decades between the 1920s and the 1960s, during which we heard constantly from our parents the value of remaining Greek (and hence, Greek Orthodox) but heard exactly the opposite from our schoolteachers and American friends.

Not a few very sensitive souls crumbled under the pressure of the intense dichotomy. Those agonies should not be forgotten. Indeed, their plight may provide us with yet more insight into our own collective history.

We Greek Americans are proud of our societal successes. But the truth remains: those early pioneers whose deprivation and struggle established our institutions enable us today to boast so glowingly of our accomplishments.





## **SCHOLARLY ARTICLES**











## **BOOK AND PERIODICAL REVIEWS**





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## Periodical Reviews

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### A SURVEY OF THE CONTENTS OF GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL JOURNALS

FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

#### Editor's Note

As explained in the previous volume, we have included here all the major Greek Orthodox Theological Journals up to the end of the preceding year, 1999. What is presented here in English is actually a translation of the Greek original. Any item of any Journal reviewed here that is written in a language other than Greek is accompanied by an appropriate indication of the original language in which it is published. We have tried to follow here a new convention in transliterating Greek words and proper names for the sake of consistency: ô=ω, ê=η, y=u=υ, θ=th and φ=ph. To give an example, σωφροσύνη=sôphrosynê. The periodicals reviewed here are: 1) *Orthodoxia* (Thessalonikê), 2) *Klêronomia* (Thessalonikê), 3) *Phronêma* (Sydney), 4) *Orthodoxes Forum* (Munich), 5) *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* (Alexandria-Johannesburg), 6) *Apostolos Barnabas* (Nicosia), 7) *Theologia* (Athens), 8) *Academic Annual of the The School of Theology of the University of Athens: Theology Department* (Athens), 9) *Academic Annual of the School of Theology of the University of Athens: Social Theology Department* (Athens), 10) *Academic Annual of the University of Thessalonikê* (Thessalonikê) *Academic Annual of the University*, 11) *Gregorios o Palamas* (Thessalonikê), 12) *Bulletin of Biblical Studies* (Athens), 13) *Synaxê* (Athens), 14) *Theodromia* (Thessalonikê).

**ORTHODOXIA 6:1 (1999)****(A quarterly publication of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople)****PART I, MAIN ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS****1. THE ELECTION AND ENTHRONMENT OF H.E. THE FIRST HIERARCH OF THE AUTONOMOUS CHURCH OF ESTONIA**

a. Synodal Communiqué, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 11.

b. Memorandum of the election of the Metropolitan of Tallin and All Estonia, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 12.

c. Patriarchal Letter of Announcement of the election of the Metropolitan of Tallin and All Estonia to the flock of the Church of Estonia, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 13f.

d. Patriarchal Letter communicating the election to their Beatitudes the First Hierarchs of the Autocephalous Orthodox Churches, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 15.

e. Patriarchal Letter thanking the Locum Tenens of the Autonomous Church of Estonia, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 16f.

f. A Homily of His Eminence Metropolitan MELITON of Philadelphia, Patriarchal Representative at the enthronement of the new Metropolitan, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 17-21.

g. A Communiqué of the Office of the Orthodox Autonomous Church of Estonia, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 22-24.

**2. CANONICAL ACTS**

Election of Hierarchs (Most Rev. Bishop ALEXIOS of Atlanta formerly Ass. Bishop of Troas; Most Rev. Bishop GEORGE (Papaioannou) of New Jersey, formerly Ass. Bishop of Komana; and Most Rev. Bishop NICHOLAS (Pissaris) of Detroit, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 25.

**2. OFFICIAL VISIT OF HIS ALL-HOLINESS THE ECUMENICAL****PATRIARCH BARTHOLOMEW TO THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM OF DAVOS**

a. A Brief Chronicle of events, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 26f.

b. A Homily of His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch BARTHOLOMAIOS delivered at the Davos Meeting (2 February 1999), *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 28-32.

**4. OFFICIAL PATRIARCHAL COMMUNIQUÉS AND MESSAGES**

a. A Catechetical Homily on the commencement of the Holy and Great Lent by the Ecumenical Patriarch BARTHOLOMAIOS, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 33-37.

b. Communiqué on the cooperation of the Holy and Sacred Synod with the Sacred Eparchial Synod of the Sacred Archdiocese of America (12 January, 1999), *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 38.

c. Appeal of His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch BARTHOLOMAIOS calling for cease fire (29 March 1999), *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 39.

## PART II, STUDIES

H.E. Metropolitan DAMASKINOS of Switzerland, "The Unity of the Church and its mission in the teaching of the Three Great Hierarchs" [in German], *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 43-53.

H.E. Metropolitan GENNADIOS of Italy, "A Concise Historical Review of the Presence and Role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Life and Activities of the Orthodox Greek Eparchies, Brotherhoods, Communities and Parishes in Italy," *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 54-68.

H.E. Metropolitan MICHAEL of Austria, "The importance of Religion in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe," *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 69-75.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Archimandrite A. NANAKËS, Review of *Hygiainousa Didaskalia* (=Heathly Teaching), by Eugenios Archbishop of Crete, published by the Metropolitan Nektarios of Petra and edited by Archim. Eugenios Antonopoulos, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 76-78.

V. Th. STAVRIDËS, Review of *Sphragides Kônstantinoupoleôs* (=Seals of Constantinople), by Akylas Mêllas, Athens, Mnemosyne/Agra 1996, 767p, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 79-82.

V. Th. STAVRIDËS, Review of *Oi Prokathêmenoi Athênôn kai Pasês Hellados* (=The Archbishops of Athens and All-Greece), by George Valsames, Sacred Metropolis of Demetrias, Volos 1997, 238p, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 83-5.

G. TSIGARAS, Review of *Ho Metropolitikos Naos Athênôn kai hoi ephêmerioi autou, 1862-1942* (=The Metropolitan Church of Athens and its priests: 1862-1942), by Protopresbyter Êlias Drosinos, Athens 1996, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 86f.

## PART III, ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLES

1. New Year's Day at the Patriarchate (including a speech by H.E. the Metropolitan EVANGELOS of Perga and A Salutation of the

Ecumenical Patriarch BARTHOLOMAIOS), *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 91-99.

2. The Visit of the Major of Athens, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 99.

3. The Demise of the late Bishop TIMOTHEOS of Miletoupolis, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 99f.

4. The Feast of the Three Hierarchs at the Patriarchate (including An Address by Ecumenical Patriarch BARTHOLOMAIOS), *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 100f.

5. Promotions of Clergy in the Patriarchal Court, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 104f.

6. The Sunday of Orthodoxy in the Patriarchate (including An Address by H.E. Metropolitan CHRYSOSTOMOS of Ephesus), *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 104-110.

7. His All-Holiness The Patriarch at Ankara, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 113.

8. Official Representations of His All-Holiness (including A Salutation of H. E. Metropolitan ATHANASIOS of Hêlioupolis and Theira at the Symposium on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium in Jerusalem), *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 111-114.

9. Conferral of the *ophikion* (honorary title) of Archon Chartoularios to the Honorable Panagiôtês Laggês, President of St. Constantine and Helena in Chicago, *Orthodoxia* 6:1 (1999) 114.

## **ORTHODOXIA 6:2 (1999)**

**(A quarterly publication of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople)**

*PATRIARCHAL MESSAGE, PASCHA 1999*, 6:2 (1999) 129-131.

### **PART I, MAIN ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS**

1. RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PATRIARCHAL EXARCHATE OF THE ORTHODOX PROVINCES OF THE RUSSIAN TRADITION IN WESTERN EUROPE, *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 135-148.

a. A brief chronicle of events, *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 135f.

b. Patriarchal and Synodal Tome of Re-establishment of the Patriarchal Exarchate in Western Europe, *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 137-140.

c. A Homily of H.E. Metropolitan MELITON of Philadelphia on

the handing in of the Patriarchal and Synodical Tome (20, June, 1999), *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 141-146.

d. A Homily of H.E. Archbishop SERGIUS of Eukarpia (in French), *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 147f.

2. PATRIARCHAL EXARCHIES AT PATMOS, *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 149-150.

3. OFFICIAL VISITS OF HIS ALL-HOLINESS, *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 151-168.

a. To the Church of Greece and to the Metropolises of the New Lands (including: A Letter of thanks of H.E. Metropolitan MELETIOS of Nikopolis and Preveza; Letter of thanks of H.E. Metropolitan NIKODÊMOS of Hierissos, Holy Mountain and Ardramerion), *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 151-154.

b. To the Sacred Metropolis of Didymoteichon and Orestias, *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 163f.

c. To Antioch with His Beatitude the Patriarch of Antioch (including a joined Communiqué by the two Patriarchs), *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 164-168.

#### 4. CANONICAL ACTS

a. Election of a Hierarch (Bishop CHRISTOPHOROS of Andidai, Assistant to the Metropolitan of Toronto SOTERIOS), *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 169.

b. Depositions of clergy, *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 169.

5. OFFICIAL PATRIARCHAL MESSAGE TO THE 11<sup>TH</sup> CLERGY-LAITY CONGRESS OF THE SACRED METROPOLIS OF TORONTO, *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 170-171.

#### PART II, STUDIES

1. Rev. Gr. Protopresbyter George TSETISIS, "A synoptic chronicle and a general evaluation of the 8<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the World Council of Churches," *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 175-187.

2. Rev. Deacon John CHRYSSAVGIS, "Theology and the Environment: Spiritual perspectives from our icons, liturgy and asceticism" [in English] *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 188-199.

3. Prof. John FOUNDOULÊS, "Dialogue, Orthodox and Pre-Chalcedonians," *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 200-2113.

*PART III, ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLES*

1. A Visit of the Minister of Education of Panama, *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 217.

2. The Youth of the City visit His All-Holiness, *Orthodoxia* 6:2 (1999) 217f.

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3. Rev. Lukas VISCHER, "A Time of Creation" [in English], *Orthodoxia* 6:3 (1999) 338-347.

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*(A quarterly publication of study in Orthodoxy, Athens, Greece)*

[Note: This issue is dedicated to Hellenic Neo-paganism]

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(A quarterly publication of study in Orthodoxy, Athens, Greece)

[Note: This issue is dedicated to Literature]

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**ΣΥΝΑΞΗ=SYNAXÊ, No 71 July-Sept. 1999**

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[Note: This issue is dedicated to Liturgical Renaissance: Need or Luxury]

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### **ΣΥΝΑΞΗ=SYNAXÊ, No 72 Oct.-Dec. 1999**

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## ΘΕΟΔΡΟΜΙΑ –THEODROMIA

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The Association of Orthodox Studies, Thessalonikê Greece  
Vol. 1:1 (1999)*

### BEGINNING IN GOD, THE HOLY ONE

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### THE MOTHER OF GOD

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### **MARRIAGE and PREMARITAL RELATIONS**

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The author also gives important information on numerous schools of higher learning equivalent to Universities that were founded throughout Greece, Rumania and the Balkans during the Ottoman occupation.

Finally after the independence of Greece (1821) the University of Athens was founded in 1834. Later on other Universities were established in Greece which the author lists in this book including important information on them all.

This chronological description of Greek educational centers of higher learning is evidence, for Dr. Cavarnos and Dr. Tovar, of the continuity of Greek paideia. "Greek education has continued without interruption in harmony with its spiritual ideals up until today, in spite of the many historic vicissitudes of the Greek people."

This book is an excellent study on Greek education on the highest level throughout the ages and up until the present time. Reading it is a must, especially for Greek American youth who wish to learn the story of their great heritage. I highly recommend it for public and private libraries.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Constantine Hionides, *The Greek Pontians of the Black Sea*, Boston (1996) pp. 394.

The author of this volume is a prominent physician and professor at the School of Medicine, Boston University. Dr. Hionides authored this book with special care and deep love for the country of his birth. The book covers the history of the Black Sea area from 1300 BC to AD 2000. It includes the cities of Sinope, Amisos, Kotyora, Kerasus, and Trapezus. Dr. Hionides researched the ancient and modern history of this area and made numerous visits to Pontos. From his visits he includes numerous photographs of ancient and modern monuments and people.

The author presents excellent illustrations from classical Greek civilization. He begins with the story of Pontos from the thirteenth century BC, the mythology of the Golden Fleece, the Amazons and other ancient mythological stories. In the chapter of Ancient Greek Pontos the author examines the culture that the Greeks developed in the area. The origin of the Greek Pontians is traced to their migration

from various parts of Greece and settlements there where they developed a Hellenized civilization.

The Roman General Pompey conquered Pontos in 63 BC and made it a Roman province. Pontos flourished under the Romans and continued to develop its Greek culture. The construction of roadways by the Romans which linked the cities along the shores of the Black Sea was of special importance. The author refers to Strabo, the geographer, a native of Mays, in Pontos, who wrote the colossal works of "Geography," and "Historical Sketches." Strabo described ancient countries and their natural products, as well their political, historical and religious characteristics.

The Pontians accepted Christianity in the third century AD when Pontos was a Roman province. Later on Pontos came under Greek Byzantine rule and developed a new Christian civilization, which included the construction of numerous churches and monasteries. During the Byzantine period Pontos became a great center of monastic spirituality. Such great saints and theologians as Basil the Great and Gregory the Theologian developed their monastic life in Pontos. The author writes about several Pontian saints such as Athanasios the Athonite, born in Trapezus (Trebizond) and founder of the monastic community of Mount Athos. He also describes numerous monasteries, now in ruins, in Pontos.

A new era began in Pontos, with Constantine the Great, who moved the Roman capital to Byzantium and thus provided a new impetus for the development of a new Hellenized civilization in Asia Minor. The author gives ample information on the Empire of Trebizond (1204-1261) that developed a Greek Christian civilization. He also presents pictures of coins that tell the story of Pontos through the centuries. An important feature is the history of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond. He describes it as "an exceptional work of Byzantine architecture."

Professor Hionides also discusses in this book the history of Pontos under the Turks. He states that the "Dark years of slavery fell upon the Greeks with the fall of the last Greek city, Trapezus, in 1461. It was more than four hundred years of slavery, filled with executions, forced conversions to Islam, rapes, oppression and confiscation of property...Due to emigration (Greeks fled) and forced conversions to Islam, the Greek Christian population of Pontos was reduced considerably" during this Turkish period (p.129).

In this context Dr. Hionides also mentions the “Greek Pontian Holocaust” of 1922. He includes a translation of a letter that a Pontian wrote to his wife on the day of his execution. The letter relates the following, “Yesterday ninety-five Amasyans (from the city of Amasya) and Prifreus were confound to death at the gallows, the most of which were the elite of the towns, scientists, merchants, bankers, randomly chosen at any age, and so the same will happen to us. Are we guilty? The only thing we did was to help orphans and poor refugees” (p.135). Dr. Hionides describes the Pontian holocaust (1914-1922) as a great tragedy, given that 300,000 Pontians and 1,500,000 Armenians were exterminated. The author presents eyewitness accounts and stories told by survivors of the Pontian holocaust. A whole Christian civilization and people in Asia Minor were wiped out and the Christians of the West kept silent or looked the other way allowing the Turks to destroy millions of people.

The Christians in their long history under the Ottoman Turks experienced great suffering and persecution. They found ways to survive either through submitting to Islamization, or becoming crypto Christians, or facing execution. Many chose to live a double life as crypto Christians, that is, living openly as Muslims but continuing in secret to practice their Christian faith. They had priests caring for their spiritual needs at night. Even today, Dr. Hionides, witnessed candles being lit at some dilapidated Christian worshiping centers that he visited. The crypto Christians (crypto=secret) were not officially recognized by the Church but the Patriarch did not oppose them.

Dr. Hionides also provides in this book chronicles of his pilgrimages to his beloved native Pontos. He includes numerous pictures from his visits there: pictures of ancient cultural artifacts, as well as architectural ruins of classical, Byzantine and post Byzantine structures. The numerous pictures of people from the pre-holocaust and post-holocaust period are particularly interesting. The volume is rich with cultural material, historical information and photographic illustrations. It is a book for all people interested in the human story of suffering of the Pontian Greeks. We are grateful to Dr. Harry Hionides for making this story available to future generations and us; especially for documenting a whole civilization at least in pictures and literary description which would otherwise have been forever lost.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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1996). This *Mêterikon* is well documented and very useful for the study of the life and works of the Church Mothers.

The methodology of the bibliography and presentation is based on sound scholarly ground. Kadel is to be commended for such a volume to elevate the study of the writings of women to that of the writings of men. Its title expresses that it is a Matrology, the study of women's writings or mothers of the Church.

This volume is a must for theological libraries and all libraries to educate people in the writings of the Mothers of the Church. I highly recommend it.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Constantine Cavarnos, *The Hellenic Heritage*, Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Belmont, MA, 1999, 128pp.

This volume by the well-known Greek-American Orthodox philosopher-theologian is a welcome addition to his numerous studies. The author emphasizes and demonstrates that the classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek heritage is vital to the world at large.

The Greek heritage is not limited to language and literature. Besides the fine arts the Greeks made a great contribution to philosophy, science, literature and other fields of culture.

Dr. Cavarnos points out that Paideia and Politismos is what in the West calls "culture and civilization." The Greeks here made a "contribution of the highest order." The Greeks have been the originators of philosophy, historiography, medicine, and natural science. The use of Greek terminology to express the richness of the Greek language and its influence on Modern English.

Dr. Cavarnos quotes numerous American and European thinkers who extol the Greek heritage and culture.

In addition, Dr. Cavarnos points out the classical influence on the Church Father and in Christianity. The Greek language spread in Egypt during the dynasty of the Ptolemies. He points out that Hypatia was the first woman philosopher who taught at the Alexandria Museum (5<sup>th</sup> century AD). The famous library of Alexandria was the treasure house of the Greek writings and the center of Greek learning. The Christians there made a great use of all these and developed their

theology on Greek language and heritage.

The Greek paideia continued to be useful instrument in Byzantine Christian development of culture and civilization. Dr. Cavarnos points out in addition to the ancient civilization and culture that the Byzantines inherited, they also created new areas of great importance and value. The are: 1) "The formulation of the Divine Doctrines of the Orthodox Christian Faith by the Seven Great Holy Ecumenical Synods, and of the Holy Canons or laws of the Church," 2) The writings of the Greek Church Fathers, which in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* numbers 160 monumental volumes, 3) the Liturgical Hymnography or Poetry of Church - the hymns chanted in its services" (p. 24).

The ancient Greek culture was preserved and transmitted in a "selective" way, especially at the University of Constantinople and other such centers as Alexandria, Antioch, and Damascus which became the center of the Greek Christian thought and language. The Byzantines were heirs to the ancient Greek heritage, which transmitted to the North. Through missions the Orthodox faith was spread to the Slavs who accepted the Greek heritage and transmitted it to all the peoples in the Balkans and Russia.

The Modern Greek period the Greek heritage of the classical period and Byzantium continued following the fall in 1453. Though the University of Constantinople was closed by the Turks, the Patriarchal Academy, which was established in the seventh century, transmitted Greek paideia and culture. The educational centers in the mainland of Greece, Mt. Athos, Constantinople, Jassy, Romania, and other centers enlightened and educated the beligered people oppressed under the Ottomans.

Dr. Cavarnos discusses the condition and education for each century during this period. He discusses the culture in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth centuries, and the most important thinkers of the time.

The author includes an important chapter on "The Role of Libraries after the fall of Constantinople." He states that "the value of reading edifying books—whether at the library, at school, at church, or home—was duly recognized and emphasized by the spiritual leaders of that time" (p. 112).

The volume includes an index, which renders it easier to be used. The book contains numerous bibliographical notes and references to make the volume more valuable. The author makes comparisons to Western and American similarities and differences.

This book is a very useful handbook that demonstrates the uninterrupted cultural continuity from Greek antiquity to the present. The volume is focused on the fine arts, language, literature, science, philosophy, and religion. The permanent embodiment of the classical Greek heritage in the Christian faith is well presented and eloquently articulated.

The book is a must for every library and especially in the library of every Orthodox home. I highly recommend this book to the scholars and the general reader and especially to the new generation to better understand the classical values of our Hellenic Heritage.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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J. P. Cavarinos, *St. Gregory of Nyssa on the Human Soul*, Belmont, Ma: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Belmont Ma 2000, 95pp.

The late Professor John Cavarinos had a long successful career as professor of Greek and Latin Literature and authored several scholarly studies. His most important contribution was his cooperation with Werner Jaeger editing and publishing the texts of Gregory of Nyssa.

The present study originally was a doctoral dissertation submitted to the faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University. The book was re-written by the author and later his brother Constantine made various improvements and prepared it for publication.

The study addresses the subject of the human soul, its nature, its origin, and its relation to the body, its powers or faculties and its destiny. It is a unique book for it presents the Christian philosophy-theology of the human soul. The topics treated in the book are anthropology, the nature of the soul, origin of the soul, the soul after death, the relation of the soul with the body, faculties of the soul such as spiritual power, the appetitive power as well as free will and virtue. The author makes St. Gregory come alive as a Hellene and Christian thinker. St. Gregory was greatly steeped in the Greek culture and Greek philosophy.

St. Gregory was very much influence by Plato especially on the arguments for the immortality of the soul as presented in *Phaedo*. Though Gregory had a deep knowledge of the classical philosophy,

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# The Johannine Apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople\*

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PROFESSOR VLASSIOS PHIDAS

Translated and edited from the Greek original  
by Fr. George Dion. Dragas

## 1. THE PRINCIPLE OF THE APOSTOLICITY OF THE THRONE OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND ANDREW THE APOSTLE

*The principle of the apostolicity of the thrones* was undoubtedly connected in the life of the Church, on the one hand, with exceptional authority in matters of faith and, on the other hand, with exceptional administrative jurisdiction. Both of these perspectives of apostolicity denote the particular significance, which the Church always ascribed to the entire content of *the criterion of apostolic doctrine*. The critical evaluation of the wider historical developments in the understanding and application of the principle of the apostolicity of the thrones, especially from the perspective of the criterion of apostolic doctrine, obviously presupposes the close examination of the entire development of the form of ecclesiastical administration during the first centuries, especially of the well-known polarity between Rome and Constantinople.<sup>1</sup>

The ecclesiastical consciousness of *apostolic succession* included the indissoluble and organic unity of the two fundamental perspectives of the principle of apostolicity: a) the *succession of order* in the apostolic operation of episcopal ministry, and b) the *succession of faith*. A classic and undisputed expression of this is the following

\* The present study was first presented in Greek at the International Symposium of Patmos (22-24 Sept. 1988) for the 900 years of Historic Witness (1088-1988) of the Holy Monastery of St. John the Theologian, *Diptycha Paraphylla* (Δίπτυχα Παράφυλλα), 2 (1989) 53-86.

declaration of Irenaeus of Lugdunum: "*It was by the same order and by the same doctrine that both the tradition from the Apostles and the preaching of the truth in the Church has come down to us.*"<sup>2</sup> Succession of order alone in the apostolic function of episcopal ministry, without the authentic and uninterrupted tradition in apostolic doctrine, would be an external form of no consequence or use, just as the reverse would also be the case. Thus, every attempt to separate these two constant poles of the notion of apostolic succession would overturn the balance and the security of the operation of ecclesiastical consciousness.

Nevertheless, from the fourth century onwards the employment of the criterion of apostolic succession for claiming exceptional administrative jurisdiction in a local or wider context was established upon the excessive emphasis on the succession of order in contrast to the succession of faith. Thus, although the perspective of the succession of faith was in no way laid aside as an essential element of the apostolicity of the thrones, a special preference was accorded to the continuous and uninterrupted operation of the succession of order from the apostles in the apostolic operation of both the episcopate and the local church itself. In this way, and in clear contrast to the claims of the throne of Constantinople the fifth century theory that was formed in Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, which had had direct or indirect *Petrine apostolicity* was rejected by the ecclesiastical consciousness of the East. Yet, it was not possible to ignore it completely in the long-standing dispute between Rome and Constantinople.

The conflict between Rome and Constantinople resulted from two divergent standpoints with regard to the apostolic succession of the thrones. Rome placed absolute priority on the perspective of succession of order, while Constantinople emphasized the perspective of succession of faith. The first perspective was usually employed for establishing claims of supremacy between the apostolic thrones, while the second perspective was used for confirming the authentic and uninterrupted appropriation of the apostolic faith in the Church. For the former, the apostle who founded an apostolic throne was accorded special importance, whereas for the latter, reference to the founder was a simple confirmation of tracing the origin of the appropriated faith back to apostolic times. Nonetheless, recognition of the apostolicity of a throne by referral to the apostle who founded this local church was cultivated in the ecclesiastical consciousness irrespec-

tive of any particular understanding of the principle of apostolic succession.

It was in line with this development that the tradition concerning the relation of the Apostle Andrew with the throne of Constantinople was cultivated in Byzantium. The connection of the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople with the Apostle Andrew the Protocletos of the Apostles came to be regarded, mainly by Western Byzantinist scholars, as a later invention designed for counteracting the papal claims which were based on Petrine apostolicity. Thus, Dölger<sup>3</sup> defended the view that this link was a creation and construction of Patriarch Photius of Constantinople (9<sup>th</sup> c.), while the renowned Fr. Dvornik<sup>4</sup> attempted to show, through critical evaluation of the entire apocryphal tradition concerning the activities of the Apostle Andrew and the witnesses of the sources of Western and Eastern patristic tradition, that this connection predated St. Photius, but was certainly subsequent to the first iconoclastic period (727-787).

It is well known that the peculiar genre of the apocryphal literature of the first centuries concerning the activity of the wider circle of the Apostles is open to variable critical evaluation both as to its authenticity and to its chronology, and hence the "Acts" of Andrew can be interpreted in a variety of ways. Fr. Dvornik's extensive work constitutes a characteristic proof of the possibilities of transposition of the chronology of the apocryphal tradition concerning the activities of the Apostle Andrew. Yet, leaving aside the time of the connection of this tradition with the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople, no one has ever thought, or could claim by means of reasonable argument, that the apocryphal tradition concerning the Apostle Andrew was unknown in Constantinople and generally in Byzantium during the fourth and fifth centuries. Thus, Fr. Dvornik systematically avoided any argument of this sort and simply restricted himself to the critical study of the historical procedure of connecting this indisputable and well-known apocryphal tradition with the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople.

The apocryphal tradition concerning the apostolic activities of St. Andrew in Asia Minor, Greece, Scythia and elsewhere, i.e. in the eparchies of the canonical jurisdiction of the throne of Constantinople and known in Byzantium in the fourth century, was not linked directly to the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople in the sense, at least, in which the apostolicity of the thrones was and still is un-

derstood in the West. The reason for saying this is that such a straight and direct connection should not not have lacked any mention in the sources of the fifth and sixth centuries. It is then in this sense, i.e., in the absence of any special use by the throne of Constantinople of the more widely known apocryphal tradition concerning the activities of the Apostle Andrew, that Fr. Dvornik's entire investigation is understood. Indeed, a) he rightly noted the "*indifference*" of the Byzantines in utilizing the apocryphal tradition for stressing the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople until the iconoclastic dispute; and so, b) he associated, with plausible reasoning, the particular use of this tradition mainly with the second period of Iconoclasm (815-843).

Fr. Dvornik's entire argumentation, however, is derived from an erroneously constructed premise, according to which the absolute criterion for evaluating the trustworthiness of the sources is (arbitrarily) established on the basis of the "*unlawful*," antagonism in the realm of apostolicity between Old and New Rome. The "*unlawfulness*," of course, of this antagonism is determined by the criteria of the Western theory concerning papal primacy. The premise constructed is arbitrary, because it applies to the subject matter of the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople the criteria of apostolicity of the papal theory. This theory, however, was deemed to be unacceptable in the East, where a different understanding of apostolicity was in operation. This is clearly a construction of a different stand-point, because the "*unlawfulness*" of the antagonism is stressed throughout using only the one-sided papal claims as an absolute criterion. This is made apparent by the fact that Dvornik systematically projects the complete "*indifference*" of the Byzantines in utilizing the tradition concerning Andrew in order to establish the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople.

Thus, Fr. Dvornik rejects, for example, the plausible trustworthiness of the sources regarding the ordination of Stachys as first Bishop of Byzantium at Argynopolis. The Byzantines offered this account on the occasion of the visit of Pope John I to Constantinople (525), based on the history of Procopios, who refers back to Dorotheos of Tyre.<sup>5</sup> Fr. Dvornik's main argument in rejecting the reliability of this source is the curious claim, that in this case, i.e. if the six-century Byzantines had connected the apostolicity of Constantinople with the Apostle Andrew, the Popes of Rome would not have supported in the West the exceptional honor accorded to Andrew in order to avoid

acknowledging indirectly the apostolic root of the throne of Constantinople!<sup>6</sup> This means, however, that by analogy in Byzantium, too, the honor of the Apostle Peter would have been diminished since the claims of the papal throne were connected with him! In the same manner Fr. Dvornik again all too curiously argues that Pope Gregory I (590-604) was ignorant of such a connection of the Apostle Andrew with the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople during the dispute with Patriarch John IV the Faster (585-595) concerning the title "*Ecumenical*," because if the opposite were the case, Pope Gregory would not have demonstrated the well known exceptional attachment to the development of honor accorded to Andrew even in Rome itself, etc.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. THE TRADITION CONCERNING APOSTLE ANDREW AND THE APOSTOLICITY OF THE THRONE

It is typical that the sharp dispute of the thrones of Old and New Rome during the Acacian Schism (484-519) concluded with a systematic projection on the part of the Popes, and especially of Pope Gelasius I (492-496), of the superiority of the papal throne as the "*first throne*" (*prima sedes*) in the Pentarchy of the Patriarchs. The throne of Constantinople did, of course, oppose these papal theories by projecting the canonical criterion of canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451). According to this canon, the thrones of Old and New Rome had equal participation in the "*primacy*" of the seniority of honor and consequently enjoyed equal authority in the life of the Church. To drive this point home the title "*Ecumenical*" was employed with greater force immediately after the lifting of the Acacian Schism (519). No doubt the title "*Ecumenical*" was indissolubly connected with the canonical criterion of "*equal seniority status*" of the thrones of Old and New Rome, yet the unqualified support given to it through boosting the more general tradition concerning St. Andrew, even if this tradition was not understood according to the Western prototypes, was in absolute agreement with views of the East concerning apostolicity. The fact that the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople was not directly linked with the Apostle Andrew was consistent with the theology of the East, which joined apostolic succession to the apostolicity of the entire Church. The indirect projection of the tradition concerning St. Andrew, however,

was not unrelated to the consciousness of the throne of new Rome concerning apostolicity.

It is indisputable in historical research that the tradition concerning the activity of the Apostle Andrew was widely spread already from the fourth century in both East and West. It was greatly enhanced, however, through the deposition of the sacred relics of St. Andrew in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople by Constantine the Great or by his successor of Constantius. This fact was not insignificant and contributed to the special treatment of St. Andrew in combination with the apocryphal tradition. Nonetheless, the criterion of the apostolicity of a throne was evaluated differently in the East and was not used, as in the West, to project administrative claims or to superimpose exceptional ecclesiastical authority. Hence, there was a lack of systematic development by the throne of Constantinople in this direction. Yet, the tradition concerning St. Andrew was considered in Constantinople as a strong proof of certainty of the apostolic faith, which was experienced in the New Rome, and thus the continuous growth of the honor paid to Apostle Andrew in the East. This honor was also disseminated in the West through Byzantine influence.

Nevertheless Fr. Dvornik systematically avoided to interpret the widely spread honor of the Apostle Andrew in the West, which was known since the fifth century. It is curious that he did not observe, as he should have done, that the honor of the Apostle Andrew was especially developed since the fifth century in those provinces of Italy, which were under Byzantine administration or influence (Milan, Ravenna, Aquilia, etc.). It is known, that these regions did not accept uncritically the growing claims of Petrine apostolicity of the papal throne in the administration and life of the Church in the West. The reestablishment of Byzantine sovereignty over Italy since 535 facilitated the uninterrupted spiritual communication, which explains the sensitivity of the Popes of Rome of the sixth and seventh century for the promotion of the honor of the Apostle Andrew, even in Rome itself. Besides the throne of Constantinople, consistent with the Eastern tradition of apostolic succession, did not link apostolic consciousness to specific ecclesiastical claims, as this occurred in the West, although the tradition of the Apostle Andrew provided this possibility.

On the contrary, in the West, Paulinus of Nola (+431) had already compared, on the basis of holy relics, the equality of honor of New Rome to Old Rome. God gave to Constantinople, the rival to Old Rome, Paul's disciple Timothy and Peter's brother Andrew to make its honor equal to that of Rome and to have them protect it as towers analogous to the walls of Rome, i.e. the relics of the Apostles Peter and Paul.<sup>8</sup> Certainly the sacred relics of Sts. Andrew, Timothy and other Apostles kept in Constantinople did not weaken the known papal theory of the apostolicity of the thrones, but were certainly regarded as an exceptional privilege in the ecclesiastical consciousness of the East and even for the establishment of administrative claims as this happened in the case of the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus (431). Thus, the Church historian Agnellus from Ravenna (9<sup>th</sup> century) characteristically reported that the Archbishop of Ravenna Maximianus (+546) sought to procure a translation of the sacred relics of the Apostle Andrew from Constantinople to Ravenna in order to strengthen the status of his throne vis-à-vis the throne of Rome. The emperor Justinian I (527-565) refused this request, pointing out that the Old and New Rome are sisters as the Apostle Peter and Andrew are brothers and hence, Agnellus characteristically observes that "*if the body of the blessed Andrew, brother of the Chief-Apostle Peter, had been buried here (i.e. in Ravenna), then the Roman Pontiffs would have never subdued us ...*"<sup>9</sup> It is self-evident that Constantinople did not ignore these tendencies, but she never attributed to them an analogous significance.

Beyond the elevation, however, of the honor of St. Andrew in the East by means of the sacred relics, it is certain that in the apocryphal tradition there was already from the fifth century a special reference to the Protocletos (First-called) of the Apostles and to the small but strategically important town of Byzantium. About the end of the sixth century Gregory of Tours knew of a work entitled *De virtutibus S. Andreae*, which made special mention to the visit of St. Andrew to Byzantium.<sup>10</sup> It should be considered as certain that this work had an Eastern origin and that it points to much earlier developments of the apocryphal tradition, independently of any evaluation of the known witness of Dorotheus of Tyre. This connection of the Apostle Andrew with the small and important town of Byzantium constitutes a sufficient covering of the apostolic root of the throne of Constantinople in the ecclesiastical consciousness of the East, in which it was not

considered necessary at that time to prove the uninterrupted apostolic succession of each throne through developing episcopal lists.

It is obvious that the idea of the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople was more generally acceptable through the incontestable apostolicity of the entire Church, which befitted the five patriarchal thrones of the institution of the Pentarchy of patriarchs. Patriarchal law instituted the self-sufficient ecclesiastical body of each patriarchate under the headship of the patriarchal throne, which recapitulated in its own identity all the properties of the ecclesiastical body that existed under it and elevated them to the level of the Church of God throughout the oikoumene. Consequently, the apostolicity of the patriarchal thrones in the institution of the Pentarchy of the patriarchs was indissolubly connected with the apostolicity of the entire Church, while the canonical institution of the Pentarchy of patriarchs was already formed through the administrative decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451) on the basis of the criterion of the canonically recognized superior seniorities of honor, as we have shown elsewhere.<sup>11</sup>

On the contrary, Fr. Dvornik,<sup>12</sup> referring to the resolution of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680) to announce its decisions to the five patriarchal thrones (of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem), erroneously affirms, that “*here then we have the beginning of the idea of the Pentarchy, namely that the entire Church must be governed by five patriarchs...*” Nevertheless, it is no longer possible to question the imposition, through the decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451), on the administration of the Church of the canonical institution of the Pentarchy of the patriarchs. This institution was operative during the period of the Acacian schism (484-519), which followed, and was officially recognized by the State through the legislative work of Justinian I (527-565). It was strictly applied to the summons, the constitution and the operation of the Fifth Ecumenical Synod (553).

Fr. Dvornik, then, approached the issue of the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople on the basis of the one-sided criterion of the papal theory concerning the apostolicity of the thrones and in the narrow context of the historical differentiations between Old and New Rome and, consequently, avoided the investigation of the particular standpoint of the East on existing problems. His style of argument, however, could be also used to support the opposite case, namely,



that the papal throne knew and recognized the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople already from the beginning of the fifth century. Indeed, in its struggle against the increasing radius of New Rome the papal throne projected at that time the curious and newly propounded theory that the right of patriarchal status and jurisdiction does not belong to all the apostolic thrones, but only to the thrones of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, which possess Petrine apostolicity. The promotion of the theory of Petrine apostolicity since 421 as an exclusive criterion for claiming patriarchal status and jurisdiction could easily be seen as an indirect acceptance of the non-Petrine apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople. The employment of this theory, however, only to counteract the claims of New Rome, introduces a *hierarchy in apostolicity*, which would have been unnecessary if the apostolic root of the throne of Constantinople could be absolutely refuted in the West.

It is clear, that the establishment of a particular seniority for the throne of New Rome by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ecumenical Council (381) ultimately meant her recognition as an authentic guardian of the apostolic tradition and faith. Thus, the attribution of the patriarchal right to the Church of Constantinople on the basis of the criterion of her seniority and her inclusion in the Pentarchy of the Patriarchs by virtue of the decisions of the 4<sup>th</sup> Ecumenical Council (451) also included the acceptance of the root of the apostolic tradition and faith appropriated by the Church of Constantinople. It is self-evident, that the throne of New Rome was characterized as "*apostolic*" independently of the criterion of tracing its apostolicity to a particular apostle. Thus, for example, the title of Novella 24 of Emperor Heraclius (610-641) to Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople addresses the latter as "*the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Apostolic Throne which pertains to this City*,"<sup>13</sup> and the Letter of Emperor Constantine IV (668-685) to Pope Agatho characterizes all five Patriarchal Thrones as "*Apostolic*" Churches.<sup>14</sup>

This indisputable confirmation of the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople through the Patriarchal status, as an authentic guardian of the apostolic tradition and faith, certainly favored its special reference to one or more Apostles, who according to the tradition were connected directly or indirectly with the apostolic root of the throne. The tendencies towards such a reference were theoretical and unofficial, because the throne of Constantinople was conscious of its

apostolicity through the authenticity of apostolic tradition appropriated in its life-experience and of its patriarchal status that was indisputably recognized. These tendencies, however, were already expressed in the tradition attributed to Dorotheus of Tyre concerning the ordination of Stachys to the bishopric of Byzantium by Andrew at Argypopolis, and were also repeated in the *Martyrion* of the Apostle Andrew, known as *Narratio*,<sup>15</sup> which clearly belongs to the pre-Iconoclastic period.<sup>16</sup>

It is clear then, that, in spite of the official "indifference" of the Throne of Constantinople in establishing its apostolicity on the basis of the criterion of an uninterrupted apostolic succession traced to an Apostle that founded it, the matter of such an official reference gained considerable ground already during the first period of the iconoclastic disputes, and especially after the iconoclastic decisions of the Synod of Hieria (754). During this period, the well-known accentuation of the idea of the apostolicity of the five Patriarchal Thrones, which did not participate at the Synod of Hieria (754), was regarded necessary for counteracting the decisions of this iconoclastic synod.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople was still not associated with an official reference to the Apostle who founded it, in spite of the unofficial, but certainly very significant development of the apocryphal tradition concerning the activities of the Apostle Andrew. It was under the influence of this tradition that the biographer of Patriarch Tarasios (784-806), Deacon Ignatius presented the Ecumenical Patriarch as united with Andrew, the Protocletos of the Apostles, in the ministry of the Throne of Andrew: "*Andraeae, vero, qui fuit vocatus primus ex apostolis, adeo fuit, propinquus et conjunctus germano vitae instituto, ut a habendar ejusdem pastoralis cathedrae...*"<sup>18</sup>

Such a development of the tradition concerning the Apostle Andrew and his relation to the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople as compared to the Petrine apostolicity of Rome had been already formulated during the eighth century. The political and ecclesiastical coupling of the Old and the New Rome was also expressed in the excellent coupling of apostolicity through reference to, "*this first duo and pair of the disciples*," as it was also articulated in the related encomiastic work: "*Acts and Periods*,"<sup>19</sup> which was dated by J. Flamion<sup>20</sup> to the beginning of the ninth century. The relevant text is very characteristic: "...and so this first duo and pair of

*the disciples was related to the Savior by election as exceptional, consisting of two brothers who had proven themselves worthy to be first-fruits of the human nature and supreme height of the apostolic chorus. For it behooved, indeed, that the all-creating and all-powerful God, the Word, in becoming incarnate for the salvation of the world to attract to himself such collaborators and partners, the one being adorned with appropriate bravery in word and in deed, and the other who is honored by bearing the name of firmness becoming an unshakeable foundation of the Church...since then the chief of all, Peter, was entrusted by divine grace to enlighten the vespereal and unenlightened parts of the West, his fellow-leader of the rest, who was with him and of the same blood with him, Andrew chosen for the regions of the East to enlighten them with the Word and the Word of the preaching of piety..."*

On the basis of the brief observations and ascertainments given above one could easily arrive at the following conclusions:

*First:* that the research on the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople cannot possibly be conducted only on the basis of the criteria of the papal theory concerning the apostolicity of the Thrones as it was developed in the West, because in the East there was a different evaluation of the notion of apostolicity and a different usage of it in the administration and life of the Church. Apostolicity in the West was primarily an apostolic *succession of order*, whereas in the East it was primarily an apostolic *succession of faith*. Thus, the apostolicity of the Thrones was traced back mainly to the Apostle who founded them, on the part of the West, or to the entire apostolicity of the Church, on the part of the East; hence any attempt at tracing the apostolicity of the Patriarchal Thrones in the East to an apostolic founder was of no particular consequence, and therefore, unrelated to the corresponding spirit of the West.

*Second:* any confusion of these distinctly centered criteria limits or defuses the possibility of searching for a correct interpretation not only of the relevant consciousness of the East, but also of the indisputable and generally accepted ascertainment of the "*indifference*" of the Byzantines in projecting systematically the tracing of the Throne of Constantinople back to Andrew, the Protocletos of the Apostles, or to any other Apostle, as this is also clarified in Fr. Dvornik's related treatise.

*Third:* it is very significant in this case that even the biographer of Ecumenical Patriarch Tarasios, who characterized the Throne of Constantinople as “Andrew’s Throne,” put forth the comparison of Tarasios to John the Evangelist in order to confirm the authentic relation of the Patriarch to the apostolic kerugma: “*Sic Zebedaei filium secutus est (i.e. Tarasios), qui appellatus fuit filius tonitru: propterea quod aperte meminit in principio Verbum esse et apud Deum esse: et erudiens effecit alios spiritu apostolicos, opropterea quod evangelistarum divinitus inspiratum instrumentum, ut quorum voce mundi salus resonet, in Ecclesiis, quae errant ubique terrarum, coloribus expressum materialibus, convenienter divinae et paternae traditioni jusserit: ut mens compuncta per evangelicam sacramque effigiem et sanctitatem ad Deum, qui haec eis inspiravit, multifariam honorem transmitteret, et efficeretur ceptaculum venerandarum auditionum.*”<sup>21</sup>

*Fourth:* the above comparison of John the Evangelist with Ecumenical Patriarch Tarasios, who at the same time is characterized as shepherding the “Throne of Andrew,” reveals not only the double root of the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople, but also the widely spread understanding of the apostolicity of the Patriarchal Thrones in the East. Thus, we can explain the fact, that in the East the tradition of the founder of a Throne never acquired self-sufficient value for the authority of the Thrones, as this became the case in the West. The tradition concerning the Apostle Andrew as the founder of the Church of Byzantium-Constantinople, on the other hand, indeed had a parallel but relatively short-lived development. The apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople was a self-regulated property of the patriarchal status, and could be traced through the apostolicity of the Church, not only to Andrew, but also to all the other Apostles.

### 3. THE APOSTOLICITY OF THE THRONE AND JOHN THE EVANGELIST

The well-proven and indisputable “*indifference*” of the Byzantines to the special development and wide projection of the apostolic root of the Church of Constantinople renders arduous any investigation of a continuous development of such a tradition in Byzantium. As noted above, the delay in formulating the tradition concerning the Apostle Andrew in no way implies inertia on the part of the ecclesiastical consciousness of Constantinople regarding its apostolic be-

ginnings. The ecclesiastical consciousness, which gradually acquired the elaborated and complete form of the tradition pertinent to it, pre-existed. This ecclesiastical consciousness, however, of the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople was related from the beginning to John the Apostle and Evangelist.

The Johannine apostolic root of the Church of Constantinople presents a double foundation in the sources of the first centuries and could be characterized, on the one hand as *implicit*, and on the other hand as *explicit*, Johannine apostolicity. By *explicit* apostolicity we mean the direct relation of a certain Apostle with the foundation and tradition of a local Church. This relation is established on the double understanding of apostolic succession, because the founding Apostle of a local Church also ordained her local priesthood in order to secure the authentic perpetuation of the content of the apostolic tradition in her life. In this direct apostolicity of the Throne the element that is mainly extolled is the notion of apostolic succession as succession of order, in which, however, the succession of the apostolic faith is included. In the *indirect* apostolicity, on the other hand, it is the succession of faith that is chiefly praised, through which the succession of apostolic order in the local Church is also set forth. What is understood by *indirect* apostolicity is the more special connection of a local Church not so much with the activity than with the *apostolic kerugma* of a certain Apostle, either through another apostolic person or through another Throne, through whom this Church formed her own self-consciousness concerning the apostolic tradition.

Thus, the Throne of Alexandria, for example, was generally characterized as Throne of Petrine apostolicity, although any hypothesis about a possible visit of the Apostle Peter to Alexandria has no basis in the sources. Yet, the Petrine apostolicity of the Throne of Alexandria is founded on the tradition concerning the apostolic activity of Mark the Evangelist, who was always projected as Peter's "*interpreter*" and as he who gave expression to Peter's apostolic kerugma in the Church. In a similar way the incorporation of any Throne into the ecclesiastical body that was under the administrative jurisdiction of a Throne, which had been founded by an Apostle and demonstratively preserved its apostolic kerugma, *indirectly* established the apostolicity of this Throne. Thus, the common denominator of the *direct* or *indirect* apostolicity of a Throne is its full participation in the fundamental characteristic of *the apostolicity of the faith of the Church*.

### *a. Indirect Johannine Apostolicity*

The fierce opponent of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451), John Philoponos, in one of his attacks against the arbitrary way of using the principle of apostolicity by Pope Leo I of Rome, contrasts it to the tradition of the East concerning apostolicity and puts forth the special relation of the Apostle John with the apostolic Thrones of Ephesus and Constantinople. The relevant text, which has been preserved in the *Chronikon* of Michael the Syrian (twelfth century), proclaims the indirect Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople by tracing it back to the direct Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Ephesus that had been placed under its jurisdiction: "... *If they put forward the apostolic authority of Peter and if they believe that the keys of heaven were given to them, let them consider the rest of the cities, which were decorated with apostolic crown. I pass over silently our own, which rules the Throne of Mark the Evangelist, but I refer to that of the Ephesians, founded by John the Apostle, and ruled by the Throne of Constantinople, because the cathedra of the Empire was transferred there...*"<sup>22</sup>

Fr. Dvornik<sup>23</sup> interpreted this witness as a "*claim*" of certain ecclesiastical circles in Byzantium "*for the transference of the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Ephesus over Asia Minor to the Throne of Constantinople*, i.e. for the succession of the Throne of Ephesus by the Throne of Constantinople in the Johannine apostolicity. This view might have been considered reasonable, had it been used in some official source of the Throne of Constantinople. Yet, the fact is, however, as we have indicated, that this indirect or even the direct apostolicity was not a matter of consequence for the Byzantines, because this apostolicity was already included in the "*patriarchal right*" of the Throne of New Rome. Besides, it is characteristic that the above views were defended in a polemical text against the Throne of Constantinople by anti-Chalcedonians, who fought for the promotion of the Throne of Ephesus to patriarchal dignity on the basis of its Johannine apostolicity. The above text indicates the consciousness of the East that the apostolicity of the Thrones that lie under a certain jurisdiction belongs to the entire administrative ecclesiastical body of a certain Throne and is finally expressed through its administrative head.

In our view this text indicates on the one hand the failure of the anti-Chalcedonians to promote the Throne of Ephesus to patriarchal dignity,<sup>24</sup> and on the other hand the different understanding in the East of the content of the term "*Throne*" in contrast to that in the West. There was, of course, an agreement in identifying the term "*Throne*" with a particular Church under a Bishop. In the East, however, there was a broader understanding of the notion of the term "*Throne*," inasmuch as it was used to denote a unified administrative ecclesiastical body of a patriarchal Throne, i.e. the entirety of its administrative jurisdiction. This administrative body was formed and operated through its administrative head, and hence the "*first Throne*" participated in all the characteristics of the Churches that were under it. Thus, the Johannine apostolicity of Ephesus is referred to the Throne of Constantinople through the administrative subordination of the former to the latter.

The anti-canonical and arbitrary interference in the Province of Asia of the anti-Chalcedonian Patriarch of Alexandria, Timothy Aelurus, for the purpose of imposing his like-minded Metropolitan of Ephesus, Paul, was mainly directed against the Throne of Constantinople and the decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451) relating to it, through which the Province of Asia, which was under the Metropolitan of Ephesus, was placed under the administrative jurisdiction of the Throne of Constantinople. The anti-Chalcedonian Patriarch of Alexandria, Timothy Aelurus, disapproved of all the decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod, "*and attributed to the Church of Ephesus the Patriarchal right, which this Chalcedonian Synod ought to have attributed to it as it was said to me,*" according to the witness of Zacharias Rhetor.<sup>25</sup> According to this source, the anti-Chalcedonians claimed the "Patriarchal right" for the throne of Ephesus, doubtlessly recalling the Johannine Apostolicity of Ephesus, as this becomes clear through the aforementioned witness of John Philoponos, another anti-Chalcedonian. The Johannine Apostolicity was regarded by the anti-Chalcedonian circles as a fundamental element for the recognition of the "*Patriarchal right*" of Ephesus, but the recognition of the "*Patriarchal right*" was equally considered necessary for the validity of the element of its Johannine apostolicity.

The subjection, then, of Ephesus to the Throne of Constantinople was evaluated not only as the denial of the Patriarchal right claimed

by her but at the same time as a referral of her Johannine apostolicity to the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople to which she was subjected. It is self-evident that such a combination of Patriarchal right and Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Ephesus was used for counter-balancing the radius of the Throne of Constantinople, but did not find an echo in the ecclesiastical consciousness of the East. Thus, the entire discussion of the subject ended with a conclusion, that the Throne of Constantinople which “took away” the “*Patriarchal right*” of the Throne of Ephesus, acquired through it the Johannine apostolicity, hence, John Philoponos, “*the Church of the Ephesians founded by the Apostle John, is governed by another, that of Constantinople, because the cathedra of the Empire was transferred there...*” In this light, however, the Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Ephesus indirectly fed the broader consciousness of the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople, because it was known to all, that the apostolic activity of John the Evangelist was extended not only to all of Asia Minor, but also beyond it through the foundation of a multitude of local churches, which composed the ecclesiastical body of Constantinople.

#### *b. Direct Johannine Apostolicity*

The direct Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople derived from the broader tradition of the first centuries concerning the apostolic activity of John the Evangelist in both the Asiatic and the European sides of the Bosphorus. Thus, the *Doctrina Apostolorum* which survives in Syriac translation (beginning of the third century), typically describes the great span of the apostolic activity of John the Evangelist: “...*Ephesus and Thessalonica and the whole of Asia and the land of the Corinthians and the whole of Achaia and the regions around it received the apostolic hand of priesthood by John the Evangelist, who reclined on the breast of our Lord, who built the church there with the authority of a guide. Nicaea and Nicomedia and the whole land of Bithynia and Gothia and the regions around them all received the apostolic hand of priesthood by Andrew, the brother of Simon Cephas, who became a guide and governor of the church that was built there by him and was a priest and celebrated there. Byzantium and the entire land of Thrace and the region of it as far as the great river, whose bank separates the barbarians, received the*



*apostolic hand of priesthood from the apostle Luke, who built the church there and was a priest and celebrated there bearing the office of governor and guide.*"<sup>26</sup>

This truly important text of the third century was a significant foundation for the consciousness of the Throne of Constantinople concerning its apostolic roots through the little town of Byzantium. This consciousness, however, acquired a self-evident importance through its direct Johannine apostolicity, because the Apostle John was at the same time an evangelist. This was regarded in the East as an important criterion of supremacy, on account of its particular sensitivity in the perception of apostolic succession primarily as a succession of faith. The East always sought to combine apostolicity with the evangelists in projecting the evangelical criterion of the apostolic succession of faith. Certainly, the importance of apostolic roots for the authority of a local church was self-evident in catholic ecclesiastical consciousness, yet especially in the East, the apostolicity of the thrones was primarily understood as an uninterrupted continuation of these thrones in the apostolic faith and tradition.

In this particular case, a characteristic example of the spirit of the East is the way the Church of Cyprus, met the challenge during the period of the reign of Zeno (474-491), of the throne of Antioch which disputed her autocephaly, in spite of the witness of the Apostle Barnabas to Cyprus' indisputable apostolicity, and the canonical establishment of her autocephaly by the Third Ecumenical Synod (431). Archbishop Anthemios of Cyprus was not restricted only to the projection of the wondrous discovery through a vision of the sacred relic of the Apostle Barnabas in his attempt to defend the disputed autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus, but enriched this tradition through a new and characteristic addition ("*pretext*"), namely, that together with the sacred relic they also found a handwritten text of the Gospel of Matthew made by the Apostle Barnabas himself: "*The relic of the Apostle Barnabas was found in Cyprus under a carob tree, having on his breast St. Matthew's Gospel, written by the hand of Barnabas. On account of this pretext the Cypriots thought that their Metropolis is autocephalous and that it is not subject to Antioch. This very Gospel Zeno placed in the palace, in the other Stephanus.*"<sup>27</sup>

This specific addition about St. Matthew's Gospel in the old tradition concerning the Apostle Barnabas fully reflects the well-known sensitivity of Constantinople and more generally of the East, for the

supremacy of the succession of faith over the succession of order in the notion of the apostolicity of the Thrones. Indeed, Archbishop Anthemios of Cyprus further strengthened through the addition concerning St. Matthew's Gospel, the tradition concerning the apostolicity of the Church of Cyprus based upon the sacred apostolic relic and was thus able to preserve inviolate its canonical administrative status. It is obvious that, whereas in the West the invocation of the display of an apostolic relic would alone suffice, in the East it was deemed important to have such a tradition strengthened by relating it to one of the Gospels, namely to the source of the authentic apostolic preaching which was kept in this local Church.

Thus, in the famous Epistle of Patriarch Photius of Constantinople to the Catholicos Zachariah of the Armenians the four evangelists are projected as sources of the apostolicity of the four primary Patriarchal Thrones, whereas the Patriarchal character of the Throne of Jerusalem is attributed to the sacredness of the Holy Land. Patriarch Photius specifically mentions the relation of Matthew to the Throne of Antioch, of Mark to the Throne of Alexandria, of Luke to the Throne of Rome, and of John to the Throne of Constantinople.<sup>28</sup> This official connection of the Throne of Constantinople with the Apostle and Evangelist John doubtlessly utilizes in a positive way a previously formed tradition, through which the direct Johannine apostolicity was advanced and the consciousness of the Byzantines concerning the apostolicity of the Throne was thereby cultivated.

It is evident that the notion of the direct or indirect Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople developed gradually through the enhanced utilization of the elements of the tradition, and whether it preceded or not, it was certainly parallel to the tradition concerning the Apostle Andrew. It is clear, however, that the reference to this notion, already present in the *Doctrina Apostolorum*, promoted at the same time the most ancient tradition concerning the special relation of the Apostle Andrew to the Throne of Constantinople. Thus, Patriarch Ignatius of Constantinople, defending himself at the First-Second Synod of Constantinople (861) characterized the Throne of Constantinople as, "*Throne of Apostle John and Andrew.*" This understanding was official and was expressed in the Synod by the Patriarch of Constantinople in order to project the analogous status and equality of honor of the apostolicity of the Thrones of Old and New

Rome, hence it could be justifiably argued, that it was established on an already specified and formed related tradition.

The relevant text of the acts of the First-Second Synod of Constantinople was preserved in the canonical collection of Cardinal Deusdedit: *"Ignatius said to the legates, before you start your questions, you have already condemned me. The legates asked: how? Ignatius replied: Because you, although (simple) Bishops sit, whereas I, although I am Patriarch, stand. The legates said: This happens because you were brought to judgment and because we, although (simple) Bishops, represent the apostolic Throne. Ignatius replied: I, too, possess the Throne of Apostle John and Andrew, the first to be called Apostle."*<sup>29</sup> This text proves that the consciousness concerning the Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople not only had been formed long ago, but also was officially put forward, whenever of course special reasons demanded it, through reference either to John the Evangelist or to Apostle Andrew, or to both. The Papal representatives who participated at the First-Second Synod did not at all react to the declaration of Ignatius concerning the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople, but the issue under discussion was the canonicity of the removal of Ignatius by the Patriarchal Synod and not the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople.

Such a consciousness concerning the direct Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople could be traced to the sixth century, as shown in the related reference of the anti-Chalcedonian John Philoponos, which ought not to have been regarded unrelated to the clash between Constantinople and Ephesus over making claims for *"Patriarchal right"* by the Throne of Ephesus through invocation of its Johannine apostolicity. The response to such claims by the Orthodox circles implied the projection of the broader apostolic activity of John the Evangelist in the Asiatic and European provinces of the jurisdiction of the Throne of Constantinople, as this was described in the *Doctrina Apostolorum* and the other traditions concerning the apostolic work of John. John Philoponos simply codified this dialectical juxtaposition. The *"indifference,"* however, of the Byzantines concerning the official employment of this consciousness, for the purpose of establishing further administrative claims or ecclesiastical status, explains the non-official or systematic enhancement of the Johannine apostolicity in broader ecclesiastical relations.

Thus, the important text *Doctrina Apostolorum* (third century) was doubtlessly a source of the tradition concerning the Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople. Any possible tendency towards a more systematic enhancement of this discernment would entail the use of the other important elements in the text, as for example, the tradition concerning the apostolic activity of the Apostle Andrew or even of Luke, the Evangelist. The *Doctrina Apostolorum* preserved a very old and certainly indisputable tradition concerning the apostolic activity of the apostles John, Andrew, and Luke, the essential elements of which are: a) the common apostolic activity of John and Andrew in Asia Minor, b) the activity of John the Evangelist in Macedonia and Achaia, c) the connection of Luke the Evangelist with the apostolic activity in the little town of Byzantium and Thrace, and d) the priority of the name of John the Evangelist vis-à-vis that of the Apostle Andrew.

Indeed, the *Doctrina Patrum* referred to these apostles as the basis not only of apostolic activity in the provinces of the jurisdiction of the Throne of Constantinople, but also the succession of order in the apostolic operation of episcopacy in these churches, because these churches “received the apostolic hand of priesthood” through the above mentioned apostles. Through the combination then of the old tradition of the *Doctrina Apostolorum* with the rest of the related traditions concerning the activity of the Apostles John and Andrew, and always within the parameters of the broader understanding of the “Throne” by the Byzantines, the systematic development of a well-composed and completed tradition concerning the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople was not only easily defended but also lawful.

Nevertheless, the obvious question emerges as to the reasons for attributing priority to the priority of the *Johannine* apostolicity through the Apostle Andrew or even Luke the Evangelist, who were likewise connected through a well-acknowledged apostolic activity with a canonical jurisdiction of the Throne of Constantinople. The “*Lukan*” apostolicity, although connected in the *Doctrina Apostolorum* more directly with the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople, was bypassed presumably on account of the independent activity and the superior apostolic status of the Apostles John and Andrew. Nevertheless, the reasons for the official attribution of priority in the sources

of the ninth century of John the Evangelist over the Protocletos of the Apostles, Andrew, remained unclear.

It is quite typical that the preference of John the Evangelist over the Apostle Andrew, at least from the viewpoint of the historical texts, is depicted, as already mentioned above, by the two great Patriarchs of Constantinople, namely, Ignatius and Photius (ninth century). On the one hand, in Ignatius' account, John precedes Andrew, and on the other hand, in the witness of Photius, exclusive reference is made only to John the Evangelist in connection with the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople. The combination of these two official witnesses could not be characterized as a matter of chance. It is certain that it fully expresses the mind of the Byzantines in the understanding of the notion of the apostolicity of the Thrones with or without any reference to one or more apostles.

In our view then, the preference or the attribution of priority to John over Andrew undoubtedly derives from the clear preference given in the East to the understanding of Apostolic succession as *succession of faith*, over the understanding of it in the West as *succession of order*, hence, St. Photius' connection of the apostolicity of the Patriarchal Thrones to the Four Evangelists alone. In this spirit, the Johannine apostolicity initially responded more fully to the ecclesiastical consciousness of the Byzantines concerning apostolicity, because John the Apostle, on the one hand, occupied a superior position in the chorus of the apostles, and on the other hand, delivered in his Gospel, in written form, his apostolic preaching through which the authentic succession of faith was confirmed. Yet, in the consciousness of the Throne of Constantinople the well-known practice of referring its apostolicity to Andrew, the Protocletos of the Apostles, finally prevailed.

#### 4. THE SYNTHESIS OF THE APOSTOLICITY OF JOHN AND ANDREW

The movement from the Johannine apostolicity to the tradition of the Apostle Andrew must be considered reciprocal and must have been accomplished during the first period of Iconoclasm since it was already an official tradition during the period of the Patriarchate of Ignatius. Indeed, in this source, the synthesis of the two traditions is already implied, because the Throne of Constantinople is characterized as, "*throne of apostle John and Andrew, the first to be called an*

*apostle.*" The precedence of John over Andrew, presumably denoting the chronological relation of the two traditions suggests their deeper internal conjunction, which would not be unknown to any well-read man, at least in the ecclesiastical circles of Byzantium. The historic synthesis of the two traditions implies their parallel or even independent coexistence in two different aspects: in John, it is the attribute of the Evangelist that is projected, whereas in Andrew, it is the attribute of the Protocletos of the Apostles. In other words, under the first it was apostolicity as succession of faith that was exalted and under the second it was apostolicity as succession of order that was projected. The synthesis of these two tendencies, having strong leverage in the ecclesiastical tradition, constitutes the completion of the circle of the tradition concerning the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople.

Indeed, the consciousness of the Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople contained in seed the tradition concerning the Apostle Andrew not only concerning the apostolic activity of both in the provinces in the jurisdiction of the Throne of Constantinople, but also on account of the *peculiar personal relation* of the Apostles Andrew and John that had been transmitted in the tradition. We could argue that the systematic development of the tradition concerning the Johannine apostolicity ought to have ended with good reason in the tradition concerning the Apostle Andrew, mainly because of the personal relation of Andrew and John witnessed to in the tradition.

This special relation was not bereft of objective foundation in the sources, through which the related tradition was developed already during the first centuries, thus in a witness of an extract from the Muratorian Canon (second century) the Evangelist John is presented as having composed his Gospel through a revelation of the Apostle Andrew: "*Quatri evangeliorum: Johannes ex discipulis cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit: Coieiunate mihi hodie triduo et quid cuique fuerit revelatum alteruutrum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte revelatum Andreae ex apostolis ut recognoscentibus cunctis Johannes suo nomine cuncta describeret.*"<sup>30</sup>

The stipulated three-day fast, however, in expectation of a revelation did not become necessary, because, according to the extracts already during the first night the revelation of the Apostle Andrew to John the Evangelist concerning the composition of the Gospel took place. The importance of this witness for the interpretation of the projected

Byzantine tradition of a common relation of John the Evangelist and Andrew the Apostle is certainly unique, because in the extract the articulation of the content of the apostolic preaching in the Gospel of John is explicitly and expressly projected as being "*from the voice*" of the Apostle Andrew.

Such a relation of Andrew and John in the composition of the Fourth Gospel evidently specified their relation to the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople as well. The evaluation of such a relation of John and Andrew through the Fourth Gospel, with reference to the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople, also derives from the more general ecclesiastical consciousness of the first centuries. This is made plain even from the very papal theory concerning the exceptional authenticity of the Thrones that have Petrine apostolicity, namely those of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch. Pope Leo A (440-461) developed the theory of Petrine apostolicity of these three Thrones in order to exclude the Throne of New Rome from patriarchal status, and hence he attacked the content of Canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod. In his Epistles to Emperor Marcian,<sup>31</sup> Pulcheria,<sup>32</sup> the Synod,<sup>33</sup> Anatolius of Constantinople,<sup>34</sup> Proterius of Alexandria,<sup>35</sup> Maximus of Antioch<sup>36</sup> and his representative in the East, Julian of Kos,<sup>37</sup> he advanced the papal theory of the Petrine apostolicity of the Thrones of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, which was further developed by the contribution of Pope Gelasius I (492-496).<sup>38</sup> Through the theory of the Petrine apostolicity the Throne of Alexandria was regarded as Throne of the Apostle Peter through the traditional relation of Mark the Evangelist to this Throne, who was "*disciple*" and "*interpreter*" of Peter and, consequently, recorded in his Gospel the apostolic preaching of Peter. Thus, the Throne of Alexandria was projected as a Petrine Throne through its special relation to Peter's preaching recorded by Mark the Evangelist alone, and no objection was expressed to it in either East or West.

It is evident, that this explicit and old tradition of the Muratorian Canon, independently of any degree of authenticity, projected in an exceptional manner the inner spiritual referral of the apostolic preaching of John that was recorded in the Fourth Gospel to the content of the revelation that was given by the Apostle Andrew. The above-mentioned sensitivity of the Byzantines and more generally of the East to the perspective of succession of faith could not have overlooked the common relation of Andrew and John that was projected

through the Muratorian fragment to the content and recording of the Gospel that bears the name of this Evangelist. The exceptional sensitivity for projecting the five patriarchal Thrones as the only authentic bearers of apostolic succession of faith and order, during the first period of the iconoclastic dispute (727-787) made appropriate use of all the elements of such a tradition for the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople and elevated the content of both traditions, which stressed the special spiritual relationship of Andrew and John.

After the Synod of Hiereia (754) the notion of the apostolicity of the five patriarchal Thrones is characteristically expressed through the radical views on apostolic succession of Theodore the Studite, who stressed that *"with regard to the divine and heavenly dogmas, to no one else was this given but to those to whom the Word said: whatsoever you may bind on the earth will be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you may loose on the earth will be loosed in heaven. Who are these that are ordered? They are the Apostles and their successors. And who then are these successors? They are the first at present Throne of Rome, and the second of Constantinople, and those of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. This is the five-peaked dominion of the Church. It is from them that we receive the judgment concerning the divine dogmas."*<sup>39</sup> Beyond, however, the reduction of the notion of the apostolic succession of the entire body of the Bishops of the Church to the five main Patriarchs, the above source dominates the sanctioned tradition of the East, according to which the Patriarchal Thrones traced their apostolicity to all the Apostles. The appropriation of the apostolic preaching of all the Apostles in the life of the Church certifies the Church's apostolicity, while the guarantors of the certitude of the apostolic tradition in the Church are the five administrative heads, the *"five-peaked dominion of the Church"*, because they secure the authentic and uninterrupted continuation of the apostolic succession in the Church.

Thus, the reference to the apostolic root of each one of the patriarchal Thrones obtained a particular significance and, therefore, a greater study was undertaken during this period, which included an elaboration and enhancement of the already known elements of the older tradition concerning the relation of John the Evangelist and Andrew the Apostle to the apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople. The apocryphal *Acts of Andrew, John* and the other Apostles were appropriated and enhanced by being combined with the rest of the related



sources (Muratorian Canon, *Doctrina Apostolorum*, Apostolic Constitutions, etc.). This shaped the new perspectives of the notion of the apostolicity of the Thrones in Byzantium, which were also articulated in the typical text of the *Laudatio* concerning the Apostle Andrew.<sup>40</sup> An analogous independent development is also seen in the case of the Johannine tradition, which constituted the foundation for the declaration of the Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople by the Patriarchs Photius and Ignatius.

Nevertheless, the spiritual relation of Andrew and John, beyond the tradition preserved in this fragment, finds broader and quite typical support in the sources of the apostolic and post-apostolic period. Thus, in the apocryphal *Acts of Andrew*, according to the vision that occurred before his martyrdom, Apostle Andrew appears seeing, all too curiously, John the Evangelist in the place of Jesus Christ on the Cross.<sup>41</sup> This witness reveals the two-sided projection of the spiritual relation of the two Apostles, and it is characteristic that whatever we know about Andrew is mainly known through John. Indeed, John the Evangelist advances in his Gospel in an exceptional way Apostle Andrew, by referring to him as *first* among the Twelve,<sup>42</sup> as a main character in the wondrous feeding of the five thousand,<sup>43</sup> as the one who, together with Philip, undertakes to present the Greeks to Jesus,<sup>44</sup> etc.

All the indicative elements that were briefly presented above substantially enhance the content of the witness of the Muratorian Canon and elevate to a real extent the special spiritual relations of Andrew and John, not only in the composition of the Gospel, but also in apostolic activity. These spiritual relations presumably derived from the deeper personal relations of Andrew and John, as indicated both in the Gospel and in the spirit of the early apostolic and post-apostolic tradition. Besides, an analogous sensitivity towards the person and the authority of Andrew is seen in the wider circle of the disciples of John, to which presumably the authors of the fragment of the Muratorian Canon belong. Thus, John's disciple Papias of Hierapolis, referring to the authority of the "*presbyters*," mentions the Apostle Andrew first and places him before Peter: "...for I rejoiced not with those who say a great deal, as the many do, but with those who teach what are true; nor with those who mention alien commandments, but with those who mention the commandments that were given by the Lord and are derived from the truth itself. And whenever any one of

*those who followed the presbyters came, I inquired about the words of the presbyters: What Andrew, or what Peter said, or what Philip, or what Thomas, or James, or what John, or Matthew, or anyone else of the disciples of the Lord ... for I did not perceive that things out of books would benefit me as much as the things uttered by a living and abiding voice.*"<sup>45</sup>

It is obvious that the Johannine circle of disciples honored in a special way the apostolic preaching of Andrew, and hence he joined the Gospel of John to his preaching. Certainly, other catalogues of the Johannine circle, as for instance the *Epistola Apostolorum* (second century), preserved in Ethiopian translation, record John as the first, placing him even before Peter and Andrew.<sup>46</sup> This understandable preference, however, in no way diminishes the generally recognized deep spiritual relation of John to Andrew. This indisputable inner spiritual relationship between Andrew and John, in both the apostolic and the post-apostolic tradition, based on the reasons presented above, was much more enhanced by the tradition concerning the common apostolic activity in both the Asiatic and the European provinces of the jurisdiction of the Throne of Constantinople. The initial preference of the tradition concerning the Johannine apostolicity of the Throne, as outlined, also included the perspective of its final referral to the more widely accepted distinct apostolic authority of the Apostle Andrew, because:

*Firstly*, the well-attested deep personal spiritual relation of Andrew and John was not exhausted in theoretical relations, but also covered the referral through revelation of the entire content of the Gospel of John to Andrew as a source. This was a basic element in the sensitivity of the Byzantines in favor of Johannine apostolicity, as shown in the two related witnesses of Patriarchs Ignatius and Photius. It is self-evident, however, that the completion of this process clearly implied the final referral of apostolicity to the exceptional authority of the tradition-based source of the Fourth Gospel, namely, the Apostle Andrew. This is a matter of inner consistency towards the apostolic doctrine and faith appropriated in the "*Throne of John*" (Photius), who emerged in the last analysis as the "*Throne of John and Andrew*" (Ignatius), on account of the apostolic tradition, recorded by John "*from the voice*" of Andrew.

*Secondly*, the tradition-based personal and spiritual relation of John and Andrew, confirmed by the characteristic elements concerning

Andrew in the Gospel of John, is also traced in the consciousness of the *Johannine circle* of the apostolic disciples (Papias of Hierapolis), who recorded the sensitivity of their teacher, to the authority of the Apostle Andrew. This preference was also traced in the broader apocryphal tradition concerning the apostolic witness of the two Apostles.

*Thirdly*, the attested, common apostolic activity of Andrew and John in the Asiatic and European provinces of the jurisdiction of the Throne of Constantinople secured the continuous and uninterrupted succession of order and faith in the apostolic operation of the Episcopate and conjoined the source of priesthood with the apostolic succession of the Ecumenical Throne in the context of the wider understanding in the East of the canonical notion of the *Throne*. Indeed, according to the tradition, the apostolic hands of Andrew and John transmitted and secured the Priesthood in almost all the local Churches of the jurisdiction of the Throne of Constantinople. The fact that the canonical understanding of the notion of the *Throne* in the ecclesiastical tradition of the East also included all the characteristics of the local churches of the wider administrative jurisdiction of the Patriarchal Throne denotes the importance of the full tradition concerning the parallel apostolic activity of Andrew and John in almost all the provinces of the Throne in Asia and Europe.

*Fourthly*, the attested exceptional apostolic authority of Andrew the Protocletos of the Apostles, who is placed at the head of the other Apostles, including Peter, in the list of the Gospel of St. John and in the wider circle of lists of the post-apostolic era, was not irrelevant to the ecclesiastical circles of Constantinople. This is due not only on account of the well known controversies over the papal claims of *primacy*, but also on account of the wider projection of the notion of the apostolicity of the Thrones during the first period of Iconoclasm (726-787). In this spirit, the elaboration of the tradition concerning the Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople obviously favored the further development of the tradition through a referral of apostolicity to the Apostle Andrew, who as 1) *Protocletos* of the Apostles, 2) as *Brother* of Peter, and 3) as the source of revelation for the Gospel of John was projected as the main argument for the apostolicity of the Throne of New Rome, especially during the period of its dispute with the Throne of Old Rome.

*Fifthly*, the movement from the tradition of Johannine apostolicity to the tradition of apostolicity from Andrew was a natural develop-

ment of the inner elements of the two traditions and did not alter the content of the consciousness of the Throne of Constantinople regarding the main source of its apostolicity. Both traditions had as the starting-point the apostolic preaching of Andrew recorded by John in the Fourth Gospel and the deeper spiritual relation of the two Apostles. Indeed, the tradition concerning the Johannine apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople included in an *abridged* manner the tradition concerning the apostolicity from Andrew, whilst the tradition of the apostolicity from Andrew presupposed the fully *developed* tradition of the Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople.

*Sixthly*, the Ecumenical Throne has always had and preserved the consciousness that it is the Throne of Andrew the *Protocletos* of the Apostles, and of John the Evangelist, and that this consciousness explains the sensitivity of the Orthodox Church towards the person and the theology of John the Evangelist. The Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople covered in the consciousness of the Byzantines the succession of apostolic doctrine and faith and, consequently, projected the characteristic of the Evangelist and Apostle John. The apostolicity of Andrew, however, covered the succession of order and, consequently, the Byzantines advanced the characteristic of the *Protocletos* of the Apostles on the brother of the Apostle Peter.

*Seventhly*, the referral through revelation of the entire content of the Gospel of John to the Apostle Andrew showed, that in the consciousness of the East, the Apostles Andrew and John *interpenetrate* and 'indwell' in each other, thus specifying the entire content of the apostolic consciousness of the Throne of Constantinople. The Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Constantinople, which included the origins and later advanced the apostolicity of Andrew, elevates through the synthesis of the two traditions the entire content of the consciousness of the throne of Constantinople concerning apostolicity. This can be found, on the one hand, in the Gospel of St John, and on the other hand, within the patristic tradition and the entire theology of the Orthodox Church.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Vlassios I. Phidas, *The Institution of the Pentarchy of the Patriarchs*, vols. i-ii, Athens 1969, 1970 [Greek title: 'Ο θεσμός της Πενταρχίας τῶν Πατριαρχῶν]. This two-volume work examines the entire development of the successive forms of

ecclesiastical administration during the early centuries up to the time of Justinian I (527-565). It deals especially with the formation of the canonical institution of the Pentarchy of Patriarchs, which was instituted through the administrative decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451) and was operative during the period of the Acacian Schism (484-519). For the particular topic, however, of the development of the throne of New Rome and the dispute of the thrones of Old and New Rome, see vol. 1, pp. 147-167, 229-324, and vol. ii, pp. 10-71, 112-160. These pages put forward the canonical criteria of "seniority of honor" (πρεσβεία τιμῆς) and of the "right to ordain" (δικαίον τῶν χειροτονιῶν) as regulatory in the formation not only of the "patriarchal right" (πατριαρχικὸν δίκαιον) of the five thrones, but also of their "order of precedence" (τάξις προκαθεδρίας), and especially of the canonical privileges of the "First Throne" (Πρώτος Θρόνος, *Prima Sedes*), in which the thrones of the Old and the New Rome were equal participants.

<sup>2</sup> *Adversus Haereses*, iii,3,3.

<sup>3</sup> F. Dölger, "Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 56 (1937) 40ff.

<sup>4</sup> F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, Cambridge, MA, 1958. For the basic apocryphal texts concerning the apostolic activity and the martyrdom of the Apostle Andrew see, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 13 (1894) 309ff. Fr. Dvornik's work includes the relevant and rich bibliography on the apostolicity of the throne of Constantinople, which we did not consider necessary to repeat here.

<sup>5</sup> PG 92: 1072.

<sup>6</sup> Dvornik, *The Idea...op. cit.*, pp. 157ff. Nevertheless, the period that followed the lifting of the Acacian schism (519) was very important for the relations of Old and New Rome, because Constantinople already knew the papal claims for exceptional authority in the Church of the "First Throne" (*Prima Sedes*), since they were articulated especially by Pope Gelasius I (492-496). They were also put forward in the famous *Libellus* of Pope Hormisdas (*Formula Hormisdæ*) for the lifting of the Acacian schism. Constantinople, as the New Rome, claimed equal participation in the authority of the "First Throne" on the basis of Canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod (451) and, therefore, on the one hand she rejected the contradictory papal claims, while on the other hand, she stressed the exceptional authority of the throne of New Rome through the discreet acceptance of the title "*Ecumenical*" (Phidas, *The Institution of the Pentarchy...op. cit.*, ii, pp. 112-160). It is also self-evident that during this period Constantinople would discreetly use the tradition concerning the Apostle Andrew in connection with the authority of the throne of New Rome, which was widely known at the time both in East and West.

<sup>7</sup> Dvornik, *The Idea...op. cit.*, pp. 158ff.

<sup>8</sup> Paulinus Nolensis, *Carmen* 19, vers. 329-342, CSEL vol. 30, ed. W. von Hartel, 1894, pp. 129f.

<sup>9</sup> Agnellus, "Codex Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravenatensis," ed. A. Testi Rospolini, in L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 2, fasc. 3, Bologna 1924, pp. 149f.

<sup>10</sup> "...navigabat, ut veniret Byzantium," in M. G. H., *Scriptores Rerum Merovingitarum*, I, p. 381.

<sup>11</sup> Phidas, *The Institution of the Pentarchy...op. cit.*, ii, pp. 10ff.

<sup>12</sup> Dvornik, *The Idea...op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>13</sup> J. Zepos – P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, I, Athens 1931, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> *Mansi*, xi: 200.

<sup>15</sup> *Analecta Bollandiana*, 13 (1894), ed. M. Bonnet, p. 358.

<sup>16</sup> Dvornik, *The Idea...op. cit.*, pp. 171ff.

<sup>17</sup> Phidas, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, Athens 1977, pp. 33ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, 25 February, p. 693.

<sup>19</sup> “Acta Andreae,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, 13 (1894), ed. M. Bonnet, pp. 314f.

<sup>20</sup> J. Flamion, *Les Actes apocryphes de l’apôtre André*, Louvain-Paris-Brussels 1911, pp. 85ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, 25 February, p. 593.

<sup>22</sup> *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* (French translation), by J. B. Chabot, Paris 1908, pp. 101ff. This witness constitutes an authentic recording of the main argument of Anti-Chalcedonians against the Throne of Constantinople. The Anti-Chalcedonians, using the Johannine apostolicity of the Throne of Ephesus, on the hand projected the apostolic root of a rival See, while on the other hand they disputed the canonical status of the subjection of the provinces of the Prefecture of Asia Minor to the jurisdiction of the throne of Constantinople. Nevertheless, these criteria were different for the throne of New Rome, whose patriarchal right fully covered the question of its apostolicity.

<sup>23</sup> Dvornik, *The Idea...op. cit.*, p. 244.

<sup>24</sup> Phidas, *The Institution of the Pentarchy...op. cit.*, ii, pp. 106-112. The formation and the canonical establishment of the institution of the Pentarchy of the Patriarchs through the decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod did not permit increase or decrease of the patriarchal thrones, because the criterion of the canonically established exceptional “seniority of honor”—“πρεσβεία τιμῆς” (canons 6 and 7 of the First, canons 2 and 3 of the Second and canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod) was used as the exclusive basis for both the redistribution of the supra-metropolitan jurisdiction in the “right of ordinations” (δίκαιον τῶν χειροτονιῶν) and the formation of the content of the “patriarchal right” (πατριαρχικὸν δίκαιον). The throne of Ephesus, not having canonically established “seniority of honor,” could not lay claim on the “patriarchal right” by simply projecting its Johannine apostolicity because this privilege was common to almost all the important local churches of Asia Minor.

<sup>25</sup> Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii: 6, PG. 86: 2608f.

<sup>26</sup> W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, London 1864, p. 34. It is quite typical that this most ancient text connects the apostolic activity of John the Evangelist with those of the Protocletos Apostle Andrew and Luke the Evangelist for the purpose of establishing the apostolic succession of the local churches that had been established by them because these churches had received their priesthood from these three. It is also important that John is placed first in this description of the Apostle Andrew and that his activity is extended to Macedonia and Achaia, whereas “Byzantium and the entire land of Thrace” are particularly connected with Luke the Evangelist. This most ancient tradition could be used intact to prove at least the *Lukan apostolicity* of the throne of Constantinople, if this constituted, as Fr. Dvornik asserts, his primary objective in the battle against the papal throne!... Yet, the early translation of the sacred relics, especially those of the Apostles to the church of the

Holy Apostles in Constantinople, indicates the special sensitivity of the throne vis-à-vis this tradition. Thus, the *Acts and Periods* of the Apostle Andrew typically stress the importance of the sacred relics for Constantinople: "*Constantius, his (Constantine's) son, who succeeded to the throne of the kingdom, imitating to a point the pious zeal of his father, had the godly wish to gather and translate the apostolic relics to the most blessed and great city under him, the New Rome, the Royal one among the cities, to be for it a secured phylactery and unbreakable foundation... and thus with much pomp and glory bring into the precincts of this divine temple the spiritual walls and impregnable fortress, which is a most desirable treasure above gold and precious stone, and let it rest within the sacred courts...*" (*Acta Andreae*," *op. cit.*, pp. 350f).

<sup>27</sup> Theodore Anagnostes, PG 86: 148.

<sup>28</sup> A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Fotija, archiepiskopa Konstantinopol'skago, o grobe nasego Iisusa Christa I arugija malyja ego tvorenija," in *Provoslavnyj Pelestinskij Sbornik* (St. Petersburg), vol. 31 (1892), pp. 179ff. The study of this text makes it plain that St. Photios used the elements of an already formed and preexisting tradition concerning the relation of the four Evangelists to the first four in the order of thrones in the institution of the Pentarchy of Patriarchs. This tradition projected, especially during the period of Iconoclasm, the exceptional authority of the patriarchal thrones for the well-guarded preservation of the apostolic tradition and faith in the Church. The Armenians retained this tradition in their memory, when the Catholicos of the Armenians addressed the Ecumenical Patriarch at his official visit to Constantinople in the following characteristic way: "*We, the spiritual children of Thaddaeus and Bartholomaeus, have come to the spiritual children of John and Andrew...*," *Ekklēsiastikē Alētheia*, 30 (1906) 180).

<sup>29</sup> V. Wolf von Glanvell, *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, Padeborn 1905, p. 603. The invocation by Ignatios of the *apostolicity of John and Andrew* for the throne of Constantinople constitutes an indirect canonical disputation against the right of the papal representatives to adjudicate on an issue related to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The projection of this twin apostolic root of the throne of Constantinople reflects not only the foregone development of the relative tradition, but also the official acceptance of it in Constantinople and hence, the undisputed hearing of it at the First-Second Synod by the papal representatives. If Ignatios' argument was unrelated to the self-consciousness of the throne of Constantinople, then it is certain that it would not have been used in the Synod in relation to the position of the papal representatives and especially at a crucial point for the Ignatian synodical procedure.

<sup>30</sup> M. R. James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 1926, pp. 304ff. This text expresses the older tradition concerning the composition of the Gospel according to John because the circle of the disciples of John still preserves in its memory the special, spiritual relation of John to the person of Andrew, the Protocletos of the Apostles. This gradually faded out through the projection of the self-sufficiency of John in the composition of the "last" of the four Gospels. This self-sufficiency of the elements of the old tradition is presumably due to the Montanists of the second century. Nevertheless, the memory of the special, spiritual relation of Andrew and John was preserved in the relative tradition, as shown in the encomiastic text "*Acts and Periods*" of the Apostle Andrew, which acquired its elaborate form before the

beginning of the ninth century. This text records the important element of the initial, common apostolic activity of the Apostles Andrew and John at Ephesus: "Andrew, then, together with John, were residents in the city of the Ephesians, persevering in the teaching of the word, when the Savior and Lord Jesus appears to godly Andrew, prompting him to depart quickly to Bithynia, telling him 'I am with you, wherever you may go; for Scythia too awaits you'. Having narrated the vision to John the theologian and having kissed him, the God-inspired Andrew takes his own disciples and goes up with them to Laodicea, a city of Phrygia Kapatianê..." ("Acta Andreae," *op. cit.*, p. 323). The weakening, then, of the relation of Andrew to John at the composition of the Gospel according to St. John, as the fragment of the Muratorian Canon describes, did not eliminate all the elements of it concerning the personal, spiritual and apostolic relation of the two Apostles, which was preserved in the ecclesiastical tradition up until the beginning of the ninth century.

<sup>31</sup> *Epist.* 104, 111, 115, 126, 130, 137. E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (ACO)*, tom. ii/4, pp. 57-59, 64-65, 68-69.

<sup>32</sup> *Epist.* 105, 112, 116. E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, tom. ii/4, pp. 57-59, 64-65, 68-69.

<sup>33</sup> *Epist.* 114. E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, tom. ii/4, pp. 70-71.

<sup>34</sup> *Epist.* 106, 135, 146. E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, tom. ii/4, pp. 59-62, 88-89, 96-97.

<sup>35</sup> *Epist.* 129. E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, tom. ii/4, pp. 84-86.

<sup>36</sup> *Epist.* 119. E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, tom. ii/4, pp. 72-75.

<sup>37</sup> *Epist.* 107, 109, 113, 117, 127, 131, 140, 144. E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, tom. ii/4, pp. 62, 65-68, 69-70, 82-83, 87, 93-94, 137-138.

<sup>38</sup> See Phidas, *The Institution of the Pentarchy...* *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 112-160, who critically evaluates the entire development of this theory during the fifth century. Undoubtedly, however, the projection of the superiority of the Petrine apostolicity was an obvious stimulus for the special enhancement by Constantinople of her relation to the person and work of the Apostle Andrew. The characteristic elements of "Protopetros" (πρωτόκλητος) and "Top-ranking" (κορυφαίος) of the two brothers and Apostles expressed in a fuller way the more general consciousness of the East with regard to both the political and ecclesiastical relations of the two "sister" cities of Old and New Rome.

<sup>39</sup> PG 99: 1417.

<sup>40</sup> "Acta Andreae," *op. cit.*, pp. 315ff.

<sup>41</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 343. In a similar way Origen stresses the following: "We must dare say, then, that the Gospels are the first-fruits of all the Scriptures, and the Gospel according to John, the first-fruits of the Gospels; whose mind no one can grasp, unless he leans on the breast of Jesus, unless he takes Mary from Jesus to be his mother. Such, indeed, ought to be he who would be another John, that like John he would appear to be Jesus from Jesus..." (On John I, 6. PG 14: 32).

<sup>42</sup> John 1:40ff. "One of the two who heard John speak, and followed him was Andrew the brother of Peter. He first found his own brother Simon, and says to him, we have found the Messiah, which is translated, the Christ. And he brought him to Jesus."

<sup>43</sup> John 6:5ff. "When Jesus then lifted up his eyes and saw a great crowd coming to him, Philip says to him...one of his disciples, Andrew the brother of Simon Peter,



says to him; there is a young child here, who has five barley loaves and two fish; but what are they among so many...?"

<sup>44</sup> John 12:20ff. "And there were certain Greeks from those who went up to worship at the feast; These, then, came to Philip, who was from Bethsaida of Galilee, and questioned him saying; sir, we want to see Jesus. Then, Philip comes and tells Andrew: ... Andrew comes and Philip and speak to Jesus. And Jesus responds to them saying: the hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified..."

<sup>45</sup> Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii: 39, 3-4. In the same vein, Origen emphasizes the following: "Another one to be brought up from those sayings of Paul about all the New [Testament] being the Gospels, is what he says somewhere: 'according to my Gospel'. For in the letters of Paul there is no book that is usually called Gospel. But, all that he preached and spoke about, that was the Gospel. If this was Paul's Gospel, it follows that Peter's [preaching] would be a Gospel too, and the same would be simply the case with all that constitute the sojourn of Christ and make up his presence, and make it enter the souls of those who want to accept the Word of God who stands at the door, and knocks and wishes to enter into the souls" (On John I,6. PG 14: 32).

<sup>46</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 343.

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intend to revise and expand the present volume in a second edition. They would be better advised to go back to the drawing board and begin the entire enterprise anew.

Rev. Fr. Alexander F. C. Webster, Ph.D.

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*The Journals of Father Alexander Schmemmann, 1973-1983.* Trans. Juliana Schmemmann. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000. ISBN 0-88141-200-7; paper, 353 pp. U.S. \$19.95.

Readers familiar with the theological masterpieces of the late Rev. Dr. Alexander Schmemmann, with his magnificent insights into the nature of Orthodox Christian liturgy and worship, will thoroughly enjoy this very personal collection of journal entries. A world-renowned scholar, an eloquent preacher, and a captivating professor, Fr. Schmemmann served for many years as Professor of Liturgical Theology and Academic Dean of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in Crestwood, New York, until his untimely surrender to terminal cancer on December 13, 1983.

Fr. Alexander's journals span a period of about ten years, from 1973 to 1983. His memoirs include candid images of his various personal and public roles, as husband, father, grandfather, priest, professor, and seminary administrator. One unfailingly notices in each entry the striking veracity and expressiveness of a man who would occasionally retreat into the deepest recesses of his soul to "visit with himself", to internally discuss and assess his experiences, his fears, his frustrations, and his triumphs in each facet of his life. In his journals, Schmemmann, in following the Socratic *γινῶθι σεαυτόν* ("know thyself"), does more than record events: he reveals his authentic, vulnerable self and transposes this revelation onto paper. In this process, he not only assures for himself an inner catharsis, but also allows the grace of God to permeate his very being and fill him with the spiritual joy characteristic of his memoirs.

Schmemmann discovered absolute bliss when he spent precious moments with his family, especially his beloved wife Juliana. He writes: "What is happiness? It is to live as we do now, with L. [Liana, diminutive of Juliana], just the two of us, savoring every hour.... No 'special' conversation.... As one approaches the essence of a thing,

fewer and fewer words are needed" (p. 10). He also took immense pride in his children and their families, with whom he spent many wonderful times, especially during the holidays. "We decorated our tree with little Vera [the Schmemanns' granddaughter]. Frost and sunshine outside our windows. Peace in our home, blissful contact with the 'one thing needful'" (p. 139).

As a Russian Orthodox priest, Fr. Alexander felt perfectly at home before the holy altar of God, during the Divine Liturgy and other church services, which he defined as pertinent for one's life in general. "I live in a liturgical paradise and once again I felt how truly essential is this liturgical 'other' life for our normal life; it gives it terms of reference" (p. 122). However, he does not hold back his criticism of religion when it filters itself clean of spiritual joy: "Without joy, piety and prayer are without grace, since their power is in joy. Religion has become the synonym of seriousness not compatible with joy. So it is weak. People want answers, peace, meaning from religion, and the meaning is *joy*. That is *the* answer, including in it *all* answers" (p. 140).

Schmemann's journals are replete with countless theological and ecclesiological reflections, which reveal the profundity of his scholarly and creative mind. Indeed, one can hardly separate Schmemann the man from Schmemann the always-contemplative theologian, as he quite avowedly "lived" what he taught and wrote. Without a doubt, it was this area of his life, as lecturer and author, in which he considered himself to be the most effective. "I feel 'at home,' I am myself, only while lecturing. It seems to be my only talent. The rest – confessions, guidance, spiritual help – it all follows someone else's example, and therefore it's quite burdensome. I am always surprised that I lecture as much to myself as to the students. While lecturing, I don't ever compromise with my conscience because somebody else is in me lecturing" (p. 294).

Perhaps the greatest contribution the late Fr. Schmemann makes in his *Journals* is to exhort his readers to a life of genuine openness before God, in whom is hidden the mystery of true happiness and fulfillment. Life's brevity and complexities too often overwhelm man, whereas God created man to take charge over life. This truth Father Schmemann lived daily, looking beyond the mundane concerns of this life toward the present reality of the Kingdom of God within him and the imminent reality of the Kingdom to come. Today, almost

twenty years following his falling asleep in the Lord, his voice still resonates powerfully in the ears of those blessed to know him: *Tout est ailleurs* – “All is elsewhere.”

Fr. Stylianos Muksuris

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Γεώργιος Βαλσαμῆς, *Οἱ Πατριάρχες τοῦ γένους, ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀλωση τῆς Πόλης ἕως Σήμερα* = George Balsamês (ed.), *The Patriarchs of the Orthodox Nation, From the Capture of the City to this Day*, Volos, Sacred Metropolis of Demetrias, 1955, 251p+photos.

This [Greek] book opens with a blessing of Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomaios (p. 9) and an introduction (pp. 11-18) by Metropolitan Christodoulos of Dêmêtrias (now Archbishop of Athens). It provides a Biographical Lexicon of Patriarchs from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century (pp. 19-155) and a collection of texts (pp. 157-244). Fr. Thomas Synodinos, Hierarchical Vicar General of the Sacred Metropolis of Dêmêtrias, was responsible for the publication of the photos that have been included in this volume, which were provided by Aristeides Panôtês, an *archon offikialios* of the Ecumenical Throne.

Introducing the book Metropolitan Christodoulos of Dêmêtrias states the following: “This first volume in the series *Ecclesiastical Library of the Sacred Metropolis of Dêmêtrias* is rightly dedicated to the Great Church and her illustrious presiding hierarchs, from the glorious Gennadios, the first Ecumenical Patriarch after the Captivity, to the dynamic and sensible Bartholomaios, the visionary of panorthodox active presence, who glorifies today the renowned Throne. The selection of texts ... is designed to strengthen in our times the institution it represents and especially the persons who embody it as a first token of recognition of honor and expression of reverence that are due to them by the international community” (pp. 17-18). There are no footnotes in the book, and the bibliography is added to the text, whether general, pertaining to all the patriarchs, or particular, pertaining to each one of them, mostly from the entries of the *Religious and Ethical Encyclopedia* (Ἡθικὴ καὶ Θρησκευτικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία), vols. 1-12, Athens 1962-1968 (see pp. 13f, 19, 23, 27-33, 36, 39-40, 42, 48-50, 52, 55f, 59-60, 67, 73, 82, 92, 96, 98, 101-104, 108f, 118-120, 135f, 144). Then, reference is made to four

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## **The Mission of Orthodoxy in the Third Millennium**

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A Lecture delivered at St. Clement of Ochrid National University on the Occasion of the Conferral of the D.D. degree (Honoris Causa) Sofia, Bulgaria – December 13, 2000

Your Beatitude, Patriarch Maxim,  
Most Reverend Metropolitans of the Most Holy  
Bulgarian Orthodox Church  
Your Excellency, Rector of the University of Sofia,  
Esteemed Dean and Professors of the School of Theology,  
Reverend and Esteemed Fathers  
Beloved Brethren in the Lord

It is with great humility but also with indescribable joy and deep gratitude that I stand before you at this moment because of the great honor that you have so graciously resolved to bestow on me.

I come with great humility because I know who I am. The Holy Gospel says, that even when we achieve the best – something that is most difficult, or rather impossible, to accomplish – we should always consider ourselves as mere servants. The reason for this, of course, is that in the last analysis there is nothing that we achieve which we have not received. *“For every good and perfect gift,”* as the last prayer of our Divine Liturgy says, *“is from above, coming from the Father of lights.”* I come to you, then, as a servant, whose primary objective is none other than to serve our Holy Orthodox Church and tradition.

I also come, with deep gratitude and great joy for the highest honor that is conferred on me. My joy is great indeed especially for the fact that I am in the midst of dear colleagues and brethren, who walk on the same path, labor in the same God-planted vineyard and serve the same cause as I do: the study and the teaching of our holy Orthodox Faith and Tradition in the vineyard of the one, holy, catholic, apostolic and Orthodox Church.

I am also grateful because I feel very much at home here at the Faculty of Theology of this Highest Educational Institution of Bulgaria. This is not only because of the presence of highly respected colleagues, whom I have known for several years, the present Dean Dr. Ivan Zhelev-Dimitrov, Fr. Chivarov, Dr. Koev, Dr. Sabev, to mention a few, but also because I have stepped once again on pure Orthodox soil, the grounds of the Most Holy Orthodox Church of the Bulgarians, which has been established not by human hands but by the Lord Himself, and has been called to play a most important role in the family of the Holy Orthodox Churches, that the whole world may be renewed according to the good pleasure and will of the Holy Trinity, our Creator and Redeemer.

I have exactly the same feelings when I step on the soil of my native Greece, or on the holy soil of the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople, Turkey, or on any other traditional Orthodox land. You can appreciate these joyful feelings of mine, if you consider for a moment who I am, or rather who I have come to be. I am an Easterner, a Greek by birth, who have had, by the Lord's inscrutable will and providence, to live and work and make my career in the West, first in Great Britain and now in America, for the greater part of my life. This means that I have become a sort of 'Western' Easterner and this is no contradiction in terms, no *schema oxymoron*, but rather a *schema of platiasmos*, something rather meaningful and promising. Allow me to share with you one or two of my experiences and thoughts by way of explanation of my peculiar identity.

My experiences in the West have helped me to reflect, to appreciate and to love more decisively my Eastern background and especially our Holy Orthodox Church. They have particularly helped me to realize more fully our Church's importance, her power to unite peoples, to help them transcend past differences and renew their strength through mutual enrichment, and to make them all work for the good of the whole of humanity.



Living and working in an environment predominantly Protestant and Roman Catholic, I was able to compare our Holy Eastern Orthodox Church to the Western Churches, to see our Church's distinctive qualities and to gain a new and wider vision of her mission both at home and abroad. Her integrity and wholeness, her antiquity and freshness, her consistency and inner coherence are primary characteristics of Orthodoxy.

Our Holy Orthodox Church is exactly like the Church in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, that early Christian eschatological vision which sees the Church as a lady who, as soon as she grows old and frail, gets transformed into a youthful one and starts to grow all over again, this process being repeated from age to age to the consummation of the world! This is exactly what we are in the midst of the world, and I have also come to realize that we are always renewed and become youthful whenever we re-appropriate our rich heritage and resolve to stand together, to keep our strength by remaining united with each other.

It is in the West, outside our own traditional territories, in the *diaspora*, where we appear as minorities, conspicuous minorities (I dare say!), small islands in the midst of a wide ocean, that we come to sense how much we Orthodox need one other if we are to fulfill, and to be fulfilled in, our sacred calling. Our calling is one of unity in the continuity of the Holy Tradition, which "the Lord gave, the holy Apostles preached and the holy Fathers kept" (St. Athanasius the Great). It is also unity in brotherly love, in common sharing in Holy Communion in the Sacred Body and Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, which constitute the basis of our salvation and of the salvation of the whole world.

In my travels in America I have come across various Orthodox parish Churches that represent different Orthodox ethnicities: Bulgarian, Greek, Russian, Serbian, Albanian, Carpatho-Russian, Antiochian, etc. etc., and my thought is always the same. These are all mine! They are ours! The venerable local Orthodox Churches, which the Orthodox Churches of America represent, are here present side-by-side, without clear territorial boundaries, but fully realizing their spiritual unity in a more immediate way. And so my vision of our Church is revived and renewed. It becomes a challenge and a promise. It is a challenge, because it calls for transcendence of (ethnic or local) barriers that some times get on our way and distort the

vision of our Holy Church. It is also a promise, because it offers transparency to those that belong to her as members by enabling them to transcend their ethnicity without denying it and to make a common entrance into the Mystery that reunites and saves the world.

Easterners who live in the West inevitably distance themselves from their particular Eastern boundaries and often come to see more vividly what really matters most, what are the real high points of achievement in their Eastern history. It is precisely such achievements in their historical past that will inspire and help them to forge ahead as they meet new challenges. Let me give you some examples which relate to Bulgaria and which I could not help bringing up in my mind as I planned to travel here for the present occasion.

I know well, and you know better, from the study of the sacred ecclesiastical history of our Holy Orthodox Church the important and historic role the Bulgarian brethren have played through many vicissitudes and historical exigencies especially in the expansion and establishment of Christianity amongst the many and great Slavic nations. I had the rare privilege of participating in the celebrations of the eleven hundredth anniversary of the Bulgarian Disciples of the Apostles to the Slavs in 1986,<sup>1</sup> which highlighted the early achievement of the Bulgarian Orthodox in the expansion of Orthodoxy in the Slavic world. The paper I researched and presented for that occasion, based on the life of the great Saint of Bulgaria and Patron of the Faculty of Theology and the University of Sofia, St. Clement of Ochrid, has never ceased to inspire me. St. Clement's life activity marked a new apostolic era on the eve of a new millennium. Isn't this the kind of inspiration that we all need once again as we are faced with a third Millennium?

I also know from my studies in Church History that for centuries Orthodox Bulgarians shared a common life with Orthodox Greeks, Slavs, Rumanians and Albanians in the Balkans and strengthened one another under the hardship of Turkish occupation. The common plight of slavery destroyed all boundaries and united all Orthodox ethnicities under one ecclesiastical commonwealth. This commonwealth preserved the Orthodox peoples from absorption and extinction and enabled them to resurrect new ethnic states after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Undoubtedly it was a troubled time, nevertheless the Church stood the test of time, for it restored the saving commun-

ion and led her people towards a new type of commonwealth.

Today, at the beginning of a new millennium, the Orthodox family is confronted once more with new challenges and prospects. The last century of the second millennium especially has signaled the dawn of a new era. The experiences brought about by the two World Wars and of the divisions of the Cold War have come and gone. The Church grew old once again, and now grows young again. Her youthfulness has been especially demonstrated not only through her re-emergence in her traditional settings and forms, but also through the waves of immigration of Orthodox peoples to the Western hemisphere, and especially to the great continent of America and the rest of the world.

Orthodoxy is now universally more visible and vibrant and is expanding her witness amongst people who have been shaken, confused or even lost by the new currents of secularist ideologies. There are today new challenges and new opportunities. One of these challenges is the emergence of new States (Republics) with Orthodox populations, which signal the birth of new local Churches. It is not always easy to determine how and when such Churches may or should emerge. Another challenge is the return to Orthodoxy, especially in the Orthodox Diaspora, of many Western Christians—an ever-growing phenomenon that needs careful assessment and handling—as globalization destroys all traditional havens and makes communication with every part and aspect of the world easily accessible. The multi-faceted Orthodox *diasporas* at various parts of the world are getting poised for innovation and consolidation. How are we to meet such challenges in an ecclesiastically and ecumenically responsible way and in the service of the whole of humanity? How are we to turn them into new opportunities for new achievements?

What is needed again today is what was done in the past in similar circumstances. We need a new re-appropriation of the integrity of our Orthodox Tradition. Her perennial value for us has been fully tested through two Millennia of expansion and consolidation. It is this Tradition that offers us the strength of an inner unity and unanimity, which cannot be altered by external changes and forms. It is a Holy Tradition that is based on the grace of God and has been handed down to us by accredited and holy Fathers.

We are all glad that the harsh and difficult years have gone, that today new and promising prospects lie ahead of us. There is above all the new prospect of living in boundaries without boundaries, if I

may put it this way. This is something that we Orthodox know full well, through the great doctrine of circumincession (*perichoresis*), which is applicable, not only to the holy mystery of the eternal *hypostaseis* of the Holy Trinity but also to the mystery of our Holy Church, inasmuch as she is One in many and many in One!

My own pilgrimage in the West has been a sort of foretaste of what is now emerging with great speed everywhere. It seems that it will soon be impossible to speak of East and West in either political or cultural terms. Everything is fast turning into one global village. Will this be also true of the religious dimension? And how is this religious dimension going to be related to the other two dimensions that make up our life in the modern context, the political and the cultural? What will be the role of Orthodoxy in all this? These are urgent questions, but the Lord said, "*do not be dismayed by a small flock.*" Orthodoxy may seem small, relatively speaking, in light of the new secularist political and cultural environment. It is true, however, that she has always been like this throughout history. Nevertheless her 'smallness' did not preclude her triumphs and her ability to rise above the currents of change and to lead humanity towards her eternal destiny.

Orthodoxy is no human construction, but has as her starting point or *entelechy* God's uncreated grace. This has to do with the miracle of redemption, which perfects the miracle of creation. It has to do with the glory of Christ, who is the head of all creation and especially of the Church. It is this glory that shines on the faces of the countless Orthodox saints, who like unquenchable luminaries enlighten the path of the Orthodox peoples everywhere as they make their journey through history. This Orthodox land of Bulgaria has many of these luminaries, who illuminate not only the Bulgarians themselves but also many other Orthodox in other lands. I would like to close these simple and general thoughts by making reference to one of these saints who is especially close to my heart and whose icon is prominently placed in my home.

As a Greek, I have, like many others Greeks, as Professor Gones of Athens has shown in a recent publication,<sup>2</sup> a special devotion to the great Saint of Bulgaria, St. John of Rila, whose holy icon has strengthened and inspired me in my service in the Church as a priest and teacher. Saint John of Rila gives me one important message that I want to communicate to my Bulgarian Orthodox brethren. Yours is

the mission, standing as you have always done between Slav and Greek, to play a cementing and constructive role in the new tasks that lie ahead of us Orthodox Christians in this third Millennium. It is a task that is primarily directed to all the Orthodox who live here in the Balkans and Eastern Europe, but also to those far off in America and worldwide. And it is this task and this role that inflames me for my Bulgarian brethren and makes me dream of great days of co-operation and common achievement in and for our Holy Orthodox Church. *“Let us stand well. Let us stand with fear. Let us be attentive that we may make the Holy Offering in peace,”* for our peoples and for the whole world.

Once more, I want to express my gratitude to the Lord our maker and redeemer for your brotherly welcome and for the joy of sharing with you in mutual recognition and collaboration in the service of our Holy Church. I am grateful also because I have come from the West to the East, from America to Eastern Europe, to one of the mother-Churches whose jurisdiction in America is very close to my heart. May God bless us all, through the prayers of our holy Patriarchs and Fathers and enable us to fulfill our mission today, in the new millennium, here in Europe, in America and in the whole wide world. Amen!

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See my article “Apostolic Evangelism as Seen in the Activities of Saint Cyril’s and St. Methodios’ disciples and evangelists and its ecclesiological implications for yesterday and today,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 33:4 (1988) 469-484.

<sup>2</sup> Demetrios Gones, *Saint John of Rila: Prolegomena to the Hymno-Hagiographical Greek Texts*, Hymno-hagiological Texts and Studies –4, Editions Armos, Athens 1997, pp. 208 [in Greek]. Cf. the review of Prof. Spyridon Kontogiannes in the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 44:1-4 (1999) pp. 714-717.

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## The Orthodox Church In Bulgaria Today\*

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PROFESSOR IVAN ZHELEV-DIMITROV

### THE BULGARIANS: THEIR ORTHODOXY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

“The traditional religion in the Republic of Bulgaria is the Eastern Orthodox confession.”<sup>1</sup> This text in itself speaks plainly enough. And yet for the people outside Bulgaria it bears rather insufficient information, if they want to find the answers to the questions, why, how, when, how many, to what extent are the Bulgarians Orthodox Christians? Or if one would like to find out, what the role of the Orthodox Church and of the Orthodox faith in Bulgaria’s present-day society is.

The Bulgarians as a nationality have an interesting destiny. The name “Bulgarians” itself comes from an early tribe of proto-Bulgarians. Having originally come from the steppes of Southern Russia, they settled in the 7th century in the lands north of the mouth of the River Danube and had been showing a continuous aggressive interest in the territories of Byzantium in the region of today’s North-eastern Bulgaria.<sup>2</sup> Following a successful war in 680-681, that warlike tribe succeeded in taking possession of the above-mentioned region and in making peace in 681 with the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IV Pogonatus.<sup>3</sup> This date is considered as initial in the historical existence of the Bulgarian State. The Bulgarians, being well organized in the art of war, were nonetheless in numerical respect several times lesser than the southern Slavic tribes, known as “Slavines,” who inhabited the Bulgarian lands south of the River Danube and north of the Balkan Range. Thanks to their alliance to the local Slavic tribes, the Bulgarians succeeded in possessing the conquered territory, organizing themselves in the political, military and economic respect, and continued to create and develop their tribal culture.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of the fact that the two tribal communities had been living together in the same territory, each one of them had in the beginning developed separately until the 9th century. With the adoption of Christianity as the official religion at the time of the Bulgarian Prince Boris (in 865) the foundations had been laid for the complete unification of these separate tribal communities.<sup>5</sup> The Christianization of the Bulgarian people was accompanied by the creation of the Old-Bulgarian script, in fact the Old-Slavonic, since the major part of the population for whom the alphabet and the literature had been created spoke the Southern Slavonic language. An alphabet had thus been created for the first time and a literature had been developed in one of the Slavonic languages.<sup>6</sup> That epoch-making work of the Byzantine missionaries and Slav enlighteners, the saintly brothers Cyril and Methodius, had been prompted by the needs of the Christian mission among the Slavic nations.

Bulgaria's leading role in the development and spreading of the Old-Bulgarian (or Old-Slavonic) language is due to two factors: 1) to the geographic proximity of the Bulgarian State to both the birthplace of Sts. Cyril and Methodius – the city of Thessalonica and the capital city of Byzantium or Constantinople; and 2) to the fact that Bulgaria had been the first of the Slavic states<sup>7</sup> to adopt Christianity as the official religion.

Of no less importance is the fact that after the death of the saintly brothers Cyril and Methodius Bulgaria gave shelter and freedom of activity to their disciples and continuators of their work: Clement, Nahum, Angelariy et al. They attended to the needs of the young Christian Church in Bulgaria, they worked for the consolidation of the recently adopted religion, made translations of the sacred Scriptures and of other liturgical and theological books, developing at the same time the Old-Bulgarian language and creating a Slavonic literature.<sup>8</sup> In that way 10th century Bulgaria was already a country with a population, which had a Bulgarian national self-consciousness, a Southern Slavonic language with its own script and the Christian religion.

#### THE EASTERN ORIENTATION OF THE BULGARIANS

After several years of investigating inter-church relations and of wavering between Old Rome and New Rome–Constantinople, the Bulgarian Prince Boris, who had received at his conversion to Christianity the additional name of Michael from his sponsor, the



Byzantine emperor Michael III, finally turned to Constantinople and thus determined the Orthodox future of his nation throughout the latter's entire existence and - thank God - until today.

It was only natural for Prince Boris to show preference for closer relations with his neighbor: Constantinople. This had proved imperative not only from the viewpoint of the political expediency but also from the traditional ties of Bulgarians with Byzantium during the two preceding centuries - however difficult these might have been. Undoubtedly the final decision had been also influenced by the cultural hegemony of Byzantium. The Bulgarian State had until then been using the Greek alphabet, even the Greek language - in its official contacts, memorial inscriptions, etc. But when state and church authorities in Constantinople had offered the Slavs - not only in Bulgaria - an alphabet, translations, literature and all kinds of possibilities for an independent religious education and for a cultural development of their own, the preference of Byzantium had been amply motivated. Indeed, that was the way to consolidate the model of a national Church, with its own clergy, language and literature. It is out of place here to try to evaluate to what extent this was a positive or negative phenomenon with a view to the catholicity of the Church as a whole. But with respect to political thinking the advantages had been indisputable and it was these that became of decisive significance.

And so it has been - for more than 1100 years. The loss of state organization during the periods of Byzantine (1018-1185) and Ottoman (1396-1878) domination did not have a fatal influence upon the Orthodox faith of the Bulgarians. That is why during the period of Bulgarian national revival (in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries) the foremost concern of the pioneers of that great cause for the nation had been to restore the independence of their national Church.<sup>9</sup> This specifically had become the basis for the extension of the struggle in the direction of the nation's independence as well. Exactly 122 years have gone since then and much has taken place that needs to be surveyed if one is to understand the present situation of the Orthodox Church and faith in present day Bulgaria.

#### THE CHURCH OF BULGARIA IN RECENT TIMES AND ESPECIALLY TODAY

##### *a) The communist era*

The unlucky forty-five years of totalitarian power in Bulgaria (1944-1989) have had their effect on the overall economic and spiritual

life, and especially on the religious one in this country. Religious life was restricted to the individual's personal experience, within the confines of the family and between the four walls of the church's building. If anyone dared to bring something out of these confines, that was considered to be ideological propaganda, as destructive for the ideological foundations of the "new socialist society,"<sup>10</sup> and so on, with all the respective consequences for the "enemy of the system." The situation had even gone so far that the "freedom of conscience," although reflected in the constitution of the country, was limited to a number of absurd duties of the citizens of "socialist" Bulgaria, such as: the parents should raise their children in a communist and atheistic spirit, that they should grow up with communist ideas in their heads and hearts.

Today Bulgaria has a population of a little more than 8 million. About 15 percent of them are Mohammedans, between 3% and 4% are Christians of other confessions, yet this does not mean that the Orthodox are 80%. It must be taken into consideration that in present day Bulgarian society there are many unbelievers. Below I shall dwell also on the point about the religiousness of the believers.

*b) The Church's administration and membership today*

With respect to administration, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church has today 13 dioceses, 11 of which are within the country, one for Central and Western Europe and one for the Americas and Australia. A Metropolitan heads each one of the dioceses and the capital city of Sofia is the seat of the head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, who is called by the title of Patriarch and is also the Metropolitan of the diocese of Sofia. The governing body of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the Holy Synod, i.e. the council of the diocesan Metropolitans. Electoral bodies, the members of which are in their turn elected on a lower level and represent almost equally the clergy and the lay-people, elect the Metropolitans and the Patriarch. The supreme governing body in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the Convention of clergy and lay-people, which meets every 4 years. It includes as a rule all the high-ranking clerics (the Patriarch, the Metropolitans and also the bishops without a diocese), but the major representatives are low-ranking clerics and lay people.

How many are the Orthodox Christians in Bulgaria? Included in the questionnaire form for the census of the population several years

ago (December 1994) was the column of "religion." About 87% of the Bulgarian citizens had indicated "Eastern-Orthodox" as their religion. There were some who were filled with enthusiasm by these data, others were filled with spite, but the majority of the people took them as something perfectly normal, the more so because of the fact that these results had been obtained precisely with the participation of these same people. What is the problem with these data? It is the following: Although there are no statistical data about the number of the parishioners and, respectively, of all the members of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, according to approximate calculations it could hardly be assumed that there are in Bulgaria 7 million baptized Orthodox Christians. The answer, therefore, to the question on religion had been given not on the basis of an actual belonging to the Orthodox Church, but rather on the basis of a traditional, familial membership. Quite another is the question how many of the baptized Orthodox Christians in Bulgaria are conscious of their actual belonging to the Orthodox Church, what percentage of them attend the liturgy and are leading a real Christian life by taking part in the sacraments. It is for this reason that in our country we do not speak of a poor religiousness, but of a poor church-mindedness.

I would say that the Bulgarians (I have in mind the Orthodox ones, but that is valid also of those who belong to other confessions or religions) are religious, but they are not church-minded, although rarely, the prevailing majority of the Bulgarian people do go to church. This is obviously done for various reasons. These are as follows: 1) because of feeling a need of going into a holy place and of getting out of it, even though this would last for only a few minutes of one's secular daily routine; 2) because one is obliged for family, relationship or collegial reasons to attend a service in the church; 3) because at Easter and on Christmas all go to church. This is observed even by unbaptized people, because they have heard or have seen that this is what others do. Everyone, however, is in the clear that the baptized Orthodox Bulgarians are a special category of people. Theoretically they are members of the Church, because they are baptized, but in fact they are far from any idea of membership in a Christian Church with a commitment to regular church life. Quite another is the question that in Bulgaria, as is the case with all other countries with Orthodox majorities, there exists no registration of the members, and the concept "members of the Orthodox Church" is rather vague.

*c) Church attendance and church-mindedness*

The percentage of attendance at the liturgies, even after cursory calculations, proves to be quite low. The Bulgarian churches in our country and abroad, where there are Bulgarian church communities (in Europe, in North America and in Australia), are among the least visited ones, compared with other Orthodox countries and nations. Here are some explanations that can be given for this fact: 1) The centuries-long period of Ottoman slavery. 2) The Greek-speaking clergy at the time of that slavery (because the Bulgarian Church had then been subordinate to the Patriarchate of Constantinople). 3) The seven decades of the schism, imposed by the Patriarchate of Constantinople following the unilateral secession of the Bulgarian lands from its jurisdiction. 4) The nearly 50-year-long domination of the Communist party in Bulgaria, which had atheism as an important ideological postulate. These are, however, all attempts at searching for the blame mostly in objective factors, while ignoring the most important ones: the subjective ones.

One should consider here the connection between church-mindedness and pastoral activity. Religiousness, and church-mindedness in particular, have always had a direct connection with the over all psychology of the people. With the latter, however, we could not fully explain the religiousness of a nation. Because it is an indisputable fact that the people's psychology, too, is developed and formed under the influence of a variety of factors. As far as the religiousness of the Bulgarian nation is concerned, it seems to me that, before pointing to various other reasons, we ought first of all to admit the poor quality of the pastoral activities for the care of souls and also for an over all religious education, conducted throughout the 20th century, let alone those of the remote past. The reasons for that poor pastoral activity are: 1) a shortage of clerics; 2) the latter's poor training; 3) a lack of willingness for a pastoral activity, and along with that, 4) a lack of a persistent demand for such an activity on the part of church leaders.

*d) Shortage of priests and other needs*

Today the Bulgarian Orthodox Church has only some 1000 priests, that is, approximately one fourth of the number of parish priests it needs. What is more, many of them are too old, but continue to per-

form their clerical duties, owing to the lack of newly trained clergymen to take their places. A sufficient number of young personnel are already graduating from the departments of theology and from the theological seminaries, but the percentage of those taking the holy orders has only slightly increased when compared with the preceding years. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church, owing to financial difficulties, gives comparatively poor salaries to its clergymen, and the young people, who must also have a family in order to be ordained, prefer to find other jobs, which would guarantee their families a better living. The state shows no concern for the material assistance of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and has even created unprecedented difficulties for the life of the Church.

The Orthodox Church has churches in all towns and villages, but many of them have no priests and are opened only occasionally. In the towns, and particularly in the larger cities, there is an acute need for churches in the newly organized districts, which are sometimes vast satellite cities, as is the case of Sofia. There the immediate construction of churches is extremely urgent. In Sofia, for some of these new districts, as well as in many other cities, towns and villages, church boards have now been formed and new churches were built and consecrated. In more places churches are under construction. For us this is a joyful situation that was almost unheard of in past decades. Church leaders and active Christians now try to widen this initiative in order to include other newly organized districts in the capital, but also in the other twenty or so larger cities that have grown because of the process of urbanization and do not have any newly-built churches.

In addition, there is today an extremely acute need on space for catechetical and other extra-liturgical activities in the parishes. But for the time being, this need is very difficult to meet. The State does not help the Church in her need of churches and other spaces. The only help comes from the municipalities and communities, which usually give the piece of land for the new church as a donation to the parish.

#### INTERNAL LIFE OF THE BULGARIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

##### *a) Internal mission*

The lack of organizational structures for missionary work in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is yet another weak point. A department

for missionary work does not exist with the supreme governing body of the Church. And so far no one has thought of the need to establish one at least for internal mission. This being the situation, it is indeed a wonder that the number of the Orthodox faithful, instead of diminishing, is actually growing. The explanation is to be found in the deeply rooted tradition that the Orthodox faith has among the Bulgarian people. Particularly after the change in regime, thousands of adults are now baptized, or those baptized in the past are now becoming active members of the Orthodox Church. The problem is that the majority of these newly baptized people proceed to the gates of the faith without the necessary catechetical training. Unfortunately it often appears that the adoption of Christian baptism is simply a reaction to the ban and restrictions of the recent past.

There are still no special catechetical schools in the parish churches, nor is there sufficient educational literature to enable the people, by way of self-education, to prepare for the important step. Pleasantly surprised by the increased interest in the faith, the priests are engaged in baptizing non-stop, without, however, showing any concern for catechism.

In my opinion, more initiatives "from below" could be developed.<sup>11</sup> I have in mind the Orthodox lay movements for religious education and active Christian life, which were established in the previous decade and function very well on a voluntary basis. The most important is the "Orthodox Christian Movement St. Evthymy, Patriarch of Turnovo," but there are many others also. Creating either their own, or a common network, these movements offer their missionary work always in co-operation with the local church structures.

The Orthodox Church for its part started re-activating in Bulgaria a well known and fruitful form of parish life: the Orthodox Christian (parish) fellowships, which are being re-established on the recommendation of the Holy Synod. Their activities were discontinued during the communist regime. The tasks of these fellowships are to organize parishioners at each church, on a lay basis, to carry on religious, educational and charitable activities. But yet, the tradition, once broken is not so easily re-established due to the lack of direct continuity in many parishes: the one time activists are no more, and the new ones lack experience and rather timidly approach their new work.

Comparatively low is the percentage of monks and of celibate

clergy.<sup>12</sup> The number of monks and nuns has in the last years gradually increased, but it is far from meeting the needs of the 120 monasteries in Bulgaria. The monks and the nuns in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church nowadays are not more than 200 in number, which is very small when compared to those in other lands with Orthodox-majorities. Most noticeable is the need of celibate clerics for filling up the body of the episcopate. The selection is now limited to a considerable extent, which has an effect on the quality of the episcopate. On the whole, the educational level of the monks and nuns (as well as the priests) has in recent years been rising, for a great part of the novices have a theological or some other kind of university education.

#### *b) Christian literature and theological education*

There is a tremendous lack of Christian literature in Bulgaria, fortunately not more of the Holy Scriptures. With the financial support of the United Bible Societies and the technical help of the Bulgarian Bible Society in the last 10 years were printed several hundred thousands of the Bible (translation of the Bulgarian Church from 1925<sup>13</sup>) in three different sizes. The Holy Synod printed also the New Testament and Psalter<sup>14</sup> in one volume, which was re-printed in Greece and sent in more than 30 thousands copies as a gift to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church from the Church of Greece and other donors in this neighboring country.

The lack of Christian literature - both theological and popular - is still very acute. There is a search for possibilities within the existing general (not only economic) crisis in our country to print literature that would reach the broad masses of the people, that would promote the spread of the word of God, that would prepare the people to adopt the faith in Christ and that would make the believers more fervent in fulfilling their Christian duties.

For the needs of the Orthodox faith in Bulgaria, there are two theological seminaries with a total number of more than 500 students.<sup>15</sup> Higher theological education is offered in the universities of Sofia, Veliko Turnovo and Shoumen.<sup>16</sup> In these three universities a little more than 1000 students are trained, of whom 50% are women. Quite another is the question of how these students find their place in life. It is hardly a secret to the competent that to a certain degree university

education in the countries of the so-called "New Europe" serves as a cover for the actual amount of unemployment among the young population.<sup>17</sup> But the problems of the realization in life of these young people are thus only being postponed; they cannot be settled in that way.

### *c) Religious Education*

Religious education is a "painful problem" in Bulgarian society. The teaching of religion in the schools was done away with only several years after the communists came into power in 1944. Following the political changes in 1989, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church made the appropriate proposals to the Government and the Parliament, asking that the teaching of religion be restored. Eight governments have changed so far, but not one of them wished to restore the teaching of religion in the Bulgarian schools. Various arguments have been adduced:

1) the curriculum was overburdened; 2) there were no trained teachers of religion; 3) other faiths would also demand the teaching of their religion; and so on.

It seems that the real reason is the lack of a positive attitude among the Bulgarian politicians toward the Christian faith, in spite of the fact that they all, *en masse*, express an ostensible concern for the low morality in Bulgarian society. Having been brought up in the years of state-imposed atheism and subsequently "re-educated" in the struggle for power, they do not care much for the religious status of the people.

Nevertheless, for three years, the teaching of religion was allowed for children in primary school, whose parents gave consent. The difficulty with that form of teaching is that it is carried out as additional lessons, which are not included in the curriculum. This becomes an additional burden for the children, thus being an unfavorable factor in the choosing of this subject. That is why small groups for the lessons of religion were formed in only 5% of the schools. Thus the problem of engaging the Orthodox theologians has remained unsolved.

In connection with the teaching of religion, another long-standing weakness of church activities in Bulgaria has become apparent. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church has not succeeded thus far to encourage its parish priests to organize Sunday schools, attached to the churches,



in order there to teach religion. Various reasons are adduced, but to my mind the subjective factor is again the most important one. There are very few in number Sunday schools in our country, and this has had a negative effect on both Christian education and on Christian upbringing of Bulgarians. Hence, the poor effect of the mission of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church among the Bulgarian people today.

Often in my text, when mentioning factors that hinder the life and mission of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, I placed the subjective one first. This is not by accident, for it is my conviction that much of Christian mission depends on it. What did St. Paul the Apostle have, when he set out to preach the good news on two continents? Was it money? Was it organization? Was it a staff of assistants and managers? Or rooms, made ready in advance with all the necessary equipment? No! What he had was only a strong and ardent faith in a pure and warm heart. But by the grace of God he was what he was. And God's grace for him was not in vain (I Cor.15:10).

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN STATE AND CHURCH IN BULGARIA TODAY

##### *a) The lack of a modern law on religious confessions*

To say that today in Bulgaria we do not live in a free and democratic society would be a lie. But to also say that in this free and democratic society the rights and freedoms of the citizens and of their associations, organizations, institutions, the Churches included, are automatically guaranteed even under the best legislature, would also not be true. The Bulgarian legislature, in this regard, is far from the concept of "the best one." The most obvious evidence is the constant making of laws by Bulgaria's National Assembly, which shows how imperfect still is our system of laws. When we take into consideration also the priority principle, according to which the new laws are being passed, it becomes clear why the affairs of the Church in our country are still being settled in compliance with one of the most out-of-date and unsuitable laws in the Republic of Bulgaria – the Law on Religious Confessions, dating as far back as the time of "the dawn of communism" in Bulgaria (1949).

##### *b) The State policy of "Divide et impera"*

The Department of Religious Affairs, attached to the Council of Ministers, which mediates the relations between the Church and the

religious communities on the one hand, and the State on the other, is evidently not very concerned with this fact because the totalitarian instruments do satisfy it perfectly. Three bills have of late been offered for a new law on the confessions in Bulgaria by members of the Parliament from the Union of Democratic Forces and the so called "Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization," which is a member of the coalition United Democratic Forces, now in power. But the new bills on the confessions may not reach the plenary sessions of the National Assembly. All the religious confessions are filled with indignation at this disregard for their rights and freedoms, but unfortunately there never has been, and there still does not exist, a joint body to coordinate their interests, their needs and demands. Meanwhile the Department continues to act undisturbed according to the age-old principle of the brutality of the State: "*Divide et impera!*" It strives to keep the confessions divided and regards with suspicion every attempt on their part to act jointly in defense of their interests.<sup>18</sup>

Even the children in our country know that the Orthodox Church is the largest one in Bulgaria. Without speaking about the millions of its members, most of whom, as has already been pointed out, are unfortunately passive in their Christian vocation, the active members are nevertheless a solid majority, which no other public organization in our country could boast. This used to be the problem of the former Communist Government, and is again a problem for every government after the 1989 changes. The politicians are afraid of a strong and well-organized Church, and that is why the Bulgarian Orthodox Church cannot boast of a friendly attitude on the part of any political group in power. Just one single example: the greatest number of possessions, expropriated after September 9th, 1944, had been those of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and yet concerning their restitution nothing is being done by our democratic legislators. On the other hand, however, the law has promptly returned the possessions of other religious confessions, the churches of which have strong ties abroad.

### *c) The economic Support of the Church*

Of major importance for the life and activities of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is its financial maintenance. At the time of Communism, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the other religious

confessions had procured from the State exclusive rights in producing and selling objects, connected with the cult. That used to be a very important acquisition for the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Christians in Bulgaria buy and light many candles at every visit to the church, not just during the liturgy. In fact, that used to be the major source of income for the Church. Next came the receipts from the sale of the other monopoly objects, as from payments by the believers for various religious services. The rents, received from the real property of the Church, which at that time used to be considerable, did not guarantee sizeable receipts, because the State used to control the prices of the rents in a quite disadvantageous manner for the owners. To compensate for the nationalized property, the State used to grant an annual subsidy, which was spent for the upkeep and repair of churches and monasteries, included in the list of the monuments of the national culture. That subsidy did not surpass 10% of the annual budget of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.

Nowadays the situation concerning finances is too complicated. First of all, the monopoly of church products was abolished and the profits from them are now several times less. The State has also discontinued the subsidy, owing to financial difficulties of the State's own budget. A certain increase in the receipts has come from the high rents of the real property, especially in the towns. But the cost of living in Bulgaria has gone up very much. The churches find it very difficult to pay for the heating, the electric lighting and for other expenditures. What is more, the churches and the monasteries are obligated by the present democratic Government to pay for the electric lighting at the same rate paid by the industrial enterprises (i.e. 3 times more). To all this we must further add: 1) the problem of the possessions that have not yet been returned to the Church, as well as 2) the problem of the property that is unlawfully held by the schismatics in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. Thus, we have arrived at one of the most serious internal problems of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church today: the schism.

#### *d) The schism in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church*

In 1989-1990, when the political changes in Bulgaria began, certain political figures leveled against the Bulgarian Orthodox Church the accusation that it was not actively joining in the propaganda for

change and was therefore in favor of maintaining the totalitarian *status quo*. It was pointed out that the supreme governing body of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church had been elected at the time of Communism and this fact was manipulatively presented by the politically unscrupulous. The absurd demand was thus reached that the Church ought to de-communize itself, in spite of the fact that it had for decades been the major ideological opponent of the Communist State. The paradox of that demand was intensified by the fact that among those who had raised this concern there were also former high-ranking functionaries of the Communist Party. They were now declaring themselves "democrats." It was no secret that during those totalitarian decades, the Communist Government, however they might have been attempting to pull the strings in the activities of the Church to their advantage, had constantly admitted the existence of "disobedience" on the part of the Patriarch and the Holy Synod.

In the final reckoning, the present situation shows nothing more than an attempt to seize the management of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church by placing in the high offices of the Patriarch and of the Metropolitans (i.e. diocesan bishops) persons, who would be obedient to the new democrats. Things had gone so far as to declare the institution of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, which has existed for more than a thousand years, of being illegitimate by refusing to recognize its lawfully elected governing organs. The consequence of all this was a split in the clergy, and along with it also of the people. A duplicate structure of the Holy Synod was created, which elected a Patriarch, too. True, the number of the dissenters (called schismatics in the language of the Church) was small (not more than 150 priests), and many of them later did return to the canonical Church. Now they are not more than 50, scattered unevenly all over the country. Although the democratic Governments had not dared to recognize officially the schismatic synod and patriarch, they continue to exert pressure upon the canonical Church with the clear purpose of forming an obedient governing body of the Church, which would follow their political slogans. This is what in practice happens with the handful of clerics, who are under the protection of the present Government and who constantly attend political meetings, serving as a decoration at various other political events.

*e) The political aspects of the Schism*

As is seen, the major aim of the schism created and maintained for political reasons was to weaken the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. The dissention is being misleadingly presented as a split within the top-ranking clergy. Since the schism was not an internal dissention, it was an attempt at creating a coup in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and at subordinating its supreme governing body to the interests of a party. The benefit of the schism for those in power from the schism is at least threefold: 1) the rightist parties periodically activate their electorate by means of slogans about a de-communization; 2) the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is discredited before at least a part of the society and cannot play a role in the social life, corresponding to its membership of many millions; 3) the property of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is still unlawfully in the possession either of the State, or of private persons, connected with the political elite. While the priests in the villages and in the small towns are living in poverty with their miserable salaries, (in the larger towns they have a good additional income from religious services), and the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is unable to set aside any funds whatsoever for charitable activities, there are others who are unlawfully growing richer from the property of the Church. Christians bestowed these resources on the Church at an earlier time in order to enable the Church to carry out freely its pastoral activities. All this predetermines to a great extent the activities of the Church in its entire mission, restricts its initiatives, and a number of programs remain in the realm of wishful thinking for the time being.<sup>19</sup>

The schism in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church still exists today, in spite of the fact that a Pan-Orthodox Council was convened at the request of the Bulgarian Patriarch on September 30<sup>th</sup> and October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1998, in Sofia, which denounced the schism and appealed to those participating in it to return in the canonical Church. The leaders of the schism attended the final session of the Council, asked forgiveness and received back, with great magnanimity, their episcopal insignia, and it was left to the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church to determine their official positions within the canonical structure of the Church. Unfortunately, however, they did not keep their promises. Most of their bishops and priests have gradually, in the months that followed, come back, but a recalcitrant core has still remained

unrepentant. Only in isolated cases, have they ordained new bishops and priests. Meanwhile in the last months their leader, the self-proclaimed Metropolitan of Sofia Inokentij, (a prominent politician of the Union of Democratic Forces who was unlawfully registered by the Mayor of Sofia) has, with the support of the Department of Religious Affairs, started a campaign for misappropriating highly lucrative property in the center of the capital city.

This all looks very much like a state of siege. The Union of Democratic Forces initially wanted to substitute all the canonical metropolitans of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. From that "maximum program" they have now switched over to a "minimum program:" all the Metropolitans may keep their positions, on condition that the Patriarch resigns. This is a clever idea that could even claim to be a Christian argument: one sacrifices oneself for all, like Jesus Christ, or like the prophet Jonah, in the Old Testament. But the Holy Synod took the stand: "All for one," both as a matter of principle and also for fear that a removal of the head of the Church as a result of political pressure would create a dangerous precedent (even the godless Communists had not ventured this!) which would justify every new government to place their own Patriarch, like they use to replace the leaders of the armed forces, of the police and of other key institutions. The Clergy and the people are ill disposed to the State's open interferences in the affairs of the Church. That is why in last year the Government has refrained from other interventions in the affairs of the Church, leaving only its Department of Religious Affairs to "keep up the fire burning."

The fact must also be pointed out that the Bulgarian schismatics, soon after their emergence in 1992, created unrest in the Bulgarian church communities abroad, and also established contact with similar structures in the Ukraine and Montenegro. Indeed it was the Bulgarian schismatics in Sofia that ordained even the schismatic Archbishop of that Yugoslavian republic. The schism has thus acquired an inter-orthodox character, which explains the inter-Orthodox solidarity in the efforts to resolve it.

### *Old-Calendar Groups in Bulgaria*

The old-calendar style is no reason for schism within Orthodoxy. Some of the local Orthodox Churches accepted the so-called corrected

Julian calendar in the early 20's of this century, including the Bulgarian Orthodox Church as late as 1968. Still others adhere to the old style, but this has not created any difficulties in their communion in the liturgy: in the case of con-celebrations they adhere to the calendar used by the hosting Church. Nevertheless the old-calendar schism, which appeared and gave rise to numerous branches in Greece, now also exists in Bulgaria and Rumania. In our country it had came into existence under the influence of the Greek old-calendarists, even copying their divisions. A bishop of our old-calendarists, Photios of Triaditsa, was ordained in our country soon after the political change. In fact, the old style is only an excuse for secession from the canonical Church. The stronger argument for them is the maintenance by the Bulgarian Orthodox Church of contacts with the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches (within the WCC and the CEC).

Old-calendarist criticism was the reason that made the Bulgarian Church abandon its membership in the WCC in 1998, and in the CEC in 1999, because the old-calendarists have an indirect, but strong influence upon the believers of the canonical Church. The anti-ecumenical writings of the ideological leaders of the old-calendar schism in our country (two professors from the Academy of Theology, who have deserted their posts on the professorial staff after the adoption of the new-calendar style in December 1968) have already been published in Russia and in Georgia, keeping up similar feelings there. Unfortunately, the dialogue with these people is an extremely difficult one, sometimes even impossible. They do attract at times the most zealous of Christians, including students from the theological faculties and seminaries.

### *Concluding remarks*

As Bulgaria seeks today to draw closer to the European union, there exist a number of *conditiones sine quibus non*, which first must be met. These are specified not only for Bulgaria but also for all countries of Central and Eastern Europe. They are stipulated by the political and economic organs of the European Union and affect all political, legal, economic, ecological and military fields. The Bulgarian people and their Orthodox Church understand the need for such requirements. Nevertheless, one should not forget that they too have their own *conditio sine qua non*: the preservation of their religious and cultural identity such as it has come down to them

through their history. Naturally, no Bulgarian wants to oppose this religious and cultural identity to the confessional and cultural traditions of other European nations. All the more so, because the preservation of the Bulgarian religious and cultural identity will make the process of Bulgarian integration into the European Union less stressful and complete. At the same time Bulgarians will also have the opportunity to make their small, but valuable contribution to the religious and cultural spectrum of Europe. This kind of process will bring about that unity in diversity that enriches and builds up the beauty of living together.

The picture, or more exactly the photograph, presented here concerning the state of the Orthodox faith and Church in Bulgaria today, may be accurate, but not optimistic. Nevertheless, it is the author's conviction that anyone who might be shocked by such a presentation of things, ought to remember the words of our Lord and Savior, addressed to the Apostle to the Nations: "My grace is sufficient for you, for My strength is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor 12,9).

#### NOTES

\* This article is based on an earlier article of mine, which was prepared for the Giovanni Agnelli Foundation in Torino, Italy.

<sup>1</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria*, art. 13, par. 1 (voted on the 12th of July 1991).

<sup>2</sup> Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 348.

<sup>3</sup> Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 357-360. Nicephorus, *Opuscula historica*, 34-35. Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, 226-228. Cf. Ioannes Scylitzes, *Historia*, 1, p. 770. In the statement, made by the Syrian Presbyter Constantinus Apamiensis at the 16th session of the Sixth Ecumenical Council on the 9th of August, 681, mention is made about the peace already made with the proto-Bulgarians; see Constantinus Apamiensis, *Ex actis concilii oecumenici anno 681*, col. 617.

<sup>4</sup> *Istoria na Bulgaria*, T. II - Purva bulgarska durzhava. Bulgarska akademija na naukite (= *History of Bulgaria*, vol. II - The First Bulgarian State, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences). Sofia, 1981, pp. 95-106.

<sup>5</sup> The creation of the Bulgarian nationality as a result of a long-lasting and complicated evolution had been accompanied by the emergence and recognition of a general name for all who had belonged to it. The name "Bulgaria" and the derivative "Bulgarians" had prevailed most likely due to the terminological continuity from Great Bulgaria of Khan Kubrat (see *ibid.*, p.276; cf. also the important treatise of Pope Nicolaus I: *Responsa papae Nicolai primi ad consulta Bulgarorum*, cap. 14, 103, 104).

<sup>6</sup> Since the 9th century, the Slavonic language had prevailed in all parts of Bulgaria



and had finally taken the place of the language of the proto-Bulgarians in public life, as is obvious from the preserved written monuments. This means that the assimilative ethnogenetic process had been completed and that in the late 9th and early 10th century a single uniform nationality had been formed (see more in *Istoria na Bulgaria*, pp. 251-277. T. Sabev, *Samostojna narodnostna cyrkva v srednovekovna Bulgaria* (=Autonomous People's Church in Mediaeval Bulgaria). Sofia, 1987, p. 402. V. Gjuzelev, *The Adoption of Christianity in Bulgaria*, Sofia, 1976.

<sup>7</sup> As late as two centuries after Bulgaria, which in the 7th cen. had united within its boundaries a considerable part of the Southern Slavs, the Slavic states of Great Moravia, Serbia, Russia had been formed in the 9th century, and in the 10th century Croatia, Poland and other Slavic states had been created.

<sup>8</sup> *Istoria na Bulgaria*, T. II, pp. 238-246. See also Fr. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs, SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius*, Branswick (N.Y.), 1970. V. Zlatarski, *Istoria na bulgarskata dyrzhava prez srednite vekove* (=History of the Bulgarian State). T. I - *Pyrvo bulgarsko tsarstvo* (=First Bulgarian Kingdom), Part 2. Sofia, 1971.

<sup>9</sup> The process of obtaining an ecclesiastical independence (autocephaly) by the Bulgarian Church had to pass through many and difficult trials. Following the fall of Bulgaria under the Ottoman yoke at the end of the 14th century, the territories of the country had, in ecclesiastical respect, been subordinated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. During the period of the National Revival, in the 18th-19th centuries, relations between the Bulgarians and the Patriarchate were aggravated, owing to the latter's unwillingness to grant them independence. On their part the Bulgarians had been laying the emphasis on their one-time autonomous church organization, honored even with the status of a Patriarchate. They also used the example of the Church of Greece which had, already in the 30s of the 19th century, seceded on its own initiative and which, in the year 1850, had received from the Patriarchate of Constantinople recognition of its also uncanonically declared autocephaly. The Patriarchate, however, had accused the Bulgarians of ethnophyletism, because they, without having been identified as a separate independent state, had asked for and had succeeded, by virtue of a *firman* from the Turkish Sultan (1870), to obtain a separation, on the basis of the ethnic principle, of the Bulgarians in the non-Bulgarian church communities within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. Following the stipulations of the Sultan's document (i.e. with the intervention on the part of the State), the Bulgarians had organized an autonomous Bulgarian Church on their own under the name of Bulgarian Exarchate. But the answer of the Patriarchate of Constantinople had been categorical. It had convened an extended council (1872), which had condemned the Bulgarians of ethnophyletism and had proclaimed schismatic their already existing Church. That punishment was not repealed even after the reestablishment of the Bulgarian State in 1878. It had been a heavy burden for the Bulgarians in the course of a full 73 years and was repealed as late as 1945 with the help of the first Government after the coming into power of the Communists in September 1944. As a result of the Bulgarian Church having been proclaimed as schismatic, it found itself in an almost complete isolation from the other local Orthodox Churches. True enough, there were some of them which were showing understanding for the ethnic character of that counteraction and were communicating with the Bulgarian Church (like the Romanian, the Serbian, the Russian Churches,

the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, et al.), were unofficially providing it with holy myrrh, were receiving its clergymen at inter-Orthodox meetings, but were refraining from concelebrating, particularly on an hierarchical level. Gauged in two words, that bold step of the Bulgarian fighters for national and ecclesiastical independence had contributed towards the nation's liberation, but had at the same time done great harm to the religious life of the Bulgarian people. As is the case with every negation, so also the rejecting of the ecclesiastical authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople had created a spirit of nihilism that had later on been to a great extent directed also at our own national Bulgarian Church. See more in K. Dinkov, *Istoria na bulgarskata cyrkva* (=History of the Bulgarian Church), Sofia, 1954.

<sup>10</sup> All words in quotation marks in this paragraph are taken from the usual vocabulary of the authorities in the communist time.

<sup>11</sup> Ivan Dimitrov, "Christian Mission Today in a Socialist Country of Yesterday. Impressions from Bulgaria," *International Review of Mission*, Vol. LXXX, Nos. 319-320 (July/October 1991), p. 423.

<sup>12</sup> At the time of the Communist regime in our country those young people, who had shown interest in the monastic life and had gone to monasteries to become monks or nuns, were the object of special measures on the part of the Government, experiencing various forms of pressure to abandon their intentions.

<sup>13</sup> This was actually from its new edition in 1982. There is also a widely spread Protestant translation of the Bible since 1871, revised in the 20's of the twentieth century. It was secondary revised in the last years and now is ready to be printed. Under the guidance of U.B.S. a team of Orthodox scholars started 6 years ago a new (inter-confessional) translation of the Bible and in 2000 we expect the New Testament to be printed.

<sup>14</sup> That combination was selected because the New Testament and the Psalter are the most frequently read parts of Holy Scripture.

<sup>15</sup> Until 1950, there were in Bulgaria two seminaries (secondary theological schools for boys): in the capital city of Sofia (1 million inhabitants) and in Plovdiv (500 000 inhabitants). The theological seminary in Plovdiv was then closed down (officially it was "merged" with the one in Sofia), and the single seminary was moved to a place some 100 klm from Sofia – to the Monastery of Cherepish. In 1991 the Sofia Theological Seminary returned to its buildings in Sofia, and at the same time the Plovdiv Seminary resumed its activities in its buildings in the center of the city of Plovdiv.

<sup>16</sup> The Faculty of Theology of the "Saint Clement of Ohrid" in Sofia University is the first of its kind in Bulgaria, founded in 1923. From 1950 until 1991 it had been moved out of the university for ideological reasons and had existed on its own under the control of the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. In 1991 our Faculty was invited to become again a part of the university community. Founded in that same year was the Orthodox Faculty of Theology of the "Saints Cyril and Methodius" University in Veliko Turnovo. In addition a special subject of Theology was introduced at the Faculty Department of Bulgarian Philology, Theology and History of the "Bishop Constantine of Preslav" University in Shoumen. From 1999 the teaching of Theology began also in the town of Kurdjali (Southern Bulgaria) where there is a pedagogical branch of the "Father Paisy of Hilendar" University of Plovdiv. It is interesting that as the unofficial reason for the inclusion of the

subject of Theology in Shoumen and in Kurdjali is the large number of Mohammedans in these areas, i.e. the purpose was to strengthen there the Orthodox presence.

<sup>17</sup> This is the only explanation for the fact that in Bulgaria, after 1989 the number of universities dramatically increased from 3 or 4 to more than 40 (!), which was a decision of the supreme power in our country. The number of university students in our country has thus correspondingly become several times larger. At the same time, however, the number of jobs for them has been decreasing at an unbelievable rate!

<sup>18</sup> See also T. Sabev, *The Orthodox Churches in the WCC: Towards the Future*, Geneva, 1996.

<sup>19</sup> Ivan Dimitrov, "Christian Mission," *op. cit.* p. 424.

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## The Orthodox Church in Germany: Past, Present and Future\*

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ARCHDEACON WASSILIOS KLEIN

### *1. The background*

Germany not only produced many saints whom we can recognize as such since they predated the introduction of the *filioque* by Charlemagne, king of the Franks (who ruled from 768 to 814); it also had strong connections with several famous saints who are particularly important to the Orthodox Church. The holy emperor Constantine the Great resided for many years in the West German city of Trier, as witnessed by the Constantine Basilica, his throne room, which has been preserved to this day. His mother, Saint Helen, also lived there, and took advantage of the well-developed military roads to visit Cologne, and perhaps also my hometown of Bonn, which was home to a Roman military camp, and still has a Romanesque chapel dedicated to Saint Helen. Trier became the home of Saint Athanasius of Alexandria when he was banished there during the Arian dispute. Trier was also the birthplace of Saint Ambrose. However, the Roman urban culture in Germany did not survive the fourth century. The cities disappeared into a shadowy existence for centuries. From an ecclesiastical point of view, Germany belonged quite clearly to Rome, so that it was fully committed to the Latin tradition. But the Medieval world was culturally more diverse than we often imagine today. For example, in the 10th century Theophano, the niece of the em-

\* Paper presented at The Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

peror John I Tsimiskis, married king Otto II. After his death, she acted as a powerful regent for Otto III until he came of age. Her grave is still to be found in Cologne and is often visited by Orthodox believers. In the 11th century, the monk Simeon of Sinai Pentaglottos, who came from the Byzantine part of Sicily and was educated in Constantinople, died in Trier, which had returned to importance as the seat of a bishopric. Shortly after his death, he was canonized by Rome, and in 1996 the Patriarchate of Jerusalem followed suit for the Orthodox Church.<sup>1</sup> However, these remained isolated episodes. It was not until the Reformation, which in Germany began with Martin Luther, that there were Christians who were independent of Rome. Unfortunately, the Reformers remained far from the world of Orthodox spirituality, despite their not insignificant contacts with the Orthodox Church, which, however, probably came too late.

## *2. The immigration of Orthodox believers to Germany<sup>2</sup>*

The first Orthodox parish recorded on German territory was founded in 1718. Its members met initially on the private premises of the Russian envoy, and later at a church in the embassy. This parish was wholly dependent on the diplomats and on whether they were Orthodox, and for this reason it did not have a continuous existence. However, it is worth noting that as early as 1836, the Metropolitanate of St.-Petersburg, which had jurisdiction for this Berlin parish,<sup>3</sup> gave permission for the Liturgy to be celebrated in German. To this day, many parishes in Germany still use the translations completed by Archpriest Aleksij Mal'cev, who served in Berlin from 1886 to 1914 with great beneficent effect. The Russians did not remain restricted to the capital. Thanks to the close relations between Russia and Prussia, a parish was established at a very early stage in Potsdam. The Tsar Peter I had sent the Prussian ruler Frederick William I particularly tall, strong Russian grenadiers, and a priest came with them to Potsdam in 1718. However, the parish did not survive. Tsar Alexander I made King Frederick William II a present of a Russian soldiers' choir, for whom a colony called Aleksandrovka was built near Potsdam, complete with wooden Russian houses, some of which are still standing today. Under the supervision of the famous master builder Karl Friedrich Schinkel, a church dedicated to Saint Alexander Nevsky was also built, and was consecrated in the presence of Tsar

Nicholas I and the Prussian royal family in 1829. The church is now under the Moscow Patriarchate. There were similar beginnings in many German towns and cities. Thanks to dynastic links, a few Russian merchants, and a large number of visitors who belonged to the Russian nobility came to Germany, and many house chapels, cemetery chapels and parish churches were built, such as those in Breslau,<sup>4</sup> Bad Ems, Baden-Baden, Bad Homburg, Darmstadt, Dresden, Leipzig and Wiesbaden. This heyday of the Russian parishes initially came to an end when the First World War made Germany and Russia into enemies.

The Russian emigration following the October revolution led to a dramatic rise in the number of Russian Christians in Berlin and other German cities, but only a minority remained in Germany after the 1920s; most went on to Paris and the New World. Those Russians who stayed behind had to decide whether they wanted to belong to the jurisdiction of the émigré Metropolitan Evlogii, who was under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad or the Moscow Patriarchate. As part of Adolf Hitler's policy of *Gleichschaltung* (bringing into line), all Orthodox Christians were to be brought into line by making the Russian Church Abroad the only recognized Orthodox jurisdiction in the Third Reich, and granting it all the rights associated with the Russian church buildings. It was even possible to have a new cathedral built in Berlin in 1938, which the Allies put at the disposal of the Moscow Patriarchate in 1945. Today the Russian Church Abroad still owns most of the old Russian churches in Germany, but its parishes are shrinking visibly. Until 1990, the parishes under the Moscow Patriarchate had even smaller numbers.

The origins of Greek-language Orthodoxy in Germany<sup>5</sup> are connected with the Greek merchants in the Ottoman Empire, who maintained particularly active links with the Leipzig trade fair. The first Liturgy was celebrated there in 1743. Greek scholars now found better opportunities to print their books in Leipzig than in Venice, which they had previously preferred, and their presence led to a growth in the parish and also intellectual stimulus. Many Greeks were also drawn to Munich by the educational opportunities there. When the Greek state was founded and a Bavarian king, Otto I, began ruling Greece, contacts intensified. King Ludwig I of Bavaria decreed that the Church of the Savior in the center of Munich be handed over to

the Greeks, and to this day it is used by a large Greek parish.<sup>6</sup> In 1904 a chapel was also established in Berlin. From 1922 onwards, Germany came under the newly-established Metropolitanate of Thyateira, based in London. When the German economy saw an unforeseen upturn in the 1950s and was desperately short of labor, other countries, particularly in southern Europe, were suffering from mass unemployment. From 1960 onwards, several hundred thousand Greeks came to Germany. As a result, the Ecumenical Patriarchate decided in 1963 to establish the Metropolitanate of Germany, with its headquarters in what was then the capital city, Bonn. This is currently headed by Metropolitan Augoustinos, who was born in Crete in 1938, and studied in Chalkê, Salzburg and Münster. He was ordained priest in 1964 and served initially in Berlin, becoming Assistant Bishop in 1972 and Metropolitan of Germany and Exarch of Central Europe in 1980. While there were only 12 Greek parishes in Germany when the Metropolitanate was founded, there are now about 70. In the early days - and this is still the case today - it was not easy to find qualified priests. All the priests now serving in Germany who have a theological background - most of them have this - were trained in Greece. Between 1972 and 1980, under Metropolitan Irenaios, several working men with no theological training were ordained priests. It was not easy for any of them to adapt to the language of their environment, the often very high level of fluctuation in the parishes, the diaspora situation and, above all, the industrial society of Germany, which was relatively secular compared to Greece at that time. It was the uncertainty about the future of the Greeks in Germany which made work in the parishes particularly difficult. This was because the 1960 agreement between Greece and Germany on the recruitment and placement of Greek employees in the Federal Republic of Germany provided for the return of the workers to Greece as soon as they were no longer needed in Germany. This was before the days of the European Community with the freedom its citizens have to work in other member states and to receive a permanent residence permit. Both the workers and their priests, therefore, had to assume that the Greek Orthodox Church in Germany would be only a temporary institution. For decades people kept their suitcases packed in their cupboards; every year, they said that they would return to Greece the following year. So the priests made little effort to find their own church buildings, but concentrated on meeting the most



immediate spiritual needs, which meant providing services and sacraments such as marriages and baptisms throughout Germany.

There were similar problems, besides a Communist government in their home country, for the Yugoslav *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) who came to Germany, among them about 180,000 Orthodox Serbs. In 1969 a separate Diocese of Western Europe was set up, based in London, which was moved to Hildesheim-Himmelsthür in Germany in 1979. So beside Spaniards, Italians and Turks, the Serbs and Greeks are the two Orthodox ethnic groups who came to work in Germany in large numbers in the 1960s.

### *3. Developments since 1990 and the present situation*

In a completely new development that took the world by surprise, the collapse of the Soviet Union led to a massive increase in the immigration of people of Jewish and German origin together with their Russian relatives from all former Soviet states. The provisions in German law that allowed this immigration had their origins in the Cold War. The development has had a particularly strong impact on the Russian parishes. The immigrants hardly know where to turn between the Church Abroad and the Moscow Patriarchate, and simply go to the nearest Russian-language parish, without paying attention to jurisdictional problems. Many Russian parishes were in the second, third or even fourth generation after the emigrations triggered by the October revolution and the end of the Second World War. Some of them already used German as a liturgical language, sometimes as the main liturgical language, and some parishes even followed the New Calendar. The established parish members now felt that they were being taken over by the much larger numbers of immigrants. Many parishes have had to stop using German and return to Church Slavonic. The New Calendar has also had to be abandoned. Pastoral care is made more difficult by the fact that a substantial proportion of the immigrants are unemployed, living on state welfare benefits, or not legally resident in Germany. This means that the parishes do not have the financial means to build bigger churches or set up new parishes. But this is exactly what is urgently needed, because German immigration policy means that the immigrants are distributed around many small German towns. This would require priests in all these different towns, but they are not available. It follows that the Ortho-

dox Church will lose many of the Orthodox immigrants.

The 1990s have seen the establishment of further dioceses on German soil<sup>7</sup>. In 1994 the Romanian Patriarchate of Bucharest set up the "Romanian Orthodox Metropolitanate of Germany and Central Europe".<sup>8</sup> A substantial number of Romanian parishes in Germany which were previously under the Romanian Church Abroad have moved to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, with the result that the Romanian Orthodox in Germany are still divided between two bishops. The Bulgarian Patriarchate of Sofia established a Metropolitanate of Central and Western Europe in 1993. Finally, there are also a few Ukrainian parishes under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and a small number of parishes under the Patriarchate of Antioch, which belong to the Western European Exarchate, based in Paris.

If we do not include the non-canonical communities that have their origins in the Orthodox Church, we can see the following picture emerging:

1) Ecumenical Patriarchate

a) Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate of Germany and Exarchate of Central Europe, including a small number of Romanian parishes

b) Archdiocese of the Orthodox Russian parishes in Western Europe

c) Ukrainian Orthodox Eparchy of Western Europe

2) Patriarchate of Antioch

Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch/Exarchate for Western Europe

3) Patriarchate of Moscow

Diocese of Berlin and Germany

4) Patriarchate of Belgrade

Serbian Orthodox Diocese of Central Europe

5) Patriarchate of Bucharest

Romanian Orthodox Metropolitanate of Germany and Central Europe

6) Patriarchate of Sofia

Bulgarian Diocese of Western and Central Europe

Orthodox in the USA are accustomed to the confusions caused by a large number of different jurisdictions, and Orthodox students of theology are able to cope with these confusions. But in America also know from their own experience that it is too much to expect non-Orthodox to work out the different dioceses which they are divided up into. For that reason, it was an important step in our presentation

of ourselves to the outside world when the "Commission of the Orthodox Church in Germany - Association of Dioceses" was set up in 1994. The preamble of the Commission's constitution contains the following statement: *"On the basis of the consideration that the various national Orthodox dioceses in Germany are members of one single Orthodox Church, and should therefore have the appropriate structures, on 1 May 1994 a body was created to bring together the community of Orthodox dioceses that are in Eucharistic communion with one another and to enable them to act together more closely."* And in fact the Commission has been able to present a unified picture of the Orthodox Church to the outside world on a number of issues, as well as making clear to the German state and to their German religious bodies that the Russian Church Abroad, the "autocephalous" Ukrainians and various other Orthodox groups are not in Eucharistic communion with the Orthodox Church. Each year, the Commission organizes a Liturgy from a different diocese to be broadcasted on a Sunday morning, and it issues a joint Lenten pastoral letter from the Orthodox bishops. It also publishes a directory of the Orthodox parishes in the 8 dioceses in Germany mentioned above, coordinates talks on religious education with the relevant departments of the 16 German *Länder*, which are comparable with the American federal states, has set up a pan-diocesan Orthodox Youth Association, which has become a member of Syndesmos, and it publishes a joint press information bulletin containing news relating to the life of the Orthodox Church in Germany and all over the world, and important documents. Of course, the Commission also has a website ([www.orthodoxe-kirche.notrix.de](http://www.orthodoxe-kirche.notrix.de)). All these activities involve challenging the tendency to act in separate ethnic groups, and indeed using German as the lingua franca. This has had a significant impact on integration. Some of the dioceses would welcome closer cooperation, others feel that their national identity is being threatened. It therefore remains to be seen whether the Commission will become an Orthodox Conference of Bishops, as planned.

According to statistics published in the joint information bulletin of the Orthodox dioceses in Germany, *"Orthodoxie aktuell,"*<sup>9</sup> Orthodox services are held in 282 different places in Germany, served by about 160 priests. Half of these services take place in non-Orthodox places of worship - mainly Catholic or Protestant churches, but also parish halls -, while the other half are held in buildings that are used

on a permanent basis by Orthodox worshippers and are adapted to liturgical requirements, although only a small proportion are purpose-built Orthodox churches. However, in addition to the Metropolitanate in Bonn, there are now several other newly-built Orthodox parish centers, mainly Greek, but also some Serbian.<sup>10</sup> Over the last ten years, more and more former *Gastarbeiter* have come to realize that their children and grandchildren will stay in Germany, and a significant number, who are now starting to reach retirement age, have for this reason also decided to stay. So it was not until 30 years after the Metropolitanate of Germany was set up that the people, and also the priests, were ready to give up the idea of a provisional institution and start preparing to remain in Germany on a permanent basis. In the last ten years it has become almost fashionable for each priest to build a church for at least one of the parishes he serves. To go back to some statistics, the regional distribution of parishes is closely linked to the location of Germany's major industrial centers, where most of the *Gastarbeiter* were first recruited. The state with the largest number of Orthodox places of worship is North Rhine-Westphalia, with a total of 86, followed by Baden-Württemberg with 69 and Bavaria with 48. There is a significant jump to Lower Saxony, the next in line with 22, then Hesse with 18 and Rhineland-Palatinate with 10 places of worship. As one might expect, the states covering the territory of former East Germany have hardly any Orthodox parishes.

The Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate of Germany has the largest number of members – about 400.000 –, and serves the largest number of locations. It includes more than half of all Orthodox places of worship (157). The second largest group is the Serbian Diocese of Central Europe, with circa 350.000 members and 34 parishes. The Russian diocese has the same number of parishes, but fewer worshippers i. e. circa 50.000. The Romanian Metropolitanate of Germany has 24 parishes and 80.000 members. The Ukrainians, the Arabs of the Antiochian Patriarchate and the Bulgarians each have 5 to 15 places of worship. The Russian Archdiocese of Western Europe, based in Paris, has only one small German-speaking parish in Düsseldorf. We estimate that the total number of Orthodox in Germany is around 1.2 million, which with a total population of 88 million works out at about 1.3%.<sup>11</sup>

What are the possibilities for studying Orthodox theology in Germany?<sup>12</sup> I may say that they are quite good. You are all invited to find

out for yourselves by spending a few semesters studying in Germany. In 1979 a chair of Orthodox Theology was set up at the University of Münster. The holder of this position, Professor Anastasios Kallis, retired in 1999. The post has not yet been re-advertised because it is planned to introduce studies for teachers in Orthodox religion. The necessary changes are not yet finished. Developments in Munich are already encouraging. Since 1985 Professor Theodor Nikolaou has been teaching Orthodox Theology there, and since 1987 he has been publishing the academic journal *Orthodoxes Forum*. It proved possible to extend this chair into a "Training Institution for Orthodox Theology," where four professors began teaching in 1995. It is planned to develop this training institution into an entire Orthodox faculty within the state university of Munich. The courses already offered there allow students to gain undergraduate degrees (*Diplom*) and doctorates in Theology. In the near future, however, teaching courses to train future religious education teachers for the various types of school are also to become possible. A training center of this kind in Germany is of great significance for integration in the country and for learning from the strengths of western Christianity, such as methods of preaching and social work.

#### 4. The future

The thing about predictions is that we can be 100% certain that they will not come true exactly in the way we imagine. However, I will permit myself to express some wishes and make some observations about the present that may lead to expectations of the future. One wish that still awaits fulfillment is for monasticism in Germany. No one has yet appeared who would be willing to found a real monastery with the blessing of a bishop who has jurisdiction in Germany. God has granted other western European countries people who have succeeded in doing this. I am thinking of Father Sophronius in Essex, Father Placide in France, Mother Maria in the Netherlands and several others. He has not yet blessed Germany in this way, and so this will have to remain a wish for the time being.

Even more important, I feel, would be for the various jurisdictions, which are divided up uncanonically on the basis of the various national groups, to become so close that they are able to merge under the auspices of one single local bishop. Any Orthodox worshipper

who believes that he can represent the old Orthodox ecclesiology credibly to Protestants and to the Vatican, and describe the non-Orthodox ecclesiologies as heresies with impunity, while the reality of our own organizations quite clearly contradicts our teaching, is mistaken. Metropolitan Augoustinos has pointed out that we can also not credibly stand up for the unity of Christians as a whole “*if we do not have unanimity between ourselves.*”<sup>13</sup> Although we can make clear the principle of *oikonomia* to our non-Orthodox fellow Christians, they will certainly notice that there is something wrong when *oikonomia* is applied for over one hundred years and leads to solidifying structures that contradict our tradition and our doctrines. The Germans react to this either with amusement, or shaking their heads, depending on their sympathy for the Orthodox. Of course parishes can follow Russian or Serbian or Greek or other practices, depending on their composition, but we need to be organized on geographical principles. If in 50 years’ time a German Orthodox Church should emerge from this, then so be it. But this is not my main point at the moment; I would simply like to see teaching and practice, claims and reality in reasonable agreement with each other. The mentality of the German environment, at least, demands this, if our witness is to be credible. And it has to be, in a country where, in the eastern part, the former GDR, only about 30% of the population is baptized, and that only in the older generation, which will soon die out, so that the figures will drop even lower. In a situation like this, we must become much more conscious of our missionary role. But we have no right to proselytize if newly baptized people in our country feel that they have gone out of the frying pan into the fire. We have to offer them what we promise before baptism in catechism and in our books. Our books should not be pleasant-sounding propaganda, but should reflect Orthodox reality.

Finally one more point needs to be made: When the first Orthodox priests came to Germany, they found literally nothing. The achievements of this first generation should not be underestimated. They had to start by getting hold of a chalice and a paten, because many did not even have these. There were no liturgical books, no church premises, no icons, no candles or candle-stands, there was nothing to make the beginning easier for them. No one in Germany was prepared for their arrival. There were not yet any helpful ecumenical relations. When we look at what this first generation of priests cre-

ated, we can only be astonished. Although they had to work in a foreign country, they built up new churches with spiritual centres or renovated and redecored old churches for the use of the Orthodox church. Together with the workers, these priests are now reaching retirement age. In the last few years we have been able to see a new generation of priests emerging. Many of them still come directly from Greece, Serbia or Russia and are not prepared for life in Germany. But there are now also priests who have grown up in Germany. They speak both languages (although because of the Greek schools in Germany many of the young people have still not learnt German to a high standard), most of them have studied theology, or continue to do so after being ordained, and they are familiar with both mentalities. This year, the first graduates of our own training institution in Munich, who come from various countries, will add to this pool, and their training will meet German criteria. In short: just as that first generation of priests came to Germany in very similar conditions to the working people, and shared their mentality, the second generation will still be able to understand the older believers, but will think in a similar way to their own second generation of believers. It is my vision that the Church will become integrated into German society and will preserve its identity while at the same time seeing itself as a natural part of German society and no longer as a foreign body.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Wassilios Klein, St. Symeon Pentaglottos of Trier († 1035) - A New Greek Saint of Mount Sinai in the Light of the Christian Arabic Studies, in: *Parole de l'Orient* [Acts of the VIth Conference in Christian Arabic Studies 2000], im Druck.

<sup>2</sup> This account is based heavily on Gerhard Feige, *Die Orthodoxen Kirchen in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, in: *Orthodoxes Forum* 10 (1996), 201-233 (here lit.). Most recent summaries: Athanasios Basdekis, *Die orthodoxe Kirche, Eine Handreichung für nicht-orthodoxe und orthodoxe Christen und Kirchen*, Frankfurt 2000, 17-26; Nikolaus Thon, *Der historische Weg der Orthodoxen Kirche in Deutschland*, in: *Orthodoxie Aktuell* 4/5 (2000), 2-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ein Stück Russland in Berlin, Die Russisch-Orthodoxe Gemeinde Reinickendorf*, hrsg. v. Wolf-Borwin Wendlandt u. Volker Koop, Farbaufnahmen von Gerhard Murza, Berlin 1994.

<sup>4</sup> *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche, zusammengestellt und eingeleitet von Nikolaus Thon, Mit einem Vorwort des russisch-orthodoxen Bischofs Longin von Düsseldorf*, Trier 1983 (Sophia 23), 549-551.

<sup>5</sup> Antonios Alevisopoulos, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Orthodoxie in Deutschland*, in: *Dienst am Volk Gottes, Leben und Wirken der Griechisch-*

*Orthodoxen Metropole von Deutschland, Exarchat von Zentraleuropa*, Hrsg. v. Anastasios Kallis, Herten 1992, 97-116. This volume also contains other important contributions on the history of Greek Orthodox people in Germany.

<sup>6</sup> Jürgen Kielisch, *Die Geschichte der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirchengemeinde zum Erlöser in München 1828-1944*, Hamburg 1999 (Studien zur orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 8). Karin Hösch, Griechisch-orthodoxe Kirchen München, Passau 2000.

<sup>7</sup> Reinhard Thöle, *Orthodoxe Kirchen in Deutschland*, Göttingen 1997 (Bensheimer Hefte 85). Several contributions in: *Die orthodoxe Kirche, Eine Standortbestimmung an der Jahrtausendwende, Festgabe für Prof. Dr. Dr. Anastasios Kallis* hrsg. v. Bischof Evmenios von Lefka, Athanasios Basdekis und Nikolaus Thon, Frankfurt 1999, 296-372.

<sup>8</sup> To the history of the Romanians in Germany see Mircea Basarab, Rumänische Orthodoxe Kirche, Rumänische Orthodoxe Metropole für Deutschland und Zentraleuropa, in: *Orthodoxes Forum* 14 (2000), 25-34.

<sup>9</sup> Nikolaus Thon, Die Orthodoxe Kirche in Deutschland im Spiegel der Statistik, in: *Orthodoxie Aktuell* 3/2 (1999), 5-7.

<sup>10</sup> *Fünfzig Jahre der Serbisch-Orthodoxen Kirchengemeinde in München 1946-1996*, München 1997. In 2000 the seat of the bishop was transferred from Hildesheim to Munich.

<sup>11</sup> Nikolaus Thon, Wieviel orthodoxe Christen leben derzeit in Deutschland?, in: *Orthodoxie Aktuell* 3/4 (1997), 4-7.

<sup>12</sup> Theodor Nikolaou, Orthodoxe Theologie an der Universität München, in: *Orthodoxie in Begegnung und Dialog, Festgabe für Metropolit Augoustinos*, Hrsg. v. Anastasios Kallis und Bischof Evmenios (Tamiolakis) von Lefka unter Mitarbeit von Ines Kallis, Münster 1998, 171-198; Christoph Papakonstantinou, Streiflichter einer westlich-integrierten orthodoxen Theologie, Das Lehr- und Forschungsgebiet Orthodoxe Theologie an der Universität Münster, in: *ebenda*, 199-215.

<sup>13</sup> Metropolit Augoustinos von Deutschland und Exarch von Zentraleuropa, Die Orthodoxie in Deutschland, in: *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Παρουσία Ἑστίας Θεολόγων Χάλλης, Δ'* (1997), 123-138, hier 129, vgl. 131.



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## The Patriarchal Libraries of Constantinople\*

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REV. DR. GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU

### THE PATRIARCHAL LIBRARY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The purpose of the present study is to offer a historical overview of the Patriarchal Library at the Phanar, Istanbul. I will review how it has evolved and the services it has provided and continues to provide. I will also indicate the status of the present collection and offer some recommendations..

#### *1. From the Founding of Constantinople through the 6<sup>th</sup> Century*

Constantinople was established when Emperor Constantine the Great decided to transfer the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to the shores of the Bosphorus in 325 AD. In a short period of time the new capital city became the intellectual center of the empire, overshadowing Athens, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Beirut. Great schools were established, and many who subsequently sought advanced education came to the City.

Great centers of learning and library collections developed under the patronage of both patriarchs and emperors, who had a great love for education. Intellectuals also made important contributions in the imperial service that added to the collections of the great libraries. The extensive holdings included numerous manuscripts from ancient

\*Reprinted by kind permission from the *Summary of Proceedings: Fifty-third Annual Conference of the American Theological Library Association*, ed. by Margret Tacke Collins, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, June 9-12, 1999, pp. 273-294.

times and from the Alexandrian period, as well as contemporary works, which were being continuously produced. As a result, the many libraries of Constantinople became very rich in both content and depth.

There were four types of libraries in Byzantium—imperial, patriarchal, monastic, and private. This study will focus primarily on the library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, summarizing its history from the establishment of the capital of the Roman Empire in Constantinople to the present time.<sup>1</sup>

The Patriarchal Library emerged to house books and other documents needed by the Patriarchate. Professor Staikos articulates the purpose of this library very well. He notes that the Patriarchal Library was formed to become the nucleus of theological thought. Patristic, dogmatic, polemical, and hermeneutic texts were needed and were assembled to support proponents of the Orthodox Faith in the constant struggle to correctly interpret Holy Scripture. The Patriarchal library has existed since the inception of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and is perhaps the most ancient library in Christendom.<sup>2</sup>

Constantinople was formally inaugurated as the capital of the Roman Empire on May 11, 330. Although explicit references are lacking, the presupposition is that the Patriarchal Library has its beginning in this period. Early on, Emperor Constantine requested that Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, send fifty copies of the Holy Bible to the capital city. Some of these were probably for use in churches; however, these books are also likely to have become part of the nucleus of several great libraries in Constantinople.<sup>3</sup>

The debates on Christian doctrine and the literary activities that produced classical theological studies during this period suggest that significant resources became available in the Patriarchal Library. The fact that the Church of Constantinople presided in the capital and was under the immediate protection of the Emperor leads us to conclude that a good theological and classical collection rapidly developed.<sup>4</sup>

The proceedings of ecumenical councils were placed in the Patriarchal Library for safekeeping. Although the original is not extant today, the minutes of the First Ecumenical Council (325) were in the library, as noted by Eusebius of Antioch at the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431) and by Eunomios of Nikomedia at the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451). These were kept in the Patriarchal

Library until the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

During the reign of Justinian I (527–565) a great number of books written by heretics were included in the Patriarchal Library. The Emperor, in his desire to blot out heresies, ordered that all heretical books be burned. Non-theological books contrary to Christian doctrine were also destroyed. Since numerous books by heretics were in the Patriarchal collection, it is probable that there were multiple copies, some of which may have survived. These books were important to the study and refutation of heresies by Orthodox theologians.<sup>6</sup>

The location of the early Patriarchal Library cannot be determined with certainty. It is likely that it was near the patriarchal residence in the Episcopal palace, which probably was built by Emperor Constantine the Great or one of his immediate successors, and not far from the great church of Hagia Sophia. It is not likely that the library was located within Hagia Sophia itself. There are no references to the destruction of a library during the well-attested Nika Rebellion (532) when Hagia Sophia was burned.<sup>7</sup> Since the number of books in the sixth century must have been significant, the destruction of such a collection would not have gone unnoticed or have been kept silent by historians of the time. Therefore, the Patriarchal Library that existed up to the sixth century probably was in another building.

The sixth century marks the end of the first period in the development of the Patriarchal Library—a period of preparation and organization. Specific information on content and number of documents in the collection, and on the location of the library during this time has not survived. We may conjecture that the contents were mainly theological, that is, works of the Fathers, and proceedings of Councils, doctrinal epistles, and heretical treatises. There is no reference to classical texts, although the possibility exists that some may have been included but were not noted.

## *II. From the 7<sup>th</sup> Century through the 12<sup>th</sup> Century*

In the seventh century, during the reign of Emperor Heraklios (610–641) when the empire flourished, a great deal of activity was evident in all aspects of the life of the Church of Constantinople. During this period, which extended through the twelfth century, special efforts were made by the patriarchs to house, organize, and extend the library, which also flourished.

Patriarch Thomas I (607–610) was instrumental in adding a beautiful edifice—the Patriarchal Residence—to two pre-existing buildings to result in a magnificent three-building complex that came to be known as the *Thomaites Triklinos* (the Thomas Triangle). The library was housed there and was organized to meet the needs of the Patriarchate. (This building burned in 791.)

Sergio's I (610–638, Thomas's immediate successor, worked zealously to enrich the collection. Deacon George Pisides, the "keeper of the sacred vessels" (*skevophylax*), noted the great interest Sergios had in enhancing the library.<sup>8</sup>

The content of the collection at this time was enriched by "God-written books" (*bibloi theographoi*), that is, works written by doctors and teachers of the Church to cultivate and edify the souls of readers. Among the "roses" it is stated that there were also "thorns." The "thorns" probably refer to books authored by heretics and classical pagan texts that were in the collection. It would have been impossible for Pisides not to include "thorns" in the collection in view of his rich education in the classics. Furthermore, as has been noted, there was a compelling need for the inclusion of heretical texts. These documents had to be available in order that theologians could more effectively refute them. Later, the heretical "thorns" were located in a separate section of the library. This is made evident by the ninth canon of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicea (787).<sup>9</sup>

The Sixth Ecumenical Council (680–681) provides us with significant insight into both the content of the collection of the Patriarchal Library and the manner in which it was maintained and used. We are informed that George, "the most pious deacon and guardian of the papers (*chartophylax*)," made documents available to the Fathers of the Council to assist them in their deliberations. The titles are listed in the council's proceedings. George, who later became patriarch, was able to check all references to the Church Fathers in the proceedings of this council using documents in the Patriarchal Library.<sup>10</sup>

Up to the seventh century we do not find references to a "librarian," but rather to a "keeper of papers" (*chartophylax*) who was in charge of archives and books. The library and archives were housed within the Patriarchal palace complex for easy accessibility. And the indications are that the library collection and the archives were well organized. Although we do not have specific information about the system of cataloging and the storage of books and archives, it is clear

that the organization of the library permitted rapid access. It is stated with respect to the Quinisext Council (692) that the *chartophylax* readily located references that were requested and delivered them to Council members without delay.<sup>11</sup> Upon suspicion during the Quinisext Council that there may have been tampering with the documents of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, the *chartophylax* was ordered to turn over the collection to his successor, identify the books and archives in a listing called *Brevium*, and sign an oath that these were as he had received them. This compels us to conclude that there was a catalog of books, in some form, in which new entries were recorded as additions were made to the library.<sup>12</sup>

Patriarch Germanos (715–730) used the library before he ascended the Patriarchal Throne. He noted that there were separate sections in the library for Orthodox authors and for heretical ones.<sup>13</sup> The Patriarchal Library was very useful for verifying and checking references during the period of iconoclasm. The use of the books certainly contributed to their preservation, even though a few were lost and some were damaged by having pages removed.<sup>14</sup> The iconoclastic patriarchs, who had a high respect for books, prevented the destruction of the books in Constantinople; however, in provincial areas there was a great deal of destruction and heretical collections suffered extensively.<sup>15</sup>

Patriarch Nicephoros (806–815) used the library extensively, making references in his writings to numerous patristic texts. The library at this time appears to have continued to enjoy good organization and a wealth of resources. A list of books used in his discourses, which Nicephoros had found in the Patriarchal Library, is an additional indication that effective library practices continued to prevail.<sup>16</sup>

John the Grammarian, a most important ninth-century figure, contributed substantially to the growth and enrichment of libraries in Constantinople. He was a mathematician and was called *Magos* (Sorcerer).<sup>17</sup> Having a great love for books and a concern for both theological and secular education, he felt that library collections should not be limited to ecclesiastical books but should be enriched with every kind of available manuscript, including the ancient Greek authors.

It was during this time that the Arabs requested books from the classical period that they might be introduced to the Arab-speaking world. The Emperor issued an edict calling for the assembly of all

available classical works in the imperial palace library, and for duplicates to be given to the Arabs for translation into Arabic. John the Grammarian had the task of searching Church and monastery libraries for books that could be used for these purposes.

During the tenure of John the Grammarian as patriarch (837–843), the patriarchal library flourished. Shortly thereafter we encounter clear evidence that the position of librarian had emerged in the Patriarchate. During the reign of Emperor Michael III (842–867), Patriarch Theoktistos appointed Constantine the Philosopher as “librarian besides the patriarch.”<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps the brightest period of the Patriarchal Library was during the patriarchal tenure of Saint Photios the Great (858–867 and 877–886).<sup>19</sup> He was highly educated, a rare ecclesiastical personality of the first class, and a political genius. He was well educated in grammar, poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy as well as in medicine and other sciences. His *Bibliothēke* and his lexicon continue to be studied and commented upon to this day. Concerning his involvement in the Patriarchal Library we can only speculate, but we definitely know that he had a large private library.<sup>20</sup>

Patriarch John IX Agapetos (1111–1134) made every effort to enrich the library collection by purchasing large quantities of books, some in multiple copies, to support the Patriarchal Academy as well as to fill gaps in the collection of the Patriarchal Library.<sup>21</sup>

During the reign of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180) there was a debate on the proper interpretation of John 14:28: “My Father is greater than me.” A council was convened in 1166 to resolve the issue of proper interpretation of this passage. The use of the Patriarchal Library was important for the preparation of the Council Fathers. The Patriarch during this period was Luke Chrysoverges (1157–1169/70), who perhaps placed a copy of the proceedings of the Council in the Patriarchal Library. In these proceedings, writings of the Church Fathers, which were used as sources, are listed.<sup>2</sup>

### *III: From the 13<sup>th</sup> Century to the Mid-15<sup>th</sup> Century*

The twelfth century, which saw the empire flourishing and ongoing progress in the development of the Patriarchal Library, was followed by a period of devastation and decline (1204–1453).

When the infamous Fourth Crusade was diverted to Constantinople,

the storming of the City in 1204 was accompanied by wholesale massacre. In his chronicle, Niketas Choniates describes the devastation. Innumerable books were burned and destroyed by the rampaging Latins who showed no respect whatsoever for any sacred thing. The extent of violence in Constantinople is without precedent in European history.<sup>23</sup>

In the early phases of the disturbances, which culminated in the storming and sacking of Constantinople, there was a fire (1203), perhaps set by the Latins, in which the *Thomaites Triklinos* burned and with it the Patriarchal Library. Subsequently, in the negotiations of 1214 between representatives of Theodore Lascaris, Byzantine Emperor-in-exile, and the Latins, it is stated that the *Thomaites Triklinos* was addressed and that it was immediately rebuilt.

During the violence of 1204 an unimaginable number of books were burned, destroyed, or stolen. Michael Choniates, an intellectual and bibliophile who was the Archbishop of Athens, describes the ignorance and barbarism of the Latin conquerors in one of his letters (Epistle 146). Many books and manuscripts were taken to the West, where they were in demand by theologians and other intellectuals.

The Patriarchate relocated to Nicea, which became the capital of the Empire-in-exile. There a diocesan library became the Patriarchal Library and a concerted effort was made to acquire books to enrich it. With the return to Constantinople in 1261, after recapture of the City by the Emperor of Nicea, the Patriarchate again occupied the *Thomaites Triklinos*. It appears likely that the library, which had been at Nicea, was moved there. Patriarch Gregory II the Cypriote (1283–1289), a great lover of books, searched the scriptoria to acquire books and manuscripts. He showed great zeal in rebuilding the collection of the devastated Patriarchal Library. Because books and documents continued to be hard to find after the return to the City, calligraphers were also commissioned to copy manuscripts.<sup>24</sup>

Nicephoros Callistos Xanthopoulos, in a letter to Manuel, Metropolitan of Thessalonica (1276), provides information on the content of the Patriarchal Library at that time. Callistos, a man of great ecclesiastical and secular learning resident in Constantinople, wrote an important book on church history, which is an invaluable source of thirteenth-century information. He provides descriptive information on authors and books in the Patriarchal Library, which indicates that he made extensive use of that library in the research and information



gathering for his book. From the list of references in his history, we know that at this time the Patriarchal Library included classical philosophical works as well as theological and patristic books.<sup>25</sup>

The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries were critical times in the history of the Byzantine Roman Empire. The Orthodox Church engaged the Roman Catholic Church in a dialogue that was imposed by the political need to counteract the dangers posed by the Turks. Hesychasm made its appearance during this time and there were other philosophical and theological debates as well as conflicts. All these matters indicate that an extensive Patriarchal Library was needed to adequately support the preparations for, and conduct of, the various discussions and debates; however, the proceedings of the Council of Constantinople (1351), which condemned Barlaam the Calabrian, make reference to works available in the patriarchal library and the number of books was very limited. Probably due to the ongoing wars and the attendant depletion of funds, parchment, and other materials for copying, books were not available.<sup>26</sup>

Sylvestros Syropoulos, historian of the Council of Florence (1438), informs us that during the preparation for meetings that would take place at Farrara-Florence, there was a great need for books and manuscripts; however, sufficient resources to support those preparations were not available. Many of the participants searched for documents in the libraries of monasteries. There is no mention whatsoever of a patriarchal library during this time of preparation for the encounter with the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>27</sup>

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, because there were virtually no books available in Byzantium, the search went on outside the Empire. George Scholarios, a philosopher-theologian who would become the first patriarch after the fall in 1453, mourned the desolation and absence of books in Constantinople. However, despite his despair, he makes reference to a great number of authors in his writing and comments on theological and philosophical issues.<sup>28</sup>

#### *IV: From the Mid-15<sup>th</sup> Century to the Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century*

The fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 resulted in the devastation of the City. The Patriarchate and all Church institutions, including the Patriarchal Library, were subject to the same fate. Books were either burned and mutilated, or loaded on carts and sold at de-

based prices. Quoting Doucas: "All the books surpass the number of carriages that were loaded and were scattered East and West. For one coin you could purchase ten books by such authors as Aristotle, Plato, theological and all other kinds of books. Gospels with all kinds of decoration were destroyed beyond measure, breaking off the gold and silver and some books were sold, others were thrown away."<sup>29</sup>

Critovoulos wrote that: "Sacred and holy books, as well as many more books on secular learning and philosophy, were burned, some were stepped upon to dishonor them, and many more than these were sold not for profit but rather for insult for two or three coins and sometimes were given for a penny."<sup>30</sup>

The statements of these two historians, above, are not exaggeration. In addition to the Patriarchal Library, the Imperial Library, private libraries, and monasteries were also plundered. Among them were rich private libraries such as those of Theodore Metochites, Nicephoros Choumnos, and Máximos Planoudes, and the libraries in the monasteries of Chora and of the Holy Pródromos on Mount Menoikeos. Gennadios Scholarios mourned the looting and loss of his books.<sup>31</sup>

After the fall and plunder of the City, Pope Nicholas V exhorted Roman Catholic monastic centers in Constantinople to take advantage of the situation and acquire books and manuscripts. In addition to what was done in the City, a great number of books and manuscripts were gathered from other areas—particularly Mount Athos and Asia Minor—and were sent to Rome.

Ianos Lascaris (1445-1534) was an important scholar who lived in the West (Italy and France) and taught Greek in Florence. In 1490-1492 he traveled in the East to gather manuscripts and books for libraries in the West. He stated that it was difficult to find books in Constantinople and searched for them in Greece (Corfu, Arta, Thessalonica, Crete, Sozopolis, Athos). He was sent by order of Laurentius the Medici and was provided funds by the Pope.<sup>32</sup>

When the destruction and violence attendant to the fall of Constantinople abated, and Christians who had dispersed widely were allowed to return, the Patriarchate regrouped. Under the protection of the Sultan, Mohamed II the Conqueror, George Scholarios was elected Patriarch. With great zeal and love, the task of gathering the surviving manuscripts that would be kept in the Patriarchal Library began. A century later Theodore Zygomalas, *notarios* of the Patri-

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## The “Ἀβατον” (Proscription)\*

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PROF. DR. PANTELEIMON RODOPOULOS  
METROPOLITAN OF TYROLOË AND SERENTION

It has been reported in newspapers that the women ministers of Sweden and Finland in the Council of European Foreign Ministers have claimed that the Holy Mountain of Athos, “as part of United Europe cannot accept only men as visitors.” Clearly, these two women ministers have raised the subject (of the proscription on the entry of women) as an issue of equality of the sexes. This proscription is, however, a matter of monastic regulation and discipline, and applies to men, too, since it is also in force in certain women’s monasteries. Men are no more allowed in some women’s monasteries than are women in men’s monasteries. So with their statement, the two women ministers made the mistake of meddling in the religious life of monastic communities of both sexes and of promoting positions or imposing regulations which are entirely unrelated to Christian monasticism. This is a serious matter, because- justifiably- it creates the impression that any implementation of the regulations of the E. U. on other matters, such as, for example, freedom of movement for citizens, may put at risk the freedom of the monks on the Holy Mountain, their Constitution and their control over their own monasteries.

The Holy Mountain of Athos, like many other monasteries all over the world – and not only Orthodox religious – is not merely a collection of monuments from the past, or tourist traps, but rather a living

\* Article published in Greek in the Athens daily “To Bêma” (5 October, 1997). Metropolitan Panteleimon of Tyroloë is Professor of Canon Law at the University of Thessalonikê.

place of worship, contemplation and spiritual struggle. The monasteries welcome visitors and afford them hospitality, though, certainly, they would not want the visitors to upset their spiritual life. They welcome them, however, for pastoral reasons and in order to offer them spiritual comfort. The monks are free to welcome to their homes guests of their own choosing, whoever they want and whenever. I would imagine the same to be true of the women ministers in their own homes.

The Treaty of the E. U. on the free movement of all citizens is not applicable to the Holy Mountain for another reason, too. It is certainly true that the Athos peninsula is an integral part of the state of Greece, a member country of the E. U. Property within it, however, does not belong to the Greek state, but to the monasteries. The buildings, the fields, the forests, everything belongs to the monasteries. It is private property. The whole expanse, then, is not open to free movement. We all know how strict the laws protecting private property are in European and other countries and how firmly people are punished who dare cross the fence or the notional boundary of private property without permission.

Proscription against trespass is not something that the Monastic State of the Holy Mountain invented. Almost all religions, of every people, have at various times set apart certain areas, to which adherents of other religions would not be admitted. Nor, in fact, would most of their own faithful. It was in such places that treasures were kept, archives, and the secrets of worship. They were called "proscribed" (ἄβατον), "the innermost sanctuary" (ἄδυτα) or the "Holy of Holies" (Ἁγία τῶν Ἁγίων).

In Ancient Greek times, proscription was an institution not only in public, but also in private worship, and was also recognized within the framework of the civic and national conscience. In places which were nationally and religiously sacred, such as Delphi and Olympia, places where the Amphictyons (the presidents of the games) gathered, or ambassadors met, it was forbidden to carry out acts of war. In public worship, the place where only priests had the right to enter was "proscribed." By extension, proscription and sanctuary were applied to certain sacred groves dedicated to deities, entrance to which was permitted only to priests and anyone who had specific permission on particular business.

In Egypt, every temple had its proscribed area, where priests en-

tered and performed secret rituals, or where the corpses of those of high rank were kept. In Israel, the Temple of Solomon had its "Holy of Holies" out of bounds to ordinary people, which the High Priest alone would enter once a year.

In the Christian Church, monasteries being out of bounds is an accepted institution in both East and West. According to this, women are not allowed to enter men's monasteries, nor are men permitted to enter convents. Moreover, this institution was enshrined in canons of the Ecumenical Synods, in church regulations and in laws of the Roman Empire.

In Belgium, where the headquarters of the E. U. are, there is a famous Roman Catholic monastery of the Trappist Order where silence reigns and which is out of bounds to women. In other countries of the E. U. also, there are monastic communities (in England, for example) which observe the "avaton"!

So the Holy Mountain is not the only place in Christendom to apply proscription. The European treaty on freedom of movement for citizens has nothing to do with monasteries being out of bounds and does not apply to them. Proscription as a spiritual and religious institution that has to do with the internal life of a monastic community must not be infringed by outside intervention. It is a matter of freedom and religious conscience and no third party or stranger to the monastic tradition of centuries, or external power or pressure group unrelated to the faith of the people who make up a monastic community, have the right to intervene in their spiritual life or to modify the Constitution of their monastery. Monasteries are homes to monks and places of their spiritual exercise. It is only the monastics themselves, and their Church, who have the right to decide upon the regulations governing their spiritual lives and the institutions within which they operate. Proscription on the Holy Mountain, an institution going back centuries, cannot and must not be affected by secular trends and ideologies which are foreign and unrelated to Christian monasticism. Nor can it be regulated by legislation from a non-ecclesiastical power. Such legislation would, indeed, be an infringement on the religious and personal freedom of the monastics and an intervention in internal Church matters.

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particularly, how it was developed during the five centuries of its life, undergoing important changes at specific times (in 1640/1, 1714, 1741, 1757, 1763, 1766/7 and finally in 1860/2) before being abolished in 1923; changes, however, which did not affect the essential ecumenical authority of the Patriarchs and the Patriarchate inasmuch as they continued to exist hand in hand with the multi-ethnic character of the Turkish empire. It was precisely this role that prevented the Ecumenical Patriarchate from aligning itself with the ethnic insurrections that shook the Balkans in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The clear insights into the relations of Sultans and Patriarchs that this volume provides, makes it indispensable for those who study the history and development of this venerable Center of world Orthodoxy, the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In the concluding words of the author, "Although the *Berats* simply supply the Ottoman viewpoint concerning the *status quo* of the Patriarchate, they constitute a significant source for understanding and recording its history, in a way that is free from stereotypes, emotional charges and myths, and contribute, through being combined with other sources, to a rational and scientific perception of crucial matters. Investing the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the bearer of the ecumenical world-view *par excellence*, with an ethnic role, especially at times when ethnic fervor hardly existed, would be at least a historic anachronism and an attempt to project contemporary problems on the past. It is a fact that the Great Church co-existed for five hundred and twenty years with the Ottoman State. This co-existence in no way minimizes its historic role as the Center of Orthodoxy and of Hellenism in its ecumenical dimension" (p. 371 last paragraph of the Epilogue).

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

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*The Splendour of Orthodoxy, 2000 Years: History – Monuments – Art*, vols. 1 and 2, Ekdotikê Athênôn, Athens 2000, 516pp and 542pp.

This truly magnificent work is the latest and one of the greatest publication achievements of the well-known Athenian Publishers "Ekdotikê Athênôn." It was designed to mark the celebrations for the completion of 2000 years of Christianity. It comprises two lavishly produced de lux volumes, which present in a comprehensive and

elegant manner the historic journey of Orthodox Christianity, the contribution of Orthodoxy to world art and the monuments and all the other ecclesiastical art treasures of all the Orthodox Patriarchates and Autocephalous Churches. The two large volumes consist of more than 1000 pages and contain hundreds of color icons from all over the world, and they exist in two sets, one in Greek and another in English. They truly constitute monumental presentations of the glory of Orthodoxy in the world at large, which reflects the glory of God revealed in the Christian Gospel as it has unfolded itself in history through the visible Orthodox Church. More analytically the two volumes comprise the following contents.

*The First Volume* bears the general title "*The Glory and Grandeur of Christian Orthodoxy*" and is subdivided into four sections of substantial contributions by top specialist scholars of various disciplines. It opens with a brief Editor's Preface by the Publisher George A. Christopoulos and a brief and pointed introductory word on the Theme of the Volume by the distinguished Greek academician and churchman Ioannes Zizioulas (Metropolitan of Pergamum of the Ecumenical Patriarchate). The contents of each section are as follows:

*Section One, "The Life of Christ: The Historical Course of Orthodoxy"* includes the following contributions: "The Life of Christ" in text and icons; "The Origins of Orthodoxy in the Birth of Christianity" by Ioannes Zizioulas; "Orthodoxy in its Historical Development" by Vlassios Pheidas; "Orthodoxy and Byzantium (312-1461)" by Helen Glykatzi-Ahrweiler; "Orthodoxy and the Slavic World" by Antonios-Emilios Tachiaos; "Orthodoxy and the Crusades" by Chryssa Maltezou; "Orthodoxy from the Fall of Constantinople to the Present Day: by Vlassios Pheidas.

*Section Two, "The Spirit of Orthodoxy"* includes the following contributions: "The Fathers of the Church and Greek Philosophers" by Nikolaos Politis; "The Theology of Orthodoxy" by Georgios Mantzaridis; "Christian Ethics in Holy Scripture and the Fathers of the Church" by Georgios Mantzaridis; "Worship in Orthodoxy" by Georgios Metallenos; "Orthodox Church Music" by Euthymios Tsigaridas; "The Virgin Mary in Orthodoxy" by Helen Glykatzi-Ahrweiler.

*Section Three, "The Contribution of Monasticism to Orthodoxy"* includes the following contributions: "Monasticism and the Monastic Centres in Orthodoxy" by Georgios Mantzaridis; "The Holy Mountain of Athos" by Georgios Mantzaridis; "Art on Mount Athos" by Euthymios



Tsigaridas; "Meteora" by Demetrios Sofianos; "The Lavra of the Holy Trinity (Saint Sergios), Moscow" by Antonios-Emilios Tachiaos.

*Section Four, "The Art of Orthodoxy"* includes the following contributions: "Introduction to the Art of Orthodoxy" by Nikolaos Zias; "Architecture: Church Buildings of the Orthodox" by Charalampos Bouras; "Byzantine Sculpture" by Ioli Kalavrezou; "Wall-Paintings" by Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou; "Icons" by Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou; "Byzantine Mosaics" by Nano Chatzidaki; "Illustrated Manuscripts in the Art of the Orthodox Church" by George Galavaris; "Embroidery in the Art of the Orthodox Church" by Maria Theocharis; and "Miniature Art" by Katia Loverdou-Tsigarida. The volume concludes with a general Index to names and subjects and a List of Illustrations (313 of them).

*The Second Volume* bears the general title "*Patriarchates and Autocephalous Churches*" and is subdivided into two general sections, with several sub-sections in each, which contain substantial contributions again by top specialist scholars of various disciplines. It opens with three introductory contributions: a) "Orthodoxy and the Ecumenical Movement" by Ioannes Zizioulas (Metropolitan of Pergamum); b) "Orthodoxy faces the Third Millennium" by Anastasios Giannoulatos (Archbishop of Tirana, Durazzo and All Albania); and c) "The Origins, Development and Signification of the Administrative Institutions of the Orthodox Church: Patriarchates, Autonomous and Autocephalous Churches" by Peter L'Huilier (Archbishop of New York, Orthodox Church in America). The contents of each section are as follows:

*Section One: The Orthodox Patriarchates* comprises the following sub-sections and particular contributions:

1) *The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople*: "History" by Vlassios Pheidas; "Monuments and Art: Constantinople" by Thomas F. Mathews; "Olympos (Bithynia)-Latros-Cappadocia" by Nicole Thierry; "Pontos" by Anna Ballian; "The Panagia Soumela" by Nicole Thierry; "Dodecanese" by Elias Kollias; "Patmos" by Elias Kollias; "Crete" by Manolis Borboudakis.

2) *The Patriarchate of Alexandria*: "History" by Euthymios Soulogiannis; "Spiritual Tradition" by Makarios Tyliridis; "Monuments" by Euthymios Soulogiannis.

3) *The Patriarchate of Antioch*: "History" by Tarek Mitri; "The Spiritual Tradition of the Antioch Patriarchate" by Konstantinos Skouteris; "Monuments and Art" by Jean Prierre Sodini;

“Transjordanian: Monuments and Art” by Basileios Tzaferis.

4) *The Patriarchate of Jerusalem*: “History, Monuments and Historical Legacy” by Basileios Tzaferis; “The Artistic and Spiritual Legacy of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem” by Basileios Tzaferis; “Autocephalous Archbishopric of Sinai” by Konstantinos Manafis; “Art at the Sinai Monastery” by Georgios Galavaris.

5) *The Patriarchate of Russia*: “History” by Antonios-Emilios Tachiaos; “Spiritual Tradition” by Antonios-Emilios Tachiaos; “Monuments and Art” by Guannadiy Popov.

6) *The Patriarchate of Serbia*: “History” by Ioannis Tarnanidis; “The Spiritual Tradition of the Patriarchate of Serbia” by Demetrios Gonis; “Monuments-Art” by Vojislav J. Djuric.

7) *The Patriarchate of Rumania*: “History and Spiritual Tradition” by Mircea Pacurariu; “Monuments and Art of the Rumanian Patriarchate” by Demitrios Deligiannis.

8) *The Patriarchate of Bulgaria*: “History” by Todor Sabev; “Spiritual Tradition” by Demetrios Gonis; “Monuments-Art” by Georgy Petkov Gerov.

9) *The Patriarchate of Georgia*: “History, Spiritual Tradition, Art” by Zaza Alexidze.

*Section Two: Autonomous and Autocephalous Churches* comprises the following sub-sections and particular contributions:

10) *The Church of Cyprus*: “Historical Development” by Andreas Mitsidis; “Spiritual Tradition” by Andreas Mitsidis; “Monuments and Art” by Athanasios Papageorgiou.

11) *The Church of Greece*: “History” by Vlassios Pheidas; “Spiritual Tradition” by Georgios Metallenos; “Monuments-Art: Peloponnese” by Nikolaos Zias; “The Mani” by Nikolaos Drandakis; “Central Greece” by Nano Chatzidaki; “Thessaly” by Lazaros Deriziotis; “Epirus” by Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou; “The Ionian Islands” by Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou; “Naxos, Paros” by Nikolaos Drandakis.

12) *The Church of Poland*: “Historical Overview” by Aleksandr Naumow.

13) *The Church of Albania*: “History and Spiritual Tradition” by Anastasios Giannoulatos; “Art” by Anastasios Giannoulatos.

14) *The Church in the Czech Lands and Slovakia*: “History, Tradition, Art” by Christophoros Metropolitan of Olomouc and Brno of Moravia.

15) *The Church of Finland: "History and Spiritual Tradition"* by Ioannes Archbishop of Karelia of All Finland; "Monuments and Art" by Kari Kotkavaara.

16) *The Church of Estonia* by Vlassios Pheidas.

17) *The Orthodox Diaspora and the Contemporary Witness of Orthodoxy* by Damaskinos Papandreou.

There is finally and "Afterword" by Ioannes Zizioulas and the volume concludes with a Bibliography, an Index, a List of Illustrations, Acknowledgements and Translators' names.

A Special acknowledgement should be made here to the Scholarly Supervisory Committee consisting of Helen Glykatzi-Ahrweiler (President of the University of Europe), Chryssa Maltezou (Director of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice and Professor of the University of Athens), Vlassios Pheidas (Professor at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Athens), Antonios-Emilios Tachiaos (Emeritus Professor of Aristotle University of Thessalonike, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Athens, Member of the Serbian Academy of Science and Art and of the Bulgarian Academy of Science). Last but not least, it should be noted that the illustrations, which are all in color, are of the highest quality and most of them were taken afresh from the originals thanks to the special efforts and care of the Illustrations Editor, Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou (Honorary Director of the Byzantine Museum of Athens).

This twin volume is the best of its kind and provides the most updated information. The specialists may find certain lacunae to the presentations, but the treatment of subjects is of a high academic quality and quite comprehensive, inasmuch as it provides what is essential and, in many cases, a lot more. It was natural that in such a volume misprints would occur and there are some that ought to be corrected in a future reprint. Such, for example, is the WWC of page 9 of the second volume, which should be WCC. But there are several others which are grammatical and, possibly, mistranslations that would be easily caught and corrected. In conclusion, it should be stressed that this magnificent work not only represents truly the 2000 year-old "Splendour of Orthodoxy," but also is an indispensable tool for Orthodox Studies. It can be obtained from Ekdotikê Athênôn, 34 Akadêmias Street, Athens 106 72, Greece (ISBN 960-213-398-8 and ISBN set 960-213-399-6).

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

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*The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West.* In honor of Kenneth Levy. Edited by Peter Jeffery. Cambridge: The Boydell Press, 2001, pp. 369, 14 plates, 43 tables, 47 examples, list of referred-to publications of Kenneth Levy and separate indices of manuscripts, chant incipits, biblical references and subjects.

The present publication, a collection of papers originally commissioned in honor of Kenneth Levy's<sup>1</sup> seventieth birthday in 1992, was prepared in order "to highlight the thought of one of the most original and influential scholars in the field, summing up and reflecting upon his approach and expanding on his discoveries, so as to hand over to the next century a solid platform from which new research initiatives can be launched," as another Princeton University musicologist and the editor of the present publication, Peter Jeffery<sup>2</sup> states in his Introduction (p. xxvii). Jeffery's general Introduction puts the collection into the historio-musicological background from the perspective of a scholar of Western chant and music. Reviewing the chant research that was taking place in the West during the first half of the nineteenth century, specifically, from the time of the 1904 Gregorian Congress to the calling of the 1950 International Congress on Sacred Music, both held in Rome, he observes a shift in chant research from an almost exclusive concentration on authorship, authenticity, editorial technique and performance practice with a view toward the preparation of "official" Vatican chant publications to an expansion of the subject area from Gregorian Chant to the inclusion of all "Sacred Music" (p. xxiv). While the Solesmes monks still dealt with their critical editions, also represented in the papers presented at the second congress were the chant traditions of the Christian East (those in communion with Rome, at least), medieval Milan, Spain

and the special Cistercian order repertory. Opposing views on the existence of an alternative, local Roman chant tradition other than the Gregorian standard fueled much research for the second half of the century. The underlying change, Jeffery observes, was that historical questions began to take precedence over the practical performance and publication ones; research moved from simple manuscript comparison to the *tracing of oral and written traditions and their effect on the melodies* (p. xxvi). He states, "As we have progressed from a static to a dynamic concept of the chant itself, so also our research goals have been re-oriented, from demarcating the product in an authoritative edition to discerning the process that underlines the observable evidence, from recovering a tradition to retracing a transmission" (p. xxvii).<sup>3</sup>

While chant research has a different history in the Orthodox East,<sup>4</sup> Jeffery's observations on research methodology are applicable and familiar when he states, "The modern researcher who begins from the more explicit later notations and looks backward, through the more nuanced and suggestive earlier notations, toward the period before there was any notation at all, can perceive something of the 'common procedures' or ways of handling musical material that characterized these ancient musical cultures" (p. xxix). When texts are shared by more than one tradition this process can be especially interesting, as witnessed in these collected articles, searching for bridges between East and West, parallel practices leading backward, possibly even penetrating the musical practice of the first Christian centuries.

In addition to his Introduction and Conclusion, the editor supplies a very helpful introductory commentary to each of the distinctive parts into which the articles have been arranged:

- i. Emerging and Converging Textual Traditions
- ii. Modes and Melos
- iii. Turning Points in the History of the Neumatic Notations

#### iv. Case Studies in Melodic Transmission

The four articles in Part I, *Emerging and Converging Textual Traditions*, deal with the development and evolution of various chant and hymnbooks as they emerge and converge over time and across ethnic and linguistic boundaries. James W. McKinnon's article, "Liturgical Psalmody in the Sermons of St. Augustine: An Introduction," combs the Saint's homilies for psalm refrains in search of information on the liturgical setting and musical character of Gregorian chant origins. His comparisons go well beyond Rome and Milan, reaching even Byzantium in his attempt to answer three questions for the music historian: "(1) What is the liturgical setting for the Augustinian psalmody? (2) What is the musical character of the psalmody? And (3) what light does it shed on Gregorian origins?" (p. 12). The next article by Michel Huglo, "The Cantatorium: From Charlemagne to the Fourteenth Century," seeks to shed light on developmental aspects of the Gregorian repertory by tracing the history of the book of graduals and soloist alleluias during the defined historical period. The next two articles hit closer to home for the Orthodox Christian reader. Margot Fassler's article, "The First Marian Feast in Constantinople and Jerusalem: Chant Texts, Reading, and Homiletic Literature," deals with a formative period in the early development of liturgical life in the East – fifth-century Jerusalem and Constantinople. The historical forces working toward the development of the first Marian feast are identified as three: "(1) A heightened sense of Mary's importance in the minds of major religious thinkers because of the Christological controversies of the times, (2) the development of the Christian calendar to include an independent celebration of the Nativity – the first Marian feast has its roots in early Christmas celebrations, and (3) political circumstances that involve powerful women and their male allies with strong desires to promote and define Mary's cult" (p. 28). The author investigates Marian homi-

lies, chant texts and readings from Constantinople comparing them with those from Jerusalem, putting the sources into the historio-political and theological context of their day. After analyzing Pulcheria's (sister and tutor of the Emperor Theodosius II) and Proclus' work promoting the Marian feast in Constantinople, Fassler then compares them with chant texts and readings in Jerusalem and the Marian homilies of Hesychius and Chrysippus of Jerusalem, referring to other sources in the process. The sermons, chant readings and texts are conveniently summarized into two tables. The article, "A New Folio for Mt. Athos MS Chilandari 307, and Some Observations on the Contents of the Slavic Lenten Sticherarion and Pentekostarion" by Nicolas Schidlovsky, investigates melodic transmission by comparing Greek and Slavic sticheraric manuscripts making use of the newly-found lost folio 72A, which had been taken from the Chilandari Monastery to St. Petersburg by the infamous archimandrite Porfirii Uspenskii in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The three articles in Part II, *Mode and Melos*, all touch upon issues dealing with the eight-mode systems used in both Eastern and Western chant systems. Especially interesting is their grappling with the concept of how melodies that existed before the actual establishment of the eight-mode systems were incorporated into the modes without actually having been written according to their rules and theories of composition, which had yet to be codified into a unified 'theoria.' In his article, "The Modes Before the Modes: Antiphon and Differentia in Western Chant," Keith Falconer begins from the premise that from the ninth century onward Western medieval chant theories speak of exceptional chants that do not really fit into the modes they are assigned to. As mentioned in Jeffery's comments, the *differentiae* are "conventional cadence formulas that the Gregorian repertory shares with the local Latin chant traditions which never accepted the Oktoechos" (p. 130). Falconer writes: "With the acceptance



of the octoechos in the eighth century, a smaller number of larger categories (the eight modes) absorbed the larger number of smaller categories (the differentiae) that had previously governed Western chant. With the reception of the octoechos came a compulsive need for uniformity, and attempts were made to meet this need by employing various other Byzantine devices, by no means as long-lived: these include the intonational formulas, the echemata, and perhaps also the paraptera" (p. 142). David G. Hughes' "Guido's *Tritus*: An Aspect of Chant Style" explores the eleventh-century theorist Guido of Arezzo's perspective on the use of the notes *do* and *fa* as the remnant of a systemic form of composition predating the modal. This second Part also contains a most interesting article by the publication's editor, Peter Jeffery, entitled, "The Earliest Oktoechoi: The Role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Beginnings of Modal Ordering." For any student of liturgics, Orthodox hymnography or Byzantine chant this article touches upon a most appealing subject. The author examines the reception of the eight-mode classification based on comparative evidence in the Gregorian, Syriac, Armenian, Greek, Slavonic and Georgian chant traditions. It merits a quick summary here.

According to P. Jeffery's research, the eighth- and ninth-century Latin theoretical sources offer ample evidence that the eight-mode system in the West was a direct result of its connection with the Byzantine Greek culture of the time. Citing a 1980 study by Aelred Cody ("The early history of the octoechos in Syria"),<sup>6</sup> Jeffery links the eight-mode classifications with the eighth-century appearance of the Greek hymnographic genre of the canon (although, strangely enough, he characterizes the early canon writers, SS. Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus and Kosmas of Jerusalem as "Melkite Syrians"!), while the ninth through eleventh centuries saw the genre's gradual expansion. After mentioning the existence of Syrian similarities in arranging

the liturgical years into seven-Sunday cycles and tracing the expansion into an eight-week cycle to the city of Alexandria, the author shares Cody's conclusion that "the octoechos was a creative product of the Hellenistic Syrian mind" (pp. 180-181). The Armenian evidence also points to the introduction of the eight-mode system as occurring simultaneously with the importation of the Greek canon genre in the eighth century by Bishop Step'anos of Siwnik, who had spent many years in Constantinople and also had extended contact with Patriarch Germanos, another early composer of canons. More research, however, is necessary in this area before evidence that is more conclusive can be finalized. The Greek and Slavonic evidence is reviewed under the topics of (1) the theoretical literature of the Papadike and Hagiopolites, and (2) the Octoechos – by extension the Parakletike or Great Octoechos – and the Heirmologion chant books. The comparative evidence based on the twelfth-century Messina Typikon – a tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church – the ninth-century St. Petersburg MS 44 (previously at Mount Sinai) and a Byzantine Apostolos in Athens<sup>7</sup> for the development of the *Octoechos* and early Heirmologia all point again to an eighth-century Jerusalemite/Palestinian origin, which is gradually later eclipsed by the Constantinopolitan and Athonite traditions. Drawing from recent evidence gathered over the last two decades of research on the earliest liturgical books of the Georgian Orthodox Church, namely, translations of Greek liturgical books in Jerusalem done by Georgian monks in the monasteries around the Holy City, modern scholarship gives us a glimpse of the Jerusalem liturgy before the Constantinopolitan synthesis.<sup>8</sup> After outlining six stages in the development of the Georgian Heirmologia and four stages in the evolution of the Georgian Octoechos and then comparing them with the Greek repertoires, Jeffery concludes by stating that while the Georgian translations follow the Greek genre ordering – the result of similar liturgi-

cal traditions – few actual texts were held in common. This both points to an ancestry with the Byzantine books, but also witnesses to the development of an independent tradition. Another point made along the way is that the comparisons also point to the same eighth-century origins of a collection process, rather than a single author of the Octoechos. The striking correspondence between the various reviewed chant traditions all point to eighth-century Palestinian origins for the octoechos system that has so affected chant in both the East and the West.

Part III, *Turning Points in the History of the Neumatic Notations*, contains two articles on the subject of the evolution of chant notation, one on the notation of the Latin West and the other on the musical notation of the Slavic East. Interestingly, Charles M. Atkinson's article, "The Other *Modus*: On the Theory and Practice of Intervals in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," examines the eleventh-century transition of Western chant to the staff in the light of the reception of classic Greek music theory concepts. "The transition to intervallically-exact notation was more than a mere change in scribal practice," he writes, "it was only one aspect of a larger shift in medieval musical culture, as the heritage of ancient music theory and the traditions of liturgical chanting were brought together in a new harmonious concord" (p. 256). As a whole, his focus is placed on the term 'modus' as carrying implications for the understanding of 'interval' (diastema), the subsequent development of staff notations and, finally, the implications on music pedagogy. Jumping off from a Levy hypothesis that the earliest neumes represented melody by graphic means (something still familiar to Hellenic Psaltic practice),<sup>9</sup> Atkinson traces some of the ramifications of this move to defined, exact, single-pitch notation, examining the fusing of *ars musica* (Greek music theory) with the *ars cantica* (living chant tradition of the time). The vehicle used for this was a series of didactic

verses he traces in the music manuscripts beginning from the eleventh and twelfth centuries reaching to the fourteenth century.<sup>10</sup> "Russian Musical *Azbuki*: A Turning Point in the History of Slavonic Chant," by Milos Velimirovic, approaches a Slavonic notational development issue regarding the evolution of notational signs that define intervals into signs that eventually become 'pitch-specific' (1660). In particular, manuscripts written between the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century represent a lost bridge in Slavonic notational continuity. Sets of melodic formulae called *popevki* are regarded as problematic. The second half of the seventeenth century also witnessed the penetration of what the author calls "secret notational 'codes'" (p. 261) in the form of special symbols, namely, the Greek letters *fita* and *theta*,<sup>11</sup> known in Russian as the *tainozamknutyi* principle. After describing the problem, Velimirovic identifies the examination of so-called *azbuki* as a possible key. *Azbuki* (which literally means 'alphabets') begin to appear in the fifteenth century and are lists or catalogues of neumes; between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries over one hundred *azbuki* can be identified. The comparative study of these catalogues, along with the possibility of offering much assistance in determining the meaning of the older neumes, can be instrumental in finding the connection of the Russian neumes with their Byzantine ancestors and, thus, ultimately filling the holes in the development of Russian music from an imported Byzantine tradition into an autonomous and unique art form.

The articles in Part IV come under the heading *Case Studies in Melodic Transmission*. The common thread to these offerings is represented by the use of what Levy referred to as 'multiples' – the concept that shared melodic material, texts and ritual functions of two or more chants may represent an earlier oral tradition, as explained by Jeffery in this part's introduction. The first article in Part IV is by Jørgen

Raasted (1995), a scholar whose contributions to Byzantine chant are well known, especially through his associations and interactions with the Greek musicologists Amargianakis and Stathis.<sup>12</sup> This short article, "Kontakion Melodies in Oral and Written Tradition," essentially compares musical 'quotes' in the kontakia of the thirteenth century palimpsest, St. Petersburg Greek MS 674, with the fifteenth-century Athonite autograph by Ioannes Plousiadenos, Dionysiou 570. The author draws from an earlier paper he wrote comparing the kontakion for 14 September, *Ho hypsotheis*, in the St. Petersburg 674 with a seventeenth-century MS from Sofia and an eighteenth-century MS in Copenhagen with 'exegeses' by Petros Lampadarios and Petros Byzantios.<sup>13</sup> This singular article dealing with the continuity between the Post-Byzantine and Byzantine melodic traditions concludes with a hypothesis asserting that since the majority of palimpsests came from the Basilian monasteries of Southern Italy and Sicily, the St. Petersburg MS was probably in Italy when he wrote his manuscript, for he is known to have spent many years there. The differences between the two manuscripts are attributed to Plousiadinis' personal musical inspiration. Ruth Steiner's article, entitled "On the Verses of the Offertory *Elegerunt*," is an expansion based on a Levy study of the same antiphon for the feast of St. Stephen.<sup>14</sup> It offers expanded evidence and analyses of different local melodic traditions for the Divine Office repertory of Gregorian chant, using these insights to group and trace paths of transmission. Dimitrije Stefanovic returns us to familiar surroundings with his article, "The Trisagion in Some Byzantine and Slavonic Stichera." The author collects Greek and Slavonic stichera that 'quote' the trisagion text ("Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us") in order to (1) "follow the notational and melodic tradition of the Trisagion in some available Coislin, Middle Byzantine, Late Byzantine and Slavonic manuscripts, and (2) to compare the melodic

formulae supporting the Trisagion in three stichera in different modes, and see whether ‘a common melodic shape can be discovered behind them’” (pp. 303-304). Explicitly, the stichera are the *Deute laoi* of Pentecost vespers, the *Hoi aýloi thronoi* from the 8 November Liturgy, and *Moses to kairo tes enkrateias* from the Ainoi for the first Sunday of the Great Fast. The conclusions are definitely interesting. Comparing twelfth- to eighteenth-century Greek and Slavonic manuscripts using notations from various developmental periods, he finds a ‘common melodic shape.’ In the last paragraph Stefanovic inserts a comparison of a melodic comparison he identified in the Pentecost sticheron with the Gregorian *Elegerunt* and hints at “a trace of an oral formula that somehow spanned East and West” (p. 308)! The last article, “Proses in the Sources of Roman Chant, and their Alleluias,” by Alejandro Enrique Planchart, examines the ‘prose’ genre also known as a ‘sequence’ by looking at the preservation process that took place in the Old Roman repertory as the Gregorian tradition was taking over.

After reading this wonderful tribute to Kenneth Levy’s contribution to chant research, without taking away from all that has been said to this point and looking on from the perspective of contemporary chant research in the Orthodox Greek East, a couple of bridges still seem to need connecting, bridges like the still controversial recognition of chromaticism in Byzantine chant, the influence of Arabic and Turkish music on “contemporary” modes (p. 159), and the “cautious reticence on the subject of ‘exegesis,’ but especially its definition as “a traditional practice of melodic ornamentation followed in the Greek churches today” (p. 229). This reviewer isn’t alarmed, though. Judging from the impressive interdisciplinary convergence of scholarship witnessed to in the present collection of articles – the outgrowth of one dedicated scholar’s work, inspiration and patience – the study of medieval chant doesn’t look like it’s going to disappear. The

‘gaps’ will serve as the enticement for the next generation of bridge-builders entering this new century of chant research!

Reviewing collections such as this one is always frustrating, for all too much goes unmentioned. Each article taken separately is based in deep and highly specialized hymnological, historical, liturgical, palaeographical, theological and musicological research. However, echoing Jeffery’s concluding remarks, the reader can see how the “comparative approach to medieval chant transmission” looks beyond regional borders to similarities and differences between oral and written processes. Whether tracing texts or melodies, the manuscript sources preserve for us details on their origin and movement, absorption and migration (p. 342). These thirteen collected articles place the reader before windows to witness music influencing texts and texts influencing music. However, worth noting, and constantly trying to peek out like a ray of sunlight from behind the cloud of technical detail, is the historic tendency to preserve earlier forms and traditions. Taken as a group, the way research conducted in chant traditions other than our own Hellenic Byzantine psaltic tradition (i.e. Latin, Georgian, Gregorian, Syriac, Armenian, Slavonic, etc.) can converge to point us toward comparative methodologies bridging multiple oral and written chant traditions and scholarly disciplines is especially interesting. Furthermore, the fact that we are guided to the ancient Christian East is of particular interest to us Orthodox, for light shed on the origins and development of liturgical practices illumines the faith held through the ages and expressed in the Church’s worship. In this case, *The Study of Medieval Chant*, while being most useful to those interested in chant research in the broadest sense also contains excellent articles for anyone interested in the development and origins of Orthodox liturgical life and especially its rich hymnography and music – our Hellenic psaltic art.

Fr. Constantine Terss

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Born in New York, February 26, 1927, Kenneth Levy taught at Princeton University as Scheide Professor of Music History, Emeritus, and at Brandeis University up to 1995, when he retired. His writings span the wide spectrum of "chant" from East to West, including repertoires of Roman, Byzantine, Georgian and Slavonic forms. Some of his writings dealing with Byzantine chant include: "The Byzantine Sanctus and its Modal Tradition in East and West," *Annales musicologiques* 6:7-67; "The Byzantine communion cycle and its Slavic counterpart," Comité Yougoslave des Études Byzantines. *Actes du XIIe congrès international d'études Byzantines, Ochride, 10-16 septembre 1961*, 2, 571-4. Belgrade: Naucno Delo, 1964; "The Slavic kontakia and their Byzantine Originals," *Queens College Twenty-fifth Anniversary Festschrift (1937-62)*, 79-87; "The melodic fabric of Byzantine choral hymns," *The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Washington, D.C., August 3-8, 1986: Abstracts of Short Papers*, 193; "On the origin of neumes," *Early Music History* 7 (1987), 59-90; and "The Slavic reception of Byzantine chant," *Christianity and the Arts in Russia*, 46-51, W. C. Brumfield and M. Velimirovic, eds. Cambridge University Press, 1991, to name only a few. Cf. Alice V. Clark, "Report from Princeton: Symposium in Honor of Kenneth Levy, 21-23 February, 1992," *Current Musicology* 54 (1993), 84-7.

<sup>2</sup> American musicologist, born in New York, 1953, and professor of music at Princeton University since 1993. Jeffery's writings show his long interest in Christian liturgical chant: "Christian East and West: Toward a Renewal of the Tradition," in *Music and the Experience of God*, ed. M. Collins, D. Power and M. Burnim, Edinburgh, 1989, 20-29; "Jerusalem and Rome (and Constantinople): the Musical Heritage of Two Great Cities in the Formation of the Medieval Chant Traditions," *Cantus Planus IV: Pecs 1990*, 163-74; "The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem: Some Possible Melodic Survivals in the Byzantine and Latin Chant Repertoires," *Early Music History* xi (1992), 151-90; *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant*, Chicago, 1992; with K. Shelemay and I. Monson, "Oral and Written Transmission in Ethiopian Christian Chant," *Early Music History* xii (1993), 55-117; "The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered: the Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* xlvii (1994), 1-38; "Paradokson Mysterion: the Thought of Gregory the Theologian in Byzantine and Latin Liturgical Chant," *GOTR* 39 (1994), 187-98; Rome and Jerusalem: from Oral Tradition to Written Repertory in Two Ancient Liturgical Centers," *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. G. M. Boone (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 207-47.

<sup>3</sup> Representative of this means of tracing music transmission passed from musician to musician are the following: A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, MA, 1960), L. Treitler, "Homer and Gregory: the Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant," *Musical Quarterly* lx (1974), 333-72, John Miles Foley, *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography* (Garland Folklore Bibliographies 6, New York: Garland, 1985) and Helmut Hucke, "Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the*



*American Musicological Society* 33 (1980), 437-67.

<sup>4</sup> The systematic study of Byzantine music notation in the West begins in the mid-seventeenth century through the discipline of palaeography. Western scholars began studying Greek ecclesiastical poetry and by the mid-nineteenth century people like Pitra, Christ, Paranikas, Krumbacher, Maas and others would begin approaching the music manuscripts. By the turn of the nineteenth century J. B. Thibaut would publish his "La Notation de Saint Jean Damascène ou Hagiopolite," *Izvestija Russk. Archeol. Inst.* iii (Constantinople, 1898) and "La Notation de Koukouzéles," *IRAI* vi (1900) and Gasstoué his *Catalogue des manuscrits de musique byzantine* (Paris, 1907). Cf. E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music* (Oxford, 1961), 1-29. In the Greek-speaking East, the study of chant was always connected with performance practice and the concept of authenticity and 'correct' interpretation of the notations in the music manuscripts, being the living art form that it still is even today. By 1863 the first Ecclesiastical Music Society would be established in Constantinople. Then-important music teachers like Panagiotis G. Kiltzanides, the Protopsaltes of the Patriarchal Church, Georgios Violakes and others like Georgios I. Papadopoulos and later on K. A. Psachos, while dealing with internal quibbles over the chant tradition, would begin to rub shoulders with the next generation of Western musicologists like E. Wellesz, L. Tardo and H. J. W. Tillyard, who would begin studying the Byzantine and post-Byzantine music manuscripts and the various form of notations and different repertoires in them.

<sup>5</sup> After the Boethius treatise, Guido's (991-ca. 1033) *Micrologus* treatise on music practice was the next most important book on music in the Middle Ages.

<sup>6</sup> In *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. Nina Garsoïan, et al, Dumbarton Oaks Symposium 1980 (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1982), 89-113.

<sup>7</sup> Christian Hannick, "Les Lectionnaires grecs de l' Apostolos avec notation ekphonétique," *Studies in Eastern Chant* 4, ed. M. Velimirovic (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1979), 76-80.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*. American Essays in Liturgy Series, ed. E. Foley (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1992), especially chs. 5, 6 and 7.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. C. Floros, *Einführung in die Neumenkunde* (1980) or in Greek, *He hellenike paradoxe stis mousikes graphes tou mesaevna, eisagoge ste neumatike episteme* (Thessalonike: Zete Publications, 1998), p. 22ff.

<sup>10</sup> The use of didactic verses can also be found in our Hellenic Psaltic tradition in the form of the so-called 'methods' of theseis, such as those of Ioannes Glykys, Ioannes Koukouzeles – also known as "The Great Ison" – Panagiotis Chrysaphes the New's didactic lesson, *Ho thelon mousiken mathein*, as well as others scattered throughout the music manuscripts. Cf. Gr. Th. Stathis, "Ioannes Koukouzeles' 'Method of Theseis' and its Application," *Byzantine Chant: Tradition and Reform. Acts of a Meeting held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 1993* (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, Vol. 2, ed. C. Troelsgård, 1997), 203.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. J. Raasted, "A Primitive palaeobyzantine musical notation," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 23 (1962), 302-10.

<sup>12</sup> For reminiscences on the interchanges between J. Raasted and Gr. Th. Stathis see “‘*To onoma sou hoti kalon*,’ †Jörgen Raasted” in *Theologia* 67 (1996), t. 3, pp. 530-549 and in the volume in honor of Gr. Th. Stathis, *Time pros ton didaskalon* (Athens: *Anatoles to Periechema*, 2001), 69ff. and 282-283.

<sup>13</sup> The paper was presented at the 1991 Byzantine Congress in Moscow and remains unpublished, according to the author.

<sup>14</sup> K. Levy, “On Gregorian Orality,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990), 185-227.

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**Matthew Kamariotes. *Kanones eis ten Metamorphosin. Eisagoge, ekdose keimenou hypo Demetriou K Chatzemichael, Didaktoros Philologias.*** Hagion Oros: Hiera Mone Pantokratoros, 2002. [Matthew Kamariotes. *Canons to the Transfiguration. Introduction, publication of text by Demetrios K Chatzemichael, doctor of philology. Mount Athos: Sacred Monastery of Pantokrator, 2002.*] pp. 89 + vii. Dedicated to the late abbot Geron Bessarion; Prologue by Hygoumen Gabriel; addendum with 3 photos from Pantokrator MSS 284, 285 and 308; ornaments used throughout publication are also lifted from Pantokrator MSS 284 and 285.

On any given day in the Orthodox monasteries scattered throughout the world, but especially those historic monasteries found in traditionally Orthodox lands and the Holy Mount of Athos itself, as many as five or six canons can be read or chanted during the normal daily offices of prayer. This is because canons are not only chanted in the orthros, but are also used in the vespers and even at times in the mesonyktikon or midnight service. Add the supplicatory canon said before table in the morning and it is not hard to see how this number is reached and often surpassed. From monastery to monastery, of course, the number and types of canons chanted are indicated by the rubrics in its *typikon*, a book regulating the hymns, prayers, services and, in a word, *taxis* used throughout the year. The fundamental *typikon* for all

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## The Term ἔθνος (Nation<sup>1</sup>) And Its Relevance For The Autocephalous Church<sup>2</sup>

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When western mass media, and to a lesser extent western theological literature, speak about "Orthodox Churches," the term "national Churches" is frequently used. Also, common prefixes such as "Greek," "Russian," "Romanian," etc., are often understood in a national sense. Thus, on the one hand, the impression is given that the Orthodox tradition and Church equate more or less the terms "Church" and "Nation," or rather place the Church in the service of the Nation. On the other hand, one often assumes only a loose alliance, even a schism among the different autocephalous Orthodox Churches. The reason for such an approach to this matter is probably due to the fact that in the West a novel ecclesiology was developed principally during the second millennium. In Roman Catholicism the teaching concerning the Church came to be closely connected with the alleged fullness of power (*plenitudo potestas*) of the Bishop of Rome, whereas Protestantism has neglected the unity of the Church in theory and practice by rejecting the ecclesiology of Rome with its centralism. In both cases a deviation from the ecclesiastical norm, established in the Early Church, has taken place.

One of these norms is the system of autocephaly developed by the Early Church which allows Orthodox theology to speak about the Orthodox Church in the singular or about the Orthodox Churches in the plural in ecclesologically correct terminology. The singular usage indicates the unity of Orthodoxy in faith, rite, and constitution, whereas the plural emphasizes the appearance and organization of the Church in its traditional form from the beginning onwards as the basic unit, known as the local Church. The Church as local Church is

apparent not only in the sense of the Eucharistic assembly, but also in the sense of the diocese and later of the multiple dioceses of either a wider geographical district or a "nation." By ignoring the system of autocephaly the Catholics sometimes interpret this plural sense as demonstrating a lack of unity in Orthodoxy, while the Protestants often compare it to the ecclesiological pluralism which resulted from the Reformation.

For this reason, among others, the Greek term "nation" (ἔθνος) is important for the system of autocephaly. The following considerations deal above all with the understanding of this term with reference to evidence from the Early Church. At the same time they aim at showing clearly the significance of this term for the autocephalous system by referring to ecclesiological data and facts. This lecture is divided into three sections:

1. Some remarks on the meaning of the term Nation
2. The relation between Church and Nation.
3. The independence (autocephaly) of the local Church.

### *1. Some remarks on the meaning of the term "nation"*

When in this context the Greek term ἔθνος is translated with the modern term "nation" (Latin *natio*) we follow an old tradition, which began in the ecclesiological-theological field prior to the Vulgate.<sup>3</sup> But this translation should not obscure the fact that the terms do not fully agree in meaning. It is, therefore, important first of all to supply some examples in order to explain the particular shades of meaning of the term ἔθνος. These examples are based on ancient, classical, and Early-Church evidence. All these conclusions subsequently are briefly compared with the term nation.

Etymologically, the term ἔθνος probably derives from the word ἔθος (habit, custom, morals and manners).<sup>4</sup> ἔθνος, therefore, means a quantity, crowd, group in which people are linked to one another by the same habits, morals, and manners or any other characteristics.<sup>5</sup> This applies to human beings as well as to animals, birds, insects, etc. So the term covers a variety of meanings and shades even from the beginning of its history.

For instance, in classical Greek, one speaks of ἔθνεα, i.e. of herds, flights, shoals, and so on, of animals, birds, fish and insects.<sup>6</sup> Homer also speaks of ἔθνος in the sense of a number of men who belong

together or have something in common (an ἔθνος of companions, an ἔθνος of dead people).<sup>7</sup> This term is also found in connection with a group, a people (a race) or many human beings respectively; for example, to refer to the Lycians, Achaeans, Cretans, or simply a collection of many people.<sup>8</sup> In the sense of people, ἔθνος also occurs in later authors: for instance, in Herodotus<sup>9</sup> who speaks of the people (ἔθνος) of the Medians which is subdivided into genera (γένεα). The term ἔθνος also signifies a tribe (τὸ Θεταλλῶν ... πενεστικὸν ἔθνος=the Thessalian tribe of the Penestans),<sup>10</sup> or a particular group of individuals who are characterized by something special, such as wealth or a particular occupation. For example, those who form a special class or guild, as for instance the ἔθνος of rhapsodists, of peasants, merchants, etc.<sup>11</sup> Last but not least the term is found in the sense of the female and the male gender (the ἔθνος of women or men).<sup>12</sup>

In the case of human beings these examples show that the use of the term ἔθνος in classical Greek relates to a variety of common features. Occasionally, national descent is one of these common features. But one never speaks of ἔθνος in the sense of common political organization.

The use of the term ἔθνος in the plural for denoting the barbarians, who are non-Greek (ἔθνη βάρβαρα) and differ from the Greeks in morals, manners, and principally in language, is also of special interest in classical Greek.<sup>13</sup> This use runs more or less parallel to the Hebrew expression *gowin*, which denotes peoples other than the ἔθνος, the nation of the chosen people of Israel. In this instance the Greek emphasizes the different morals and manners of the so-called barbarians, whereas the Hebrew usage emphasizes the difference in religion.

This Hebrew religious connotation is also applicable to the New Testament to a large extent. It is significant that among the approximately 160 occurrences of ἔθνος in the NT, about 40 are drawn from the OT (the LXX), while many others remind one of relevant OT passages. Two meanings<sup>14</sup> can be distinguished in the NT: in 64 NT passages ἔθνος and ἔθνη have no particular stress and simply mean the people (λαός);<sup>15</sup> in some of these passages, the term ἔθνος is explicitly related to the Hebrew people<sup>16</sup> or to the Christians as well, the ἔθνος ἅγιον (the holy people, 1 Peter 2:9). The remaining passages use the expression τὰ ἔθνη in the sense of the Hebrew “goyim,” i.e. as a *terminus technicus* for the pagans in contrast to the Jews or the

Christians. In this latter sense of pagans the term ἔθνος is synonymous with the word Ἕλληνες who were considered as typical representatives of the pagans (Latin *gentes*). The same use applies to the adjective ἔθνικός, meaning pagan (Lat. Gentile and later on *pagani*).

The biblical meaning according to which τὰ ἔθνη (the peoples, the pagans) stands in contrast to the Christians (by not having embraced Christianity), has gained acceptance not only by the Apostolic Fathers<sup>17</sup> but also by subsequent Greek and Latin Christian authors:<sup>18</sup> for example Irenaeus,<sup>19</sup> Origen,<sup>20</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea,<sup>21</sup> Athanasius the Great,<sup>22</sup> Basil the Great,<sup>23</sup> etc. In this specific meaning and in the view of St. Basil the Great,<sup>24</sup> the ἔθνη belong to those who as a whole lead a futile, vain life, that is a life estranged from the salvation in Christ and are therefore to be judged (τοῖς δὲ μάτην βεβιωκόσι τὸ κρίνεσθαι); they live far from piety, from the true recognition of the existence of God (ἔξω τῆς εὐσεβείας). So canon 39 of the Council of Laodicea (between 343 and 381) says, "they (meaning the Christians) are not allowed to celebrate together with the pagans and so take part in their ungodliness."<sup>25</sup> The Fathers of the Church often speak of ἔθνη (peoples) who embraced the Christian faith. They were previously "barbaric" and turned into peoples "submitting to law" (νόμιμα) after their conversion to Christianity:<sup>26</sup> They form "the church out of the peoples" (ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίαι)<sup>27</sup> and stand in contrast to the Jews, who reject Christianity.<sup>28</sup> Through Christ's appeal to the Apostles to follow Him and through the same appeal to all the peoples the "nation of the Christians" (ἔθνος χριστιανῶν)<sup>29</sup> came into being.

If one compares the remarks made so far with the term some serious differences become apparent:

Firstly, whereas, as to its etymology, ἔθνος refers to the same habit (ἔθος) or to any other characteristic by which a group is linked or through which it differs from others, the term nation (Latin *natio*, derived from *nasci*<sup>30</sup> - to be born) emphasizes the birth and descent or the place of origin respectively; it means an exactly defined "people" or a "tribe."<sup>31</sup>

Secondly, the term ἔθνος in the background previously mentioned is on the whole much more extensive than the term nation. For this reason the term ἔθνος covers a variety of meanings and shades in classical antiquity, but also in the Scriptures and in the Fathers of the Church, meanings and shades which are far from identical with the term nation at the same period. This is even truer for the later

development of the term. Already in the Latin Middle Ages, but above all in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the term nation (mostly in the plural) describes the bond among human beings not only by the factor of descent but also by morals, manners, language, character, and laws.<sup>32</sup> This has been the basis of the formation of nation States later in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In connection with this development one begins to speak of ἔθνος in a similar manner in Greece as well.

Thirdly, when one tries to find a Greek expression that is equivalent to the term “nation” this term is better translated by the word γένος (Latin *gens*). It is true that the word γένος meant a subdivision of ἔθνος in classical antiquity, as in Herodotus,<sup>33</sup> but in Medieval Greek especially after the first Greek Renaissance in the 9<sup>th</sup> century the term γένος came to describe the Greek “nation.”<sup>34</sup>

Apart from these differences the final result of this section could be summarized as follows: as to its linguistic application to the Scriptures or the Greek Fathers of the Church the term ἔθνος can neither be used in the meaning of the modern term “nation” nor in the sense of a national Church. But also canon 34 of the Apostles in which the word ἔθνος is found and which seems important to our discussion belongs to the previously mentioned passages. However, we will deal with it in the third part of this paper. Before we come to it, some essential theological aspects of the relations between the Church and Nation must be explained.

## 2. The relation between Church and Nation

Even if the term ἔθνος has hardly anything to do with the modern term nation in the sources which are relevant to Orthodox theology and the Church, the question, however, arises in this context: How does Orthodox theology view the relations between Church and Nation today?

The relation between Church and Nation has to be considered within the scope of salvation. Its framework is the unity of mankind not only with the creation but also with the redemption of all human beings by Jesus Christ and their fulfillment in the *eschaton*. Whereas the history of mankind begins with the creation of the “whole human race (πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων) from one man, so that it dwells on the entire face of the earth” (Acts 17, 26), the distinction of human beings into peoples or nations is the result of original sin. As such it has been brought



about by God and it serves the divine plan of salvation in history. Its final abolition in Jesus Christ takes place by accepting His message and by incorporating each individual human being into the Church through baptism: "For you are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3: 26-28' cf. 1 Cor. 12:13, Col. 3:11). Cosmas of Maiuma, the poet of the *kontakion* for the feast of Pentecost, relates the matter as follows: "When the Lord came down..., He confounded their language(s)...and scattered the nations abroad (Gen. 11:5 ff.). When He distributed cloven tongues like fire, He invited all of them to unity."

The variety of peoples is therefore an element of this world. It will be completely overcome only in the *eschaton*. The Church, which has come into being (that means *in actu*) on the day of Pentecost, has the task "to go to all the peoples and to make all human beings Christ's disciples (μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) (Matt. 28:19). This means that she invites all peoples to unity and that she tries to offer a new spiritual dimension and identity to each national character and culture through one (common) faith in Christ. Thus, the culture and the national character of each individual nation are not abolished, but are enriched and serve the ecumenical experience of faith. The Church has therefore two tasks to perform: one primary and supra-national, or ecumenical task, and another secondary, which serves the spreading and the concrete assimilation of Christianity with other cultures (enculturation). The first aims at the unity of peoples in the ecumenical experience of faith; the second, which is sometimes wrongly described as a "national task," means actual acceptance and enrichment of the particular culture of each individual nation. This acceptance contributes to the spread of Christianity while the enrichment helps to open the specific national culture to the spirit of the ecumenical experience of faith.

The first and fundamental assimilation of Christianity with other cultures, which took place when Christianity encountered Hellenism, differs from the processes of the assimilation of Christianity with other cultures of particular nations. In the Old Church, with the aid of Hellenism, the spreading of Christianity and the experience of one faith took place in the *ecumene* (οἰκουμένη= the inhabited world) of

that time. Thus, Hellenism with its supra-national dimension served directly the ecumenicity and universality of the Gospel. But even if Hellenism turned out to be very useful and important for Christianity,<sup>35</sup> this should not induce one to overvalue it, for it remains a human contribution which ranks below the revealed truth. The supra-national dimension of the Greek-Christian culture does not mean, therefore, preference of one particular nation, for example the Greek one. For the Church ranks above each people and serves the unity of all the peoples. It unifies all peoples in one common faith.

In the multinational Eastern Roman Empire this very ecumenical task of the Church has led to the formation of the “Christian Ecumene” as it is reflected in the Ecumenical Councils and in their decisions. Also the companionship of the monks of different nations on Mount Athos (not only of the Eastern Church but also of the Western Church) until the definite schism in the 13<sup>th</sup> century is a good example for the “Christian Ecumene” as well as for the overcoming of national differences within the Church. The ecumenical task cannot be separated from the catholicity of the Church. Thus, the ecumenicity and catholicity of the Church in the East was emphasized by the interior richness of faith, the orthodoxy.

In the West, however, special emphasis was laid on the universality of the Church. This emphasis on universality took a definite shape in the alleged universal jurisdictional primacy of the Pope. In the East, on the other hand, the ecumenical task of the Church found a significant exponent in the Archbishop of Constantinople, the Primate of honor in Orthodoxy and Ecumenical Patriarch, who had, however, to accept the data and facts of the ecclesiastical laws. Thus, both in the Byzantine and later in the Ottoman Empire as well, Orthodoxy kept “the balance between supra-national and national tasks by never sacrificing the first (i.e. the supra-national) to the second (i.e. the national) but just the other way round...Hence it is significant that the Church of Constantinople has not hesitated to put up even with the break in relations with the ethnic Greeks – as soon as it was requested not to act in the sense of these two tasks; for her (namely the Church) the ecumenical task always prevailed.”<sup>36</sup>

This very task of the Church gets, however, into danger whenever the interests of the expediency of national and ecclesiastical policy prevail and the realities bearing on the ecclesiastical laws are not observed. Unfortunately, the history of Orthodox peoples provides us

with a number of such cases. But on such occasions the Orthodox Church, under the leadership of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, has always held the view of the predominance of the Church over the nation without any qualification. In order to demonstrate this position the following examples will suffice in this context, which date primarily from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, two periods that coincide with the awakening of the national consciousness of the Balkan peoples and their national liberation.

1) After the political independence of Greece, the unilateral and uncanonical proclamation of the autocephaly of the Greek Church took place in the year 1833. This act of the regency through the participation of the responsible clergy was mainly due to political reasons<sup>37</sup> and led to a political schism within the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The Ecumenical Patriarchate canonically bestowed Autocephaly on the Greek Church only in 1850.

2) The uncanonical declaration of an autocephalous Church in the former region of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia in 1945, at a time when there was no political independence, was made on national and political grounds; it served to form a new national, so-called "Macedonian" identity and up to now has not been recognized by any autocephalous Orthodox Church.<sup>38</sup>

3) The example of the Bulgarian Church is far more interesting. As long ago as 1860, i.e. even before the Bulgarians were an independent people (their national liberation took place in 1878), they had requested the establishment of a national Bulgarian Church. On February 2, 1870, the sultan met this request for, without being authorized, he recognized by a decree the independence of the Bulgarian Church and established the Exarchate of Bulgaria. When in 1871 the Bulgarian Church had worked out a constitution of the autocephalous Bulgarian Church, this uncanonical act was opposed in Constantinople. In a council of the Orthodox Church in Constantinople (September, 9, 1872) the independence of the Bulgarian Church was rejected "because of phyletism" (overemphasis of race or of nation with regard to the Church); "phyletism" is not only "totally foreign" but also completely hostile to the Gospel and to the ecclesiastical constitution."<sup>39</sup> This led to a schism that lasted until 1945.<sup>40</sup> But let us have a closer look at the problem of autocephaly in the Orthodox Church.

### 3. The Independence (Autocephaly) of the Local Church

The *terminus technicus* for the independence or autonomy of a local Church within the one catholic Church has been τὸ αὐτοκέφαλον<sup>41</sup> (autocephaly) since ancient times. Speaking of the independence of the local Church in this context does not abolish the ecumenicity and catholicity of the Church. On the contrary, it confirms the concrete earthly shape and organization of the one catholic Church. The one Church manifests itself in history:

Firstly, as local Church in the “solemn Eucharist and the sacramental Communion of the people of God.”<sup>42</sup> St. Paul’s expression of both Church and Eucharist as “the body of Christ” (1 Cor. 10:16-17; 11:29; 12:22; Col. 1:24) indicates that in the Eucharistic community we have not only a part, but also the whole and undivided Christ. Thus, in the local Church, in the sense of community, in which the Eucharist is celebrated, “the *pleroma* (the fullness) of the Church of God in Christ” is manifested. It is the Church in its entirety in which the abundance of salvation is experienced. This means: each local Church which celebrates the mystery of the Eucharist and shares in the body and blood of Christ is the Church in its fullness, not least of all because the Eucharist is offered not only for the local Church but also for the entire Church.<sup>43</sup> It forms the communion (κοινωνία-*communio*) of the believers among one another and with Christ (eucharistic community).

Secondly, the Church in place and time as local Church appears in the form of the diocese. As the above-mentioned identification of Church and Eucharistic celebration doubtlessly includes the danger of isolating the Eucharistic community, so the one faith and the one love of the catholic Church belong to the true Eucharist from the very beginning. First of all, the unity of the clergy and of the people around the bishop is the guarantor of this experience.<sup>44</sup> From the beginning, therefore, the diocese has been the autocephalous form of the local Church in the strict sense of the word and the nucleus of the ecclesiastical constitution. The fact that a bishop with his clergy and people form an autonomous unity on a local level is not least due to the absolute and “ontologically” equal rank of the bishops in relation to one another. Through the person of the bishop the local Church on the Episcopal level “is of equal honor and is organically linked with the whole body of the Church which has the same apostolic succession,

the same mysteries, the same tradition and the same belief. Where the unity of bishop, clergy and people actually takes place and forms the same body, there is also the whole fullness of the ecclesiastical gifts of grace.”<sup>45</sup>

Thirdly, autocephaly appears in history in the sense that many dioceses together form an autocephalous Church. The political realities to which the ecclesiastical ones were usually adapted provided the framework for this union from the very beginning.<sup>46</sup> The metropolitan system of the Church,<sup>47</sup> which can already be traced back to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century had “practically been completed by the beginning of the Byzantine era... In general an ecclesiastical metropolis corresponds also to a political metropolis, i.e. to a provincial capital.”<sup>48</sup> It has already been perfectly clear from the canons of the first Ecumenical Council (at Nicaea in 325) that the political province (ἐπαρχία) coincides with the ecclesiastical metropolis.

Fourthly, as a result of the above-mentioned autocephaly on the level of metropolis a unification of even larger Church territories or of a couple of metropolises has taken place and – also taking into account the apostolicity and the ecclesiastical-theological significance of certain Episcopal thrones – this has, in turn, led to the establishment of the five ancient Patriarchates and to the recognition of further autocephalous Churches.

On the question of the constitutive elements of the autonomy of the local Church in this extended sense of the word, Nikodemus Milasch<sup>49</sup> points out that the Councils themselves indicate the following aspects:

a) “The independence of the hierarchy of one Church from another (See Canon 9 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> General Council in which the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus is defined and the relevant canonical principle is expressed);

b) The hierarchical rights and privileges to which some Churches are entitled prior to others (Canon 7 of the 1<sup>st</sup> General Council and Canon 28 of the 4<sup>th</sup> General Council. See also Novella 131 of Justinian chapter 2);

c) The rights of legislation and of independent jurisdiction (Apostolic Canon 37; Canon 2 of the 2<sup>nd</sup> General Council, the named epistle of the African synod, (op. cit., p. 302, note 4); and

d) The special local manners and customs and ecclesiastical rites (cf. the introduction in the epistle of the oriental patriarchs in 1724 in

which they inform the Christians of Great Britain of the decisions and resolutions of the Council of Jerusalem of 1672 [Moscow edition, 1848, leaf 13b]. As to the difference of rites, manners, and customs of the Churches in former times, see Socrates, *Church History*, v. 22).

Although the canons recognize the autonomy of each local Church they do not allow, however,

a) that in each local Church a new doctrine could be created or that the general teaching could be neglected in one way or another (Canon 7 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> General Council; Canon 1 of Trullo);

b) that in the Church's administration there could be a deviation from the fundamental laws of the Church in general (Canon 2 of Trullo; 1<sup>st</sup> Canon of the 7<sup>th</sup> General Council);

c) that innovations could be introduced in a field which had been sanctioned by the apostolic tradition which is maintained in the Church throughout the centuries (Canons 13, 28, 29, 32, 55, 56, and 81 of Trullo; Canon 7 of the 7<sup>th</sup> General Council; Canon 21 of Gangra);

d) that the spiritual union with the remaining Churches could be given up (See above, section 51, pp. 211ff.); and

e) that the local rights, manners and customs of the other churches could be transgressed or violated (Canon 8 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> General Council; Canon 39 of Trullo; Canon 1 of St. Basil the Great. See the final words of Canon 70 of Carthage)."

It goes without saying that such a descriptive definition of autocephaly is not exhaustive. It seems important, however, to state further in this context that the relation of the bishops of such an autocephalous Church to one another has to be characterized by collegiality and equal rights which are expressed by the synodal structure of the Church. Apart from that, there is also the development of the primacy of honor in the Church, which already coincided with this extended autocephaly during the first centuries. This means that, independently of the sacramental equality of dignity of all the bishops as compared to each other, some of them are awarded in the course of time a primacy of honor and this is expressed by honorary titles such as Archbishop, Metropolitan, Patriarch, Catholicos, Pope, etc. All these titles, as well as the primacy of honor, originate in history (not *de jure divino*) and do not abolish the equal ranking of bishops; the primate of honor is *primus inter pares*. The primacy of honor to which no jurisdictional claims of the primate over other bishops are attached and which does not therefore lead to "a universalist ecclesiology"<sup>50</sup> in

the monarchical sense, is the only lawful primacy in the Church. It has direct reference to the synodality and to the unity of the Church in the one Eucharist, the apostolic tradition and the bond of love.

In the Early Church, as is known, such a primacy of honor had been awarded to the Episcopates of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem and was attached to specific geographical areas. This historical development has been recorded in a number of canons of Ecumenical Councils<sup>51</sup> and has led to the so-called institution of the Pentarchy.<sup>52</sup> In this connection it should be added that the Ecumenical Councils of the Early Church also sanctioned the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus.<sup>53</sup> Also in this context it is actually important to note that the Christians of each of these five Patriarchates had no ethnic or linguistic features in common. They did not really have any "national" identity in the modern sense of the word, nor was the political unity of the territory in question decisive for the development of autocephaly. Such a political unity did not exist at all, or it existed only temporarily for the Patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. The principle of a political unity at best applies to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which covered at one time a large section of the East-Roman (Byzantine) Empire and temporarily even the whole territory of it. It is perhaps fitting to recall at this point that the Byzantine Empire was multinational despite the prevailing Greek language and culture. Apart from the more or less guaranteed apostolicity and the ecclesiastical-theological significance, which these five ancient Episcopal thrones had obtained in the Early Church, the Christian identity of the population in the larger area was the main common feature with regard to the development of primacy of honor.

Whereas the autocephaly of the five ancient Patriarchates and of the Church of Cyprus was established by Ecumenical Councils and without reference to ethnic composition, these two factors no longer prevailed in later developments. For this reason, already in the Middle Ages, irregularities arose again and again in the efforts for independence and autocephaly among the Churches of Orthodox peoples.<sup>54</sup> It would lead us too far astray if we entered into details. Only some characteristic remarks or examples shall be mentioned.

Firstly, this issue especially concerned the Patriarchate of Constantinople, because, on the one hand, these people had been missionized from there and for this reason their ecclesiastical

autonomy concerned the mother-church and, on the other hand, because after the schism of the Western Patriarchate (the Church of Rome), the Ecumenical Patriarchate held the first rank of honor over the Pope, the four remaining Patriarchates and the entire Orthodox Church.<sup>55</sup>

Secondly, it took a very long time to conclude each individual case. So, for instance, the Grand Duke Vassilij II had tried to bring about the autonomy of the Russian Church from the Patriarchate of Constantinople already in the year 1448. But it was not until January 26, 1589 that the Metropolitan See of Moscow was established as a Patriarchate by the Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II with the consent of the three remaining Orthodox Patriarchs.

Thirdly, the efforts for independence of the Churches of Orthodox peoples caused tensions and led to schisms among the individual churches, for example among the Graecophiles in Russia who opposed the movements for autocephaly.

Fourthly, for the most part these efforts had a political background, as for example in the case of the Czar Stefan Duschan who, in 1345, called himself "Czar and emperor of the Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians and Albanians." In the following year, 1346, he founded a Serbian Patriarchate, because – according to the prevailing opinion- the crowning of an emperor was performed by a patriarch. So he managed to establish himself not only in the eyes of the nation, but also in those of the church.

In addition to the above-mentioned Churches (the four ancient Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Cyprus), the Churches of Russia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Poland, Albania, Czechia and Slovakia (14 in all) enjoy autocephaly, whereas the Churches of Finland and Estonia are considered to be autonomous.<sup>56</sup> All these Churches were granted independence in the course of the second millennium, primarily in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries; this development almost always was due to the fact that the people concerned managed to achieve their political independence at the same time.

By evaluating not only the early ecclesiastical practice but also especially the patriarchal acts<sup>57</sup> by which the Ecumenical Patriarchate has granted autocephaly or autonomy to most of these Churches, Spyridon Troiannos<sup>58</sup> has stated the requirements for this bestowal as follows:



1. Political integrity or independence: Here one refers to the well-known sentence, "Ecclesiastical matters are to be regulated in general in accordance with those of the State."<sup>59</sup>

2. Declaration of intention: This refers to the declaratory acts of the people, that is, the members of the Orthodox religious communion which is to be established as an autocephalous or autonomous Church; the second condition precedes the first one.<sup>60</sup> In such cases – one should add – this is also the prerequisite for the efforts for political independence of a people and thus provides fertile soil for misunderstandings relating to an alleged "national" character of the Church.

From those patriarchal acts, which are taken into consideration by Troiannos, two additional aspects appear which cannot be described as prerequisites. They rank between the two above-mentioned prerequisites in terms of their function. As to their substance they belong more to the subjective prerequisite, but due to their functionality characteristic feature they differ clearly from it; the two aspects are:

a) the national homogeneity of the members of the Christian community whose self-administration is under discussion, and

b) the fact that this ethnic group lives under one and the same State organization. It is, however, not at all essential that this organization of the State includes only the ethnic group in question.

Besides the canons of the Ecumenical Councils, the 34<sup>th</sup> canon of the Apostles (circa AD 380) is very often quoted as the canonical basis for the system of autocephaly. This canon is widely used to substantiate autocephaly on a national or nation-state level. It concerns a view<sup>61</sup> which in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, i.e. in a period of national wakening of Orthodox peoples on the Balkan Peninsula and of formation of national-states, came to gain greater acceptance a view, however, which is not quite correct from the historical-philological and the theological standpoint, but is rather ambiguous.

We shall deal with this canon because it seems to be of special interest for our subject as the term ἔθνος is mentioned in it. In translation it reads as follows: "The bishops of each single ἔθνος shall recognize the primate among them and shall regard him as head (κεφαλῇ); they shall not do anything exceptional without his knowledge; but every one shall only do what pertains to his own episcopate (παροικία) and his parishes therein. But the latter too (the primate) shall not do anything without the knowledge of all. For only in this way will harmony reign and God will be glorified by the Lord

in the Holy Spirit.”<sup>62</sup>

It strikes one at once that this canon aims at the order and unity of the local Church. The Christians and their bishops have to respect and to cultivate unity in the different local Churches as a high priority. Unity in the local Churches concerned is guaranteed in concrete terms first, when the bishops recognize one among them as their “head,” as their primate of honor, and, secondly, when all of them live and act in full agreement; this especially concerns the relationship of the bishops of the local Church to the primate and *vice versa*.

What does the term ἔθνος mean in this canon and in what way is autocephaly meant? First of all, one should bear in mind that in the passages which have been dealt with in the first section of this paper, the term ἔθνος on the one hand relates exclusively to a group of living beings who have one specific feature in common and on the other hand it is not identical with the modern term nation. Indeed in this canon ἔθνος does not mean a nation in the modern sense of the term but a people, i.e., a group of human beings who have one or more features in common. The most significant common feature in this canon concerns Christians who are ruled by the subsidiary episcopate which is being formed. Clearly, for this reason, they inhabit the same place, the same administrative district. But this term does not have reference to the place, to the administrative district as such (to the province as such), but chiefly to the Christians who live there and to their bishops who together form the local Church.<sup>63</sup> This observation is also supported by the canon itself. As Metropolitan Maximus of Sardes rightly remarks, it is the canon itself that gives “an explanation of its own when it defines the contents of the term ‘people’ as follows: ‘Everyone (every bishop) shall do what concerns his territory (i.e. παραιοκία = episcopate) and the regions (i.e. χωρὰι = parishes) under his control.’ This clearly shows that here one speaks about local Churches and not about national Churches.”<sup>64</sup> Clearly it is the local Churches of a metropolis that are meant.

A similar canon helps one understand this term, namely, canon 9 of the Council of Antioch, which begins with these words: “The bishops of each single eparchy (καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν) shall recognize the leading bishop (τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον) in the metropolitanate.” When one compares this text with that of the 34<sup>th</sup> Apostolic canon one finds that the terms ἐπαρχία and παραιοκία (episcopate) on the one hand and ἔθνος and

metropolitanate on the other hand are used as equivalents. Instead of the term ἔθνος the term metropolitanate is used in this context. As stated above,<sup>65</sup> in reality the boundaries of an episcopate or a metropolitanate were usually adapted to the political ones (above all in the Byzantine Empire), but the Church favored this adoption not for the sake of the territories but for the sake of rendering effective pastoral care to the Christians who lived in them. In my view, clearly the essential element in the ecclesiastical administrative district (the ἐπαρχία in the sense of episcopate as well as of metropolitanate) has to do with the Christians and not the territory or the administrative district. What mattered very much to the authors of both canons was order in the local Church and more precisely in the metropolitanate. Also, the Byzantine canonists have understood and interpreted the term ἔθνος in this specific sense.<sup>66</sup>

As to the meaning, then, of the term ἔθνος and its relevance for the autocephaly of the Church one comes to the following conclusions on the basis of this paper:

Firstly, the translation of the term ἔθνος by “nation” is quite inappropriate. In general, the term ἔθνος is much more open than the term nation and cannot therefore be used unconditionally with reference to autocephaly.

Secondly, the use of the term ἔθνος in the Scriptures, in the Fathers of the Church and in the canons of the Early Church seems to be correct as a “basis” – if at all – only in its widest sense, when speaking of autocephaly in Orthodox theology and in the Church today. This is because Apostolic canon 34 focuses on the unity and order of a local Church (and not of a national Church) and thus concerns autocephaly on the level of the metropolitanate; by ἔθνος one means the Christian people of a metropolitanate who, of course, inhabit a specific geographical space, a province. The term ἔθνος, however, does not actually mean a “province” in a political-geographical sense.

Thirdly, if the autocephaly of a local Church in its wider sense, namely on the national or nation-state level, is mentioned, such a use may only be applied to the scope of the above-mentioned statements with regard to the relations of Church and nation in Orthodox Theology and in the Church. This means that in Orthodoxy the Church must never be put in the service of the state in any way. Neither should the state be overemphasized in the Church; the appearance of an unhealthy nationalism is even less welcome.

Fourthly and finally, as a result of the foregoing remarks, the occasional description of the Orthodox Churches as “national Churches” is contrary to the ecclesiological self-consciousness of Orthodoxy.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> From the the very beginning the inverted commas are to make quite clear that the word “nation” as translation of the term ἔθνος is largely incorrect; the remarks of this paper will demonstrate this interpretation. The German term “Volk” is also problematic –especially due to the light of history of the last two centuries.

<sup>2</sup> The article at hand is the revised version of my lecture on the same theme, which was given on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1999 at Majvik near Helsinki during the academic symposium of the University of Helsinki on the subject “Religion and national identity.”

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gen 10:5; Lev 20:23; Luk 2:32.

<sup>4</sup> H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Lexikon*, Heidelberg <sup>2</sup>1973, s.v. ἔθνος.

<sup>5</sup> K. L. Schmidt, “ἔθνος in the NT,” in: *ThWNT* vol. 2, p. 366.

<sup>6</sup> Homer, *Odyssey* 14:73: ἔθνεα χοίρων (pigs), *Ilias* 2:87: μελισσάων (bees). 2,459: ὀρνίθων (birds). 2,469: μυιάων (flies). Sophocles, *Antigone* 344: ἔθνη θηρῶν ἀγρίων (wild bands); *Philoktetes* 1147: ἔθνη θηρῶν (bands). Plato, *Timaeus* 92 b: ἰχθύων ἔθνος καὶ τὸ τῶν ὀστρέων ... γέγονεν. Theocritus, *Idyll*. 17:77: ἔθνεα μυρία φωτῶν (quantities of thousands of lights).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 3:32: ἔθνος ἐτάρων. 11,724: ἔθνεα πεζῶν. *Odyssey* 10:526 and 11:34: ἔθνεα νεκρῶν. Cp. also Aeschylus, *Persians* 56: τὸ μαχαιροφόρον τ' ἔθνος (Nation of bearers of knives).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 13:330: Λυκίων μέγα ἔθνος. 17:552: Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος. *Iliad* 13:495: ἔθνος λαῶν (of many human beings). Cf. Aeschylus, *Persians* 43. Plato, *Nomoi* VI, 751e: Κρητῶν ἔθνη.

<sup>9</sup> Herodotus, *Hist.* I:101: Μηδικὸν ἔθνος ... ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσαύτε γένεα, Βούσαι, Παρητακηνοί ... Cf. also I:56: there he speaks of the Lacedaemons, who descend from “Dorian lineage” and of the Athenians, who descend from “Ioanian lineage” τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, εἶντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος). Thucydides, *Hist* 1:3,2:4: κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικόν. 2:96,3:2 (passim). Plato, *Soph* 242.d: τὸ δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλεατικὸν ἔθνος.

<sup>10</sup> Plato, *Nomoi* VI, 776 d.

<sup>11</sup> Plato, *Politeia* 420 d: ἔθνος διαφερόντως εὐδαίμων. *Politicus* 290 b: τὸ κηρυκτικὸν ἔθνος. *Tim* 19.d: ὄηλον ὡς τὸ τιμητικὸν ἔθνος. Xenophon, *Convivium* 3,6: ἔθνος ραψωδῶν. For ἔθνος in the sense of a part of a city state cf. Demosthenes, (Or. 9) *Philippikos* 3,26, where one speaks of the ethnos of the Phocaeans (φωκέων) and subsequently: μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη. (Or. 23) *Against Aristocrates* 146: τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα ἔθνη, that means the peasants, the merchants etc.

<sup>12</sup> Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 7:26: πότρεα τὸ ἔθνος τὸ θῆλυ ἢ τὸ ἄρρεν;

<sup>13</sup> Cf. for example Plato, *Critias* 109 a. There is no need for further references as there are many of them in this context.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the relevant passages in: K. L. Schmidt, "ἔθνος in the NT," in: *ThWNT* vol. 2, pp. 366-369.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Basil the Great, *Hom. in Jes.* 1:16: *BEP* 56, 59: "Ἔθνος καὶ λαὸς πολλὰχοῦ συνευγεμένως λέγεται. *Hom. in Jes.* 2:67-68: *BEP* 56, 100, where Basil interprets the passage *Jes* 2:2-3: καὶ ἤξουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ πορεύσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ. In his opinion the term πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in the first phrase means the many "peoples" on the earth (Cappadocians, Galatians, Armenians etc), to which "all of them" the Christian faith is known. In contrast to that the words ἔθνη πολλὰ in the second phrase refer to "the single human beings who are included in the general term ἔθνος" (οἱ καθ' ἓνα ἄνθρωποι, ὅσοι τῇ κοινῇ προσηγορίᾳ τοῦ ἔθνους συμπεριλαμβάνονται); many but not all of these individual human beings will lead a Christian life.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. especially *Acts* 10:22: ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the references with H. Kraft, *Clavis Patrum Apostolorum* ..., Darmstadt 1963, s.v. ἔθνος (pp. 129-130). As to these references the passage *Martyrium Polycarpi* 9,2 (*BEP* 3, 23: ἄνομα ἔθνη) is of particular interest.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. some of these references with U. Dierse/H. Rath, "Nation, Nationalismus, Nationalität," in: *HWP*, vol. 6, column 412, note. 12.

<sup>19</sup> *Adversus haereses* 2,32,4: *BEP* 5, 142.

<sup>20</sup> Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6,80: *BEP* 10, 122, where he rejects Celsus' opinion on the ἐνθεώτατα ἔθνη of the Egyptians, Persians etc. *Hom. in Jer.* 5,3: *BEP* 11, 35. *Comm. on John* 28:12: *BEP* 12, 269: καὶ τὸ ἔθνος (Israel) ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡρθη.

<sup>21</sup> *Demonstratio evangelica*, 1,1,10: *BEP* 25, 14. 7,16,11: *BEP* 25, 264.

<sup>22</sup> *Expositio in Psalm.* 45: *BEP* 32, 115.

<sup>23</sup> *Hom. in Psalm.* 32,7: *BEP* 52, 70: ἄπιστα ἔθνη. 32,6: *BEP* 52, 70, where he speaks also of the "unbelieving peoples" (ἄπιστα ἔθνη); he makes a distinction between these and the "two chosen peoples" (δύο ἐκλεκτοὶ λαοί), the Jews and the Christians; he thinks, however, that only the latter - the Christians who are chosen from all the peoples - are blessed (τὸ ἔθνος par excellence). He argues: Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἔσμεν τὸ ἔθνος ὧν ἐστὶ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν καὶ λαός, ὃν ἐξελέξατο εἰς κληρονομίαν αὐτῶ· ἔθνος μὲν, διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἐθνῶν πολλῶν συνειλέχθαι· λαός δέ, διὰ τὸ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποβληθέντος λαοῦ προσκληθῆναι (32,7: *BEP* 52, 71). In this passage the following aspects are of interest: first, the difference between τὸ ἔθνος, over which God reigns, and ὁ λαός, which was chosen by God; second, that the designation of Christians as ἔθνος is connected with their election "out of many peoples" (ἐξ ἐθνῶν πολλῶν); third, that the Christians who are chosen by God to be his heirs take the place of the people of the Jews (λαός).

<sup>24</sup> Basil the Great, *In Jer.* 73: *BEP* 56, 102.

<sup>25</sup> Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τοῖς ἔθνεσι συνεορτάζειν, καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῇ ἀθεότητι αὐτῶν. This rule is also valid for the Jews; cf. the canons 7, 70 and 71 of the Apostles; canon 1 of the council of Antioch; canons 29, 37 and 38 of the council of Laodicea; canons 59, 72 and 123 of the council of Carthage.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. for instance, Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica* 1,4,6: *BEP* 25, 20, where the Persians and the Scythians are given as examples. Basil the Great, *Hom. in Psalm.* 45:7: *BEP* 52, 111: τὰ πρότερον πολέμια καὶ στασιώδη ἔθνη πρὸς ἡσυχίαν μετέβαλε.

<sup>27</sup> Origen, *hom. in Jer.* 18:8: *BEP* 11, 128. *Hom. in Mtt.* 17:7: *BEP* 14, 136 f. In *Psalmos*: *BEP* 15, 252: Jesus Christ is ὁ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων Σωτήρ. ecl. in

*Psalmos* 9:37: *BEP* 15, 316: "Εν γὰρ ἔθνος πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, ἐὰν ὁμονοῇ. [Athanasius the Great], *In Psalmos*: *BEP* 34, 105.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. for example Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica* 1,3,14: *BEP* 25, 18. Origenes, *Contra Celsum* 2:78: *BEP* 9, 180.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. Hippolytus, *Comm. in Dan.* 4,9: *BEP* 6, 79: "people of believing Christians" (ἔθνος πιστῶν χριστιανῶν), [Gregor of Nyssa], *Testimonia adversus Judaeos* 1: *BEP* 70, 211 (PG 46,228 C): Τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη τὸ χριστιανῶν ἔθνος. John Damaskēnos, *De imag.*, Or. 3,3: PG 94, 1320 D: τὸ ἔθνος τῶν χριστιανῶν τὸ ἅγιον. Origen, *hom. in Jer.* 18,4: *BEP* 11, 123 F: περὶ δύο μάλιστα ἔθνων πρόκειται πᾶσα ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀνθρώποις. Γέγονεν πρῶτον ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο ὃ Ἰσραὴλ, δεῦτερον ἀπὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίας τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος.... Cf. also p. 4, note 21, above. The designation of the Patriarch of Constantinople as ethnarch with powers and responsibilities for all Christians in the Ottoman Empire does not so much link up with this expression (ἔθνος χριστιανῶν). It has rather to do with the concrete distinction between "believers" (Muslims) and "unbelievers" (Christians) in Islam. Whereas all Muslims formed the Islamic community (*Umma*), the Orthodox Christians were a *Millet* (independently of their being Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs etc.). An analogy, however, cannot completely be denied.

<sup>30</sup> Isidor of Seville (*Etym.* IX, 2,1: PL 82, 328 B. IX, 4,4: PL 82, 549 C) has already pointed out the etymological origin of the word.

<sup>31</sup> Tacitus, *Germ.* 38. Ann XIV, 44. Plinius the E., *Nat. hist.*, XXXII, 62.

<sup>32</sup> Tacitus, *Germ.* 38. Ann XIV, 44. Plinius the E., *Nat. hist.*, XXXII, 62.

<sup>33</sup> See above p. 3, note 9.

<sup>34</sup> Cf.. K. Georgoulis, "ἔθνος" in: *ThEE*, 5, Sp. 357. According to Georgoulis the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople told the Latin emperor after the conquest of the city by the crusaders that they belonged to another *genos* and that the Latin reign did not mean their spiritual submission, too: Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἄλλου γεγονότες γένους, Georgios Acropolites, *Χρονικὴ Συγγραφή* 17: A. Heisenberg (ed.), *Opera* vol. I, 30,5-8. In this passage the term γένος may well comprise the Christian identity of the Greeks (πνευματικῶς καὶ ψυχικῶς), but this is surely not the case with Georgios Gemistos Plethon, who mentions the language (φωνή) and the paternal education (πάτριος παιδεία) as characteristics of the Greek γένος (*Ad regem Emmanuelem*..., 3: PG 160, 824A. *Ad principem Theodorum* ..., 2: PG 160, 844A. Cf. also Th. Nikolaou, *Αἱ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ δικαίου ιδέαι τοῦ Γ. Πλήθωνος Γεμιστοῦ*, Thessalonikē 1989, pp. 98 ff.). It is known that Plethon supported the revival of the ancient Greek religion.

<sup>35</sup> As to the positive contribution of Hellenism cf. Th. Nikolaou, "Der Hellenismus in seiner Bedeutung für das Christentum und den Europa-Gedanken," *Ofo* 10 (1996) 77-92 [and: H. Heppner u. Gr. Larentzakis (Hgg.), *Das Europa-Verständnis im orthodoxen Südosteuropa*, (Grazer Theologische Studien 21), Graz 1996, pp. 107-127. (Greek translation by G. Panagopoulos): Ὁρθοδοξία - Ἑλληνισμός. Πορεία στὴν τρίτη χιλιετία, Holy Mount of Athos 1996, pp. 153-163]

<sup>36</sup> G. Konidares, *Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐκκλησία ὡς πολιτιστικὴ δύναμις ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῆς Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἴμου*, Athens 1948, pp. 144-145. As to the theme Church and nation in the Orthodox view cf. also M. St. Zankow, "Kirche und Nation im orthodoxen Osten," in: *Die Kirchen und das Staatsproblem in der Gegenwart*, hg. vom Ökumenischen Rat für Praktisches Christentum, Genf 1935, pp. 207-213. Idem,

*Nation, Staat, Welt und Kirche im orthodoxen Osten als theologisches Problem*, Sofia 1937. Idem, "Kirche und Staat," in: *Procès-Verbaux du premier Congrès de Théologie Orthodoxe*, Athens 1939, pp. 370-389. Ham. Alivisatos, Kirche, "Staat und Volk vom orthodoxen Standpunkte aus," also in: *Procès-Verbaux ...*, Athens 1939, pp. 370-389. Idem, "Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft in orthodoxer Sicht," *Lutherische Rundschau* 9 (1959) 177-182. J. Karmiris, 'Ο ἔθνικισμὸς ἐν τῇ Ὁρθοδοξίᾳ, in: *Πρακτικὰ Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 58 (1977) 181-198. Georgios Metallinos, "Kirche und Staat in der orthodoxen Tradition," in: Hl. Hiob von Pocaev (Hg.), *Begegnung mit der Orthodoxie*, München 1989, pp. 68-81.

<sup>37</sup> Th. Nikolaou, "Maurers Einfluß auf die griechische Kirchenpolitik," in: G. Grimm und Th. Nikolaou (Hgg.), *Bayerns Philhellenismus*, (VIOTh 1), München 1993, p. 47 ff. Cf. also G. Metallinos, *Ἑλλαδικοῦ αὐτοκεφάλου παραλειπόμενα*, Athens <sup>2</sup>1983.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Th. Nikolaou, *Μακεδονία. Wiege des Hellenismus*, München 1992, p. 25. The various declarations of the ecclesiastical representatives of the respective Church clearly establish that autocephaly had to serve national identity and policy. Cf. for example "Report of the episcopal synod of the Makedonian Orthodox Church ... of October 1958," which was read out by the Metropolitan Dositej at the beginning of the so-called IIIrd Council of the People's Church of July 1967: "... The decisive moment has arrived when national freedom and the equality of the Makedonian Orthodox people will be crowned with its full ecclesiastical autonomy." (J. Zezenic Bozic, *Die Autokephalieerklärung der Makedonischen Orthodoxen Kirche*, Das Östliche Christentum, N.F., vol. 42, Würzburg 1994, p. 160.)

<sup>39</sup> I. Karmires, *Τά Δογματικά καὶ Συμβολικά Μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*, vol. 2, Graz <sup>2</sup>1968, p. 1015. Cf. also p. 1040 f. In this context cf. also the statements of the III. Panorthodox Conference (Chambésy/Genf 1986) on the theme "The contribution of the Orthodox Church to realize peace, justice, unity, fraternity and love among the peoples as well as to eliminate racial and other discriminations," VI., 1-4, *Ofo* 5 (1991) 347-348.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the documents in: *Ὁρθοδοξία*, 20 (1945) 47-90.

<sup>41</sup> The term first appears in the *Church history* of Theodoros Anagnostes, which was written about 540 A.D. (*Hist. eccl.* 2, 2: PG 86, 184 C). Cf. more evidence with J. H. Erickson, "Autocephaly in Orthodox canonical literature to the thirteenth century," *SVTQ* 15 (1971) 29f., to which he adds: "However, the reality of autocephalous churches existed much earlier." As to the development of autocephaly see also J. Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Church Divisions. The Church 460-680 A.D.*, Crestwood, New York 1989, p. 59 ff. 127 ff.

<sup>42</sup> J. Karmiris, *Δογματικῆς Τμημα Ε', Ὁρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησιολογία*, Athens 1973, p. 94.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Hippolytus, *Anaphora*: Anton Hänggi – Irmgard Pahl (Hgg.), *Prex Eucharistica, Textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti*, Fribourg <sup>2</sup>1968, p. 81: ... τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας (ἦν) ἐνώσας δοίης... (*Et petimus, ut mittas Spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae Ecclesiae; in unum congregans, des omnibus qui percipiunt <de> sanctis in repletionem Spiritus sancti, ad confirmationem fidei in veritate, ut te laudemus et glorificemus per puerum tuum Iesum Christum*). Serapion of Thmuis, *Euchologion* 3,13: Anton Hänggi – Irmgard Pahl (Hgg.), *loc. cit.*, p. 130: Καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος ἐσκορπισμένος ἦν ἐπάνω τῶν ὁρέων καὶ συναχθεὶς ἐγένετο εἰς ἓν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σου ἐκκλησίαν συναξον ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ

πάσης χώρας καὶ πάσης πόλεως καὶ κόμης καὶ οἴκου καὶ ποιήσων μίαν ζῶσαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Basil the Great, *Anaphora*: Anton Hänggi – Irmgard Pahl (Hgg.), *loc. cit.*, p. 238: "Εἴτι Σοῦ δεόμεθα μνήσθῃτι Κύριε, τῆς ἁγίας Σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ εἰρήνευσον αὐτήν ...

<sup>44</sup> Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 8, 1-3: BEP 2, 281: "No one does anything among those who belong to the Church without the bishop. The Eucharist which takes place under the bishop or under the person to whom he allows it should be considered uncontested (βεβαία). Where the bishop appears there the people should be; just as the catholic Church is there where Jesus Christ is. Without the bishop it is neither allowed to baptize nor to celebrate the Eucharist (ἁγάπη)."

<sup>45</sup> Maximos von Sardes, *Das ökumenische Patriarchat in der orthodoxen Kirche. Auftrag zur Einigung*, Freiburg i. Br. 1980, p. 18.

<sup>46</sup> This phrase occurs in the same words in two canons of the Ecumenical Synods: In the 17th of Chalcedon (Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐνεκαινίσθῃ πόλις, ἢ αὐθις καινισθεῖ, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἢ τάξις ἀκολουθεῖτω) and in the 38th of Trullo. Also Canon 3 of the second Ecumenical Council argues in the same direction. It is true that the question on autocephaly is not explicitly touched in these canons and the canons chiefly have to do with honorary titles (cf. also Sp. Troianos, "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Materialien und formellen Voraussetzungen der Autokephalie in der Orthodoxen Kirche," *Kanon* 5 [1981] 158; and in Greek: "Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τῶν τυπικῶν καὶ οὐσιαστικῶν προϋποθέσεων τῆς ἀνακηρύξεως τοῦ αὐτοκεφάλου καὶ τοῦ αὐτονόμου ἐν τῇ Ὁρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ," in: *Honorary Dedication to the Most Rev. Barnabas, Metropolitan of Kitros*, Athens 1980, pp. 337-353.), but the facts as such are clearly stated. By taking this into account Patriarch Photios formulated the principle that the ecclesiastical administration follows the example of the secular one: Τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά, καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἐνοριῶν δίκαια, ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἐπικρατεῖαις τε καὶ διοικήσεσι συμμεταβάλλεσθαι εἴωθεν (*Epistula* 3, 9: J. Balettas, p. 162).

<sup>47</sup> Already Balsamon (G. Rhalles - M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, vol. 2, Athens 1852 [reprint 1966], p. 171) uses the term αὐτοκέφαλον for it.

<sup>48</sup> H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München <sup>2</sup>1977, p. 27. Cf. also Ev. Chrysos, "Zur Entstehung der autokephalen Erzbistümer," *BZ* 62 (1969) 263-268.

<sup>49</sup> Nikodemus Milasch, *Das Kirchenrecht der morgenländischen Kirche*, transl. by. Alexander R. v. Pessic, 2. revised and enlarged edition., Mostar 1905, pp. 302-303. The passages of the cited paragraph in brackets quote the notes of Milasch.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. N. Afanassieff, the father and one of the most significant representatives of eucharistic ecclesiology, ("Das Hirtenamt der Kirche: In der Liebe der Gemeinde vorstehen," in: B. Bobrinskoy etc. [Hgg.], *Der Primat des Petrus in der orthodoxen Kirche*, Zürich 1961, p. 9 ff.) was of the opinion that the Orthodox Church "officially" teaches the Catholic doctrine, "which accepts the universal ecclesiology as axiom." This view is not correct because it does not differentiate between the primacy of honor in Orthodoxy and the primacy of jurisdiction in the Roman-Catholic Church. In the primacy of jurisdiction the Bishop of Rome possesses the ecclesiastical fullness of power (*plenitudo potestatis*), by virtue of which he becomes the guarantor and



visible supporter of the unity of the Roman-Catholic Church. In the primacy of honor, however, the unity of the Church is guaranteed by ecclesiastical foundations as for example the autocephaly of the local Church on various levels, the absolute sacramental equality of honor of all bishops, the collegial principle and equal rights in the synodal constitution, the commemoration in the Eucharist (diptych) or the strict rejection of a visible head of the Church "beside him, the invisible Lord" (p. 17).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. canons 6 und 7 of the 2 und 3 of the second, 28 of the fourth, 36 of the fifth-sixth Ecumenical Council (Quinisextum). It is amazing that L. Perrone (LMA, vol. 1, column. 1270, s.v. *Autokephalie*) mentions only the four Eastern Patriarchates (without Rome) by neglecting the development of the first millennium and thus considers the late Roman-Catholic ecclesiology as corrective of Church history!

<sup>52</sup> In this context cf. VI. Phidas, *Ὁ Θεσμός τῆς Πενταρχίας τῶν Πατριαρχῶν*, 2 volumes., Athens 1977. Cf. Th. Nikolaou, "Patriarchalstruktur und Kircheneinheit," in: *Primum Regnum Dei, Festgabe für Abt Johannes Hoeck*, Ettal 1987, pp. 32-36. F. Gahbauer, *Die Pentarchietheorie. Ein Modell der Kirchenleitung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Frankfurt a.M. 1993.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Canon 8 of the third and 39 of the fifth-sixth Ecumenical Council (Quinisextum). The first refers to the absolute autonomy of the Church with regard to the Patriarchate of Antioch and the second renewed the autocephaly of the Cypriots in the Hellespont. As to this cf. also G. Panagopoulos, "Zur Entstehung der Autokephalie der Kirche Zyperns," *Ofo* 11 (1997) 11-19.

<sup>54</sup> Today the Orthodox Church seems to be moving towards settling the autocephaly issue unanimously and out of necessity. The Inter-Orthodox Preparatory Commission for the "Holy and Great Synod" has passed the following text in its congress at Chambésy/Geneva from the 7th to the 13th of November 1993:

"2. Autocephaly and the manner of its proclamation

The Interorthodox Preparatory Commission discussed the ecclesiological, canonical, pastoral and practical dimensions of the institution of the autocephaly in the Orthodox Church. The basis for this were the contributions of the holy Orthodox Churches and the planned introduction of the secretary for the preparation of the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church with regard to the issue on the autocephaly and the manner of its proclamation. It came to the following conclusions:

1. In an authentic manner the institution of autocephaly expresses one of the essential points of view of the Orthodox ecclesiological tradition as to the relation between the local Church and the world-wide Church of God. This deep relation of the canonical institution of the ecclesiastical autocephaly to the Orthodox ecclesiological teaching as to the local Church explains the sensitivity of each single autocephalous Orthodox Church to the treatment of actual problems concerning the smooth working of the institution as well as the desire to contribute by detailed statements to the appreciation of the same and to the unity of the Orthodox Church.

2. The *perichoresis* between local and world-wide (locality and oecumenicity), which is consequently the result of Orthodox ecclesiology, determines the liturgical connection between the administrative organization and the unity of the Church. For this reason full agreement was reached as to the significance of the institution of autocephaly in the life of the Orthodox Church.

3. There was also full agreement on the necessary canonical regulations for the

proclamation of the autocephaly of a local Church, that means on the consent and the activities of the Mother Church, on the bringing about of panorthodox consent as well as the role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the other autocephalous Orthodox Churches with regard to the proclamation of autocephaly. In conformity with this agreement it is taken as settled that:

a) The Mother Church accepts the demand of a Church territory which is subject to its jurisdiction and so appreciates the actual ecclesiological, canonical and pastoral prerequisites for the bestowal of autocephaly. When the local synod, as highest organ of the Church, has agreed to it, it (sc. the local synod) submits a suitable proposal to the Ecumenical Patriarchate to ascertain panorthodox consent and informs the other local autocephalous Churches of the result.

b) In accordance with panorthodox customs the Ecumenical Patriarchate informs all which is significant of a matter by a patriarchal letter and makes an effort to obtain the panorthodox consent. The panorthodox consent is expressed by the unanimity of the synods of the autocephalous Churches.

c) By expressing the consent of the Mother Church and of the panorthodox community, the Ecumenical Patriarch officially proclaims the autocephaly of the Church which has asked for it and hands over the corresponding patriarchal tome. This tome is signed by the Ecumenical Patriarch. It is desirable that this also be signed by the heads of the autocephalous Church, in any case by the head of the relevant Mother Church.

4. The local Church which was proclaimed autocephalous is incorporated in the community of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches as a Church with equal rights and enjoys all canonical privileges determined on panorthodox level (diptychs, memorial services, interorthodox relations etc.).

Notes: The contents of § 3c were referred to the next Interorthodox Preparatory Commission to work them out in detail; this commission will make great efforts to obtain a unanimous agreement of the local Orthodox Churches. In this way the work in this field will be concluded (*Ofo* 8 [1994] 117-118).

<sup>55</sup> The issue on the participation of the remaining Orthodox Churches with regard to the bestowal of autonomy and autocephaly by the Ecumenical Patriarchate will be intensively discussed within the Holy and Great Council. A first step in this direction was made by the Interorthodox Preparatory Council in 1993; cf. the corresponding common text in: *Ofo* 8 (1994) 117-118.

<sup>56</sup> According to Panteleimon Rodopoulos ("Ecclesiological review of the thirty-fourth apostolic canon," *Kanon* 4 [1980] 92, note. 2) autocephaly differs from autonomy in so far as the bishops of an autocephalous Church elect the primate of honor themselves whereas the election of the primate of honor of an autonomous Church requires the approval of the Patriarch of Constantinople or of his synod respectively. This slightly restricted sense of both these terms is illustrated and rightly completed by Pr. Akanthopoulos (*Οἱ θεσμοὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας καὶ τοῦ αὐτοκεφάλου τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν σύμφωνα μὲ τὸ θετικὸ δίκαιο τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου κατὰ τὴν διάρκεια τοῦ 19<sup>ου</sup> καὶ 20<sup>ου</sup> αἰῶνα*, Thessalonikē 1988, pp. 34-35) to the effect that: the autonomy contains the self-administration of a local Church "through its own organs which, on the one hand, are responsible to the synod of the patriarchate which also elects its primate of honor, and which, on the other hand, regulates insignificant organizational questions by legislative measures under the

participation of the clerics and laymen ...". But autocephaly - bestowed by a tome of the Ecumenical Patriarchate - raises a "Daughter Church" to a "Sister Church;" from this time onwards it will be self-administrated by its own synod with its primate of honor "free and unhindered of any other interference in the Holy Spirit and in accordance with the divine and the holy canons." Not long ago the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomaïos I defined autocephaly in a resumé statement: "Each autocephalous Church administers itself and settles its matters by its own synod without any interference from outside; the interference by the Ecumenical Patriarchate is restricted to unusual cases when there is no synod in a Church, due to the limitations of a given time, as it was recently the case with the autocephalous Church of Albania and with the autonomous Church of Esthonia, or when interior problems arise which require the convocation of a larger synod (μείζων σύνοδος) as it happened in Bulgaria," *Plerophoria. Informative Bulletin of interorthodox and oecumenical issues (in Greek)*, Athens, number 2, May-June 1999, p. 3. As to further literature cf. Gr. D. Papatthomas, "Sources et Bibliographie ad hoc concernant la question de l'Autoképhalie et de l'Autonomie," *Theologia* (Athens) 69 (1998) 772-797.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. the documents provided in Pr. Akanthopoulos' book, *Οἱ θεσμοὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας καὶ τοῦ αὐτοκεφάλου...*, *op. cit.*, Thessaloniki 1988.

<sup>58</sup> Sp. Troiannos, "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Materialien und formellen Voraussetzungen der Autokephalie in der Orthodoxen Kirche," *Kanon* 5 (1981) 157 ff.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. above p. 112-13, note 46.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. numerous examples of P. Trempelas, "Ἀρχαὶ κρατήσασαι ἐν τῇ ἀνακλήσει τοῦ αὐτοκεφάλου," *Theologia* (Athens) 28, 1957, 14 ff.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Th. Nikolaou, "Maurers Einfluß auf die griechische Kirchenpolitik," in: G. Grimm und Th. Nikolaou (Hgg.), *Bayerns Philhellenismus*, (VIOTh 1), München 1993, p. 49, also defends the same view.

<sup>62</sup> The original text runs as follows: Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρή τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδὲν τι πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνᾳ πράττειν ἕκαστον, ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν χώραις· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ πάντων γνώμης ποιεῖτω τι, οὕτω γὰρ ὁμόνοια ἔσται καὶ δοξασθήσεται ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι. As to this canon cf. also Pant. Rodopoulos, "Ecclesiological review of the thirty-fourth apostolic canon," *Kanon* 4 (1980) 92-99.

<sup>63</sup> It is therefore misleading when P. Plank ("Praktische Theologie als Disziplin der Orthodoxen Theologie im Kontext der deutschen Universität," *Ofo* 10, 1996, 43-44) writes about the 34th Canon of the Apostles and with reference to the Greek-English Lexicon of Liddell-Scott (*Ofo* 10, 1996, 43, note. 13): ... as to a number of authors of the 1st-3rd century A.D. it (sc. the word ἔθνος) means nothing else but a province of the Roman Empire which may surprise many." In the above-mentioned Lexicon, s.v. ἔθνος, one can indeed read among other things: "c. at Rome, = provinciae, App. BC 2.13, Hdn. 1.2.1, *BStrassb* 22.19 (iii A.D.), D.C. 36.41, etc.: so in sg., province, ὁ τυραννήσας τοῦ ἔθνους D.Chr. 43.11; ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ ἔθνους the governor of the province, *POxy.* 1020.5 (iii A.D.)." Without giving a closer look at these passages because I thought that Mr. Plank and other references, too, particularly out of the Early Christian literature, I wrote to him and asked him to give me such examples. In his reply he again referred only to the 34th Canon of the Apostles in

question and to the above-mentioned Lexicon. As a result, I searched for examples using the TLG (*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*), and numerous indices and lexical/encyclopedias, but did not find any references in early Christian literature which would clearly support the statement. As for the interpretation of the term ἔθνος in the afore-mentioned canon enough has been cited previously. Here, it seems relevant to mention certain passages quoted in the lexicon in the original Greek text and in English translation:

1 Appian, *BC* 2.13.89: Διασωθεὶς οὕτω παραδόξως ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον περαιωθεὶς ἰωσι μὲν καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν μεγάλην χερσόνησον οἰκοῦσι (καὶ καλοῦσι αὐτὰ ἐν ὀνόματι Ἀσίαν τὴν κάτω), συνεγίνωσκε... = After Caesar had been unexpectedly saved in this way and had crossed the Hellespont he forgave the Ionians and Eolians and all the other peoples (ἔθνη), who inhabited the large peninsula (and who refer to this by the common name Lower Asia) ....

2. Herodian, *Ab excessu divi Marci* 1.2.1: ... Κόμοδον... ὁ πατὴρ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἀνεθρέψατο, πάντοθεν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ λόγοις δοκιμωτάτους ἐπὶ συντάξεσιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρονίτοις καλῶν, ὅπως... = ... the father (sc. Marcus Aurelius) has brought up Commodus with great care, by calling the most experienced rhetors from everywhere among the peoples and the most remarkable textwriters so that ....

3. *Papyrus Strassb* 22.19 (Fr. Preisigke, *Griechische Papyri der kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*, vol. 2, Strassburg [Leipzig] 1906-1920, p. 83): ... Διατάξεις εἰσὶν τῶν κυρίων περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν οἰκούντων = There are imperial resolutions (rescripts, constitutions) for those who live in the provinces.

4. Dion Casius, *Hist. Romanorum* 36.41: Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Λούκουλλος τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν τὴν οἰκὸν διήρξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Σαρδουῖας ἄρξει μετ' αὐτὴν λαχὼν οὐκ ἠθέλησε, μισήσας τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς οὐδὲν ὑγιεῖς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δρῶντας = After having completed his function as praetor at home Lucius Lucullus, on the other hand, did not want the government office of Sardinia which fell to him because he scorned it due to the administration of many people who did not bring about anything good among the peoples.

5. Dion. Chrysostomus, *Or.* 43.11: ... συμπράττων δὲ καὶ νῦν ἅπαντα τῷ τυραννήσαντι τοῦ ἔθνους, ... = as he (sc. Dion) is also doing everything with the one who has tyrannized the people, ...

6. *Pap. Oxyrhynchus*. 1020.5-6: εἰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔχεις β(οήθειαν,) ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ ἔθνους τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ἀφέσεως ἐκδικ(ήσει) = when you have reached the full age the leader of the people (the prefect) will resume the trial.

For philological reasons it is necessary to refer to many further passages of the authors or writings mentioned which contain the term ἔθνος and where the meaning "people" is clearly expressed. As to the above-mentioned passages it is true that one could perhaps translate the term ἔθνος by "province" instead of "people"; but this meaning would be a figurative and secondary one. This is particularly evident in the passage of Appian (evidence no. 1), where one speaks of "all the other peoples (ἔθνη)" after the Ionians and Eolians; in brackets is added as follows: καὶ καλοῦσι αὐτὰ ἐν ὀνόματι Ἀσίαν τὴν κάτω = "and whom these (sc. the other peoples) call by the collective name Lower Asia." Whereas the term ἔθνη after the Eolians and Ioanians must definitely be translated with peoples, the common name of the territory "Lower

Asia" refers to αὐτά, that means it is used in the sense of peoples. Or in the passage of Dion Chrysostomos (evidence no. 5) where the tyrant is undoubtedly also a tyrant of the country in which he reigns. But mainly he is tyrant over the inhabitants of the corresponding province and only in the figurative sense may he be named tyrant of the province. But even if one could assume that the author has written ἔθνος (= people) and has meant province as such this would be at most the stylistic element of the metonymy. In my opinion such an assumption is superfluous. As to evidence no. 3 we certainly have the stylistic element of the metonymy: There we read the word ἔθνεσιν instead of the term provinces. The peoples, that means the inhabitants, are named instead of the place of the province in which they live (οἰκούντων).

<sup>64</sup> Maximos von Sardes, *Das ökumenische Patriarchat in der orthodoxen Kirche* ..., p. 402.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. above p. 112-13 with note 46.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Johannes Zonaras: ... ὁ παρὼν κανὼν τοὺς ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας πρῶτους ἐπισκόπους, τοὺς τῶν μητροπόλεων δηλονότι ἀρχιερεῖς, κεφαλὴν ἡγείσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπισκόπων τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας κελεύει, ... (... the canon in question commands that the first bishops of each single eparchy, namely the other bishops of the metropolitanates, are considered by the other bishops of the same eparchy to be the head ...): G. Rhalles - M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, vol. 2, Athens 1852 (reprint 1966), p. 45. Theodoros Balsamon, *In can. II conc. II*, 2: PG 137, 317 CD.

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well as a bibliography and an index.

I highly recommend this book to scholars, clergy, students Sunday School Teachers, and to all those who are interested in Orthodox monasticism, mysticism and spiritual life.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Ioannes G. Zoumpos, *To Monastêri tôn Domianôn Eyrytanias Symantiko Mnêmeio tês Orthodoxias* (=The Monastery of Domianon Eyrytanias: Orthodox Significant Monument) Athens, Greece (1998) pp. 170.

The present study is a presentation of the history, culture, religious expression of the Evrytanean village of Domianon. The author describes the area and people of this mountainous region of north-west mainland of Greece. He gives some classical data of the ancient Oihalia and some remains that give evidence of its culture and religious practice. References made to ancient authors regarding this region.

In surrounding area there are Christian monuments. One is "The Cross", that is, a steel cross where a shrine was build in 1777 by Zacharias Zoumbos and still stand and is revered by the people that pass by. Another shrine stands not to far from the village is an old post-Byzantine shrine (*proskynetari*) dedicated to Saint Paraskevi. The author also describes and has pictures of many traditional (many centuries old).

The author discusses the religious fervor of the people of Evrytania. He speaks of the numerous virtues of the people. They industrious, they love progress and dedicated to their Orthodox faith. This is evident in their commitment to maintain the church during the hard period of the Ottoman occupation of four hundred years. The church is the center of their village but also the center of their life. The church edifice is dedicated to the Dormition (Koimeseos) of the Theotokos known as the Monastery of Panagia Domianitissas.

The author presents numerous documents that this functioned as monastic center originally. He presents copies of original letters of the local bishop written in the eighteenth century regarding the construction and donors. Also the author gives a description of the

structure as well as the interior of the Church. The book contains beautiful pictures of the icons and mosaics that date back to the seven-teen hundreds. He also includes a detail listing and description of the old sacred utensils and liturgical books that were used for centuries in the church.

The book contains a description of the monastic cells that have been restored. The author informs us that this monastery was a center of hospitality and refuge during the Turkish oppression. Mr. Zoumpos also includes sever other churches that still stand and function in the area of Domianon. He also includes biographies and photographs of priest that served the village and churches of Domianon.

The book is well documented with numerous photographs and old and recent documentation. It is a scholarly study, which includes a bibliography and is very useful to the scholar for further research in the region and to the pilgrim.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Marcos A. Guiolias, *Historia tôn Archaiôn Eurytanôn* (=History of the Ancient Eurytians), Athens, Greece: Poria Editions 1999, 226 pages.

The ancient Eurytians have sometimes been considered an uncultured and barbarian people. Life in Eurytania was difficult because the physical terrain is mountainous and rocky. The terrain was connected not only to the economy, but also to the political and social organization of the residents. They were thus among the poorest of all the peoples of Central Greece.

Despite their difficult lives and poverty, the ancient Eurytians were always considered to be part of Greece. Marcos Guiolias persuasively documents the classical literature bearing witness to the unity of the Eurytians with the rest of the Greeks. Furthermore, he proves with sound scholarship that the Eurytians had governing laws, colonies, cities, and organized armies.

The author discusses prehistoric and Homeric traditions relating to the Eurytians. He also brings to light classical references in Thucydides, Hippocrates, Euripides, Herodotos, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, Strabo, and many other ancient and modern writers. The



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## **Toward a Person-Centered Society: The Great Challenge of the 21st Century**

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DR. STAVROS S. FOTIOU

### THE INDIVIDUAL-CENTERED WORLD AT AN IMPASSE

We live in a world that is tragically irrational and irrationally tragic: a world of hunger in the midst of mass consumption and of loneliness in the midst of mass culture; a world of violence and alienation; a world where some lack bread, others freedom, and others a meaningful way of life.

The entire world is undergoing a crisis today, a crisis in the modern way of life, that is to say, in the worldview that developed during the enlightenment, based upon the epistemological foundations of classical or Newtonian physics. The two principal features of this worldview are dualism and individualism. Dualism understands the three elements of the ontological triad God-man-world as having adversarial relationships with each other. It thus confines life to a series of Manichean oppositions: man versus God, man versus his fellow man, and man versus nature. Individualism sees man first and foremost as an individual, a self-contained entity turned in upon itself, separate units to be quantified statistically and mobilized en masse.

Dualism and individualism see individuals as being in discord and conflict with each other: the living space of one threatens the living space of another, and the freedom of one limits the freedom of another. This individual-centered conception of man gave rise to analogous sociological conceptions, which attempted to justify its egocentrism and inhumanity. Biological Darwinism developed into social Darwinism, and Friedrich Nietzsche took evolution one-step further:

since man evolved from apes, why not start with man and reach superman?

The entire world was thus transformed into a battlefield where the various parts, by definition opposed and hostile to each other, contend. The nature of man and human life is seen as being in continuous conflict, both internally and externally: internally, the body vies with the soul, logic with feeling, and the conscious mind with the unconscious mind; externally we find male pitted against female, German against Frenchman, white against black, bourgeois against worker, and European against African.

Society attempts to limit this conflict and struggle between individuals by enacting laws and establishing barriers that restrain unbridled egocentrism. The goal is for individuals to coexist peacefully, to survive in tandem. As a result, society is nothing more than a "social contract" whose role consists merely in balancing rights and obligations.

With the rise of this modern worldview, knowledge became identified with power; having knowledge meant conquering, subjugating the known object to one's will. For this reason modern man narrowed his concept of existence to what was quantitative and measurable, tangible and rationalistic, relegating metaphysical, internal, and qualitative matters -futile questions, in his opinion- to be left to the so-called theoretical sciences. Science, thus demoted, became a utilitarian tool, valuable only insofar as it could be used as an instrument for supremacy and domination.

Nature was regarded through this same lens. In his arrogance, modern man saw the natural environment as nothing more than an enormous mine he could exploit indefinitely. Nature was counterpoised to humanity; it was viewed as an inanimate thing to be used and abused, possessed and dominated. In England, Bacon described nature as a slave that man must subjugate; in France, Descartes sought to conquer it; and in Germany, Kant likened nature to the object of an interrogation whose interrogator must resort to torture in order to extract hidden secrets.

This dualistic juxtaposition of man and nature, this view of man as the only subject and of nature as the object, led to the belief that man is the only first principle and to all the negative consequences that this had on nature. All things were considered subordinate to man and ceased to have their own meaning and value in creation. Not by

chance did humanity arrive at the height of arrogance, believing in the notion that each living being could be viewed as nothing more than a well-built machine.

This individual-centered world view led to the belief that it was reasonable to pursue continuous economic expansion, more and more acquisitions and possessions, and ever-greater production and consumption. Blind faith in progress and the subordination of the end to the means ultimately created a world in the image and likeness of the egocentric individual. Just as a human being is always in danger of sudden death, so the world too is now in danger of sudden death by thermonuclear war. Just as man must face the decay of old age, so too, the world now faces ecological deterioration. Modern man set out to create paradise on earth, but he ended up being incinerated at Auschwitz and Hiroshima.

#### CONFRONTING THE IMPASSE

It has been shown that the perfect life advertised by consumer society all around the world could not be universal. It is not possible for everyone to live that way, since this would mean total ecological destruction. We are therefore at a critical turning point, which is why there exists today such a multiplicity of viewpoints. Francis Fukuyama assures us of "the end of history," Samuel Huntington predicts the "conflict of cultures," and Alvin Toffler invites us to take a journey on the "third wave."

In the face of this impasse, two solutions have been offered. The first calls on us to renew our faith in the individual, that is, to develop a better understanding of the individual's broader and long-term interests, so that by applying the necessary self-restraint we can avoid disturbing the balance of nature. This solution amounts to taking refuge in the future, where science and technology will supposedly play a messianic role.

The second solution urges us to return to pre-modern forms of social organization and collectivist notions of man and life. This solution turns to the past for refuge, which explains why fundamentalism is once again in the spotlight.

Neither of these proposed solutions succeeds in any significant way in overcoming the cause of the problem, which is the individualistic view of man and life. In the final analysis, therefore,

we have only two possible options. First, the “fortunate” consumers of the north can barricade themselves behind economic chauvinism, transforming themselves into an elite club of “privileged egotists” and transforming their countries into unassailable fortresses against anything considered socially unacceptable, underdeveloped, or third world. This is the solution of one-dimensional man, *homo economicus*, who is fully aware that his own consumerist torpor will mean the poverty and death of other human beings and peoples.

Humanity’s second option is to move forward by adopting a new worldview, a new conception of what is primary and essential in life. We don’t need to improve our existing value system but to re-prioritize our needs. We need to posit an alternative way of life, one that will be global and accessible to all with no distinctions whatsoever. What we need, in the end, is a new way of seeing human beings, the world, and history, a point of view that will set new goals for our continued existence. This means that we must once again pose questions concerning the meaning of existence. What is God? What is man? What is love? What do we mean by the words life, *eros*, and death?

#### GOD AS COMMUNION OF PERSONS

If what we have been told by Max Weber, Werner Sobart, and other scholars is correct, namely, that behind every theory of man and society there exists a corresponding ontological conception of reality, then the alternative way of life we need to propose has to set out from a different ontological basis. In fact, the ontology we are in search of is the person-centered ontology of the Orthodox Church.

In the Orthodox view, the relationships between God, man, and nature are all dialectic and interpersonal. For this reason, Orthodoxy is able to offer man a way of life in which all the different and apparently opposed elements of the cosmos can harmoniously coexist. Nothing lives in isolation; nothing is in opposition to anything else. Within the cosmic process we call life everything mingles and intersects. Dostoyevsky put this experience into words in the following way: “Everything is like the ocean, everything flows and touches everything else; if you touch one part, a ripple will be felt at the other end of the earth.”

This harmonious unity of all the parts of the whole prevails in the cosmos because it is the way that God himself exists, a harmonious

communion of three persons: the "I," the "you," and the "other;" the lover, the beloved and the co-beloved one; one-in-three and three-in-one; each one with the other, through the other, for the other. Within this harmonious communion each person is singular and unique, yet exists at the same time in complete unity with the others. Existence means coexistence, human being means fellow human being; these are the interpretive equations of person-centered ontology

The person and the individual are therefore opposites. Division, distance, and separation characterize the individual. The person is characterized by relationship, closeness, and unity. Being a person means being transported beyond oneself by transcending the standpoint of the "I" and moving toward the "you" in order to form the "we." "Individual" is a numerical category, an impersonal and for that reason replaceable object; mass organization is therefore not antithetical to the concept of the individual but a consequence of it. In contrast, "person" is a spiritual category, a unique, unprecedented and forever irreplaceable human being. A person is aware of the totality of existence, has universal consciousness, and "feels responsible for everyone and everything." A single person is a recapitulation of the entire world and is therefore equal in value to the whole cosmos.

A person is a human being in harmonious relationship with God and therefore, by extension, with himself, with his fellow man, and with nature.

A person's inner world is therefore one of harmony and companionship. The three parts of the soul -the rational mind, the emotions, and the will- think together, feel together, and express their will together in the process of fulfilling the purpose of their existence. Thought is rational, feeling is steadfast, and the will takes action. Furthermore, through the *nous*, consciousness brings the objects of sense perception into continuous communion with the objects of thought, empirically demonstrating the dialectic relationship between mind and matter. Man is "physical with respect to his spirit and spiritual with respect to his body," a living organism of psychosomatic interchange. Active and mutual replenishment and interaction -down to the level of the cell, as today's biologists tell us- is what unites everything in the continuous totality of life. All dualism is thus eliminated: biological vs. social, organic vs. inorganic, or theoretical vs. practical. Similarly, one-sided conceptions of life are surmounted,

whether it is the pessimistic cause-and-effect approach to life of biological determinism or the optimistic refusal to recognize hereditary and biological propensities and inclinations. The a priori factors can operate in conjunction with the environment to realize higher and nobler aims of existence. Almost everything is biologically programmed, yet almost everything is also open-ended, allowing the human race the freedom to fulfill its potential value. All the parts of the whole function and work together to constitute a dynamic approach to life: this is how the inner world of the person operates.

In his relationships with his fellow human beings, the person considers the existence of others to be a basic element of life. A person is alive when he gives of himself to others. He knows that "his own struggle for the bread of survival is merely a material issue, but his neighbor's struggle to survive is a spiritual issue."

His social vision is of a global, fraternal society in which all are welcome. He takes as his standard or reference point the words: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath" (Mark 2:27). A human person -a specific human being, that is, who is known in the here and now- is not reducible to anything; everything should be done in the service of people, otherwise we end up lowering our standards. We are speaking of a society based on the solidarity of actively involved citizens; a society whose primary needs are mental involvement, spiritual wholeness, transcendence of self, and self-sacrifice; a society in which people feel dead when they don't die for others, where school and state are not simply conventional institutions but express people's interpersonal relationships and reflect the long journey from the herd to the city, to politics, and to culture.

Finally, the harmonious unity which personhood entails also includes the environment. In the Church's interactive concept of being, nature is the greater dwelling place of man, which is why man's relationship with nature is not adversarial but organic and functional. Nature ceases to be seen as an object counter posed to man; it becomes a subject that shares a relationship with him. Man does not exist outside and apart from the world, like an independent observer or neutral spectator; he is part of the world, a participant in the events that take place, influencing and influenced by nature. As a consequence, respect for matter, the study of the nature of all things, and the proper ordering of things in space are necessary prerequisites for the harmonious coexistence of man and nature.

# 1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND AIM OF THE RESEARCH

## 1.1. *The concept and need for social integration*

Social integration in its established conceptual framework, that of “social insertion,” is the outcome of a series of socialization processes; it includes a wide range of activities such as functional rehabilitation, education, vocational guidance, vocational training, which are rounded off with vocational rehabilitation (initial or vocational re-integration). The procedures, the means and the results of socialization, as far as the content, the process and the result of “inclusion-insertion” and “integration” are concerned also include the issue of employment. According to various approaches, concerning the contribution of employment to human and societal survival and integration, employment offers, among others, the following:

a) Opportunities to cultivate and develop one’s abilities, which contribute to the development and formation of one’s personality.

b) Possibilities of developing substantial relations with the other members of the society, which,

c) entail the existence and functioning of the society and, vice versa, the existence and functioning of the society “enforces” the creation of such relations, which lead to,

d) man’s social integration.<sup>1</sup>

Despite, however, the need for people’s social coexistence, through the possibilities offered by participation in the social setting via work, many people, and more so disabled people (D.P.), for a number of reasons (either subjective or objective) are not offered equal opportunities concerning their preparation and “proportionate” participation in it (according to their abilities, skills, interests and the labor market needs). The absence of certain people from the social setting results either in these people’s failure to acquire a personal identity (free personality) and in their alienation due to their dependence on their occasional environment (family, institutional, charity, allowances etc.), or their marginalization, their degradation and their cutting off or rejection.

It is evident that the prime prerequisite in every case of social integration is the mutual acceptance and acknowledgement of the equivalence of all the members in a group, or in all sub-groups of a major group, that is, their equation concerning their participation both



or bigotry and the open display of solidarity and mutual respect are fundamental features of a person-centered society.

The person with global awareness who fights for the ideal of world humanity is, in the end, the true patriot. A world citizen is someone with ecumenical sensibilities who recognizes what ecologists today confirm: "One world or no world."

A person-centered society also overcomes the obstacles of sectarianism and syncretism between cultures. When two peoples or cultures come into contact they do not become mingled or confused, but remain distinctive and unique. Their alterity is affirmed by the fact that they have equal rights, thus showing that differences are respected. Being different is not a cause for hostility and discord, but is rather the spark for sharing and communication. Diversity is thus proclaimed as a basic component of life. This means that in global society no people or nation is higher or lower than any other, only different. There is no sectarianism or insularity; rather, the goal is to open ourselves up to others, a global dialogue of accommodation and reconciliation. Within this process dissimilarity, unity, community, and difference all coexist. Unity does not mean leveling; being different does not lead to isolation.

A person-centered society also overcomes the potential dangers of freedom and equality, since absolutism with regard to the former and relativism with regard to the latter end up creating insurmountable problems. A political outlook, which swears allegiance to freedom but overlooks equality, leads to anarchic individualism and its familiar dead-end consequences, locally and worldwide. On the other hand, a political conception that swears allegiance to equality but ignores freedom leads to totalitarian statism, with its entire equally well-known local and global dead-ends.

A person-centered society, however, transforms the triad freedom-equality-brotherhood into freedom-brotherhood-equality, because freedom can only result in equality through brotherhood. Freedom without brotherhood degenerates into materialistic individualism, just as equality without brotherhood degenerates into the prohibition of all ownership in the name of the masses.

There is thus no conflict between citizen and polity in a person-centered society. The state is not an impersonal bureaucracy which becomes the citizen's adversary, but a collective community consisting of all the inhabitants of a country. The state therefore respects the

citizen and serves him as best as it can. On the other hand, the citizen sees the state as a projection of himself to others and therefore cooperates to ensure that it functions in an orderly manner.

Finally, a person-centered society overcomes the obstacles created by technocratic or romantic attitudes. The development and progress of technology, as the Church sees it, is not a sin or something to feel guilty about, but a gift that God has offered to man to help him survive in his natural environment. For this reason it is not at all coincidental that the name Noah, the first technologist, means "alleviation." Technology eases man's efforts by helping him to extend his physical abilities. While all other living creatures can only act within the physical limitations of their bodies, man has the ability to extend his physical abilities through technology. The telescope, for example, is an extension of the eye, and the computer is an extension of human memory.

All of this means that the Church does not seek the abolition of technology, as many unfortunately believe, but wants us to use technology for other purposes. The Church offers us a different option: let's ensure that man controls the system and not allow the system to control man; let's have need determine production and not let production determine need; let's make quality the thing that guides our lives, not quantity. Quality of life means cultivating the mind, not amassing knowledge; it means communication, not information; it means having more meaningful experiences, not more cerebral theories.

For this reason, the Church rejects every denial or underestimation of technology, as well as every unrealistic attempt to return to a romanticized, pre-technological era. On the other hand, however, the Church stresses the importance of not confusing technological knowledge with knowledge about our existence as human beings. In other words, we would be wrong to think that the problems of our existence can be solved by technology. As an extension of our physical abilities, technology must be in step with theology, i.e., with the development of our intellectual and spiritual abilities.

#### BEYOND THE PROPHETS OF MODERNISM

A person-centered society will not only overcome the familiar obstacles described above, but will also surpass the ideas of the great prophets of modernism.

First, it will exceed Nietzsche in the full liberation of man, because it will reveal the God of total freedom. The image of God which a person-centered society projects to people is diametrically opposed to the two dominant conceptions of God which deplore modernism, i.e., the God of natural religion and the God of scholastic philosophy. Unlike the God of natural religion, the God of the Church is not a patrolman of heaven and earth, stern and forbidding, who observes every deed of man, waiting with pleasure to punish any transgression. In contrast to this distorted image of God, the Orthodox God loves human beings and brings them a message of love. In addition to justice, which judges man according to his actions, i.e., according to the things he has done in the past, the Church introduces love, laying wager on the future by offering man the opportunity to change. A person-centered society also rejects that other erroneous image, the icy God of philosophy and rationalism, self-sufficient in his bliss and indifferent to man and history. In contrast to this passive and solitary God, the Church shows us a God who sacrifices himself for man and enters history in order to transform it. A person-centered society experiences God-Love and Love-God as a constituent act of life, a hidden axis of the world.

We will thus overcome every tension and polarity between theory and practice, faith and knowledge, or the divine and the human. Faith in this respect is not the private affair of a religious fanatic anticipating for his reward; it is the ardor associated with sacrifice, a powerful act of life, which seeks to unify heaven and earth, in an all-embracing renewal of the entire cosmos. According to Nietzsche, being a Christian means loving heaven and cursing the earth. In Orthodoxy, however, the earth is loved as much as heaven. Until the earth becomes heavenly, sons will kill fathers. Until heaven becomes earthly, fathers will kill sons. Man's love for the earth must extend as far as the earth's farthest shore, which is heaven; his love for heaven must reach to the very limits of heaven, which is the earth, the point where the mystery of the earth and the mystery of heaven converge.

Such a convergence, of course, means victory over every division and separation. Let us imagine for a moment that humanity has successfully achieved the harmonic coexistence described above. In addition to social inequalities, however, there are also other, purely existential inequalities, which no philosophical or sociological theory can erase. By birth one person is beautiful, another ugly; one is born

intelligent, the next one isn't. There is also the existential inequality of time: an eighty-year-old is in full health, while a twenty-year-old is sick and dies at twenty-one. In short, the problem of mankind is death, the daily experience of mortality. As a consequence, only unification with God, with eternal life, can help us overcome our greatest enemy, death and decay. A person-centered society is therefore the only society that can truly give us a foretaste of resurrection.

Furthermore, a person-centered society will surpass Keim with respect to the complete emancipation of creativity. Freedom will not sink to the level of indifference toward others and toward creation, but will be brought to completion in an all-embracing solidarity, where the products of the earth will unite humanity into a fraternal community that transcends every biological or social distinction. The world will no longer be an arena for territorial claims and conflicts between selfish individuals; it will be the common body of all humanity. The emancipation of creativity means working for the common good, for whatever promotes closeness between people. When that happens, the economy will be subordinate to life and will be at the service of family -mankind's "small house"- as well as at the service of ecology, our "large house," the environment.

A person-centered society will also supersede Marx vis-à-vis the total emancipation of social forms of behavior. Philosophy, science, art, and politics will all be harmoniously combined in practice. We will achieve mankind's radical emancipation from the fetishism of the commodity and from the subordination of everything to the logic of transaction. People will be able to distinguish between real necessities and fictitious ones; they will learn a new priority of needs, the needs of the collective whole, not of selfish conflict. A person-centered society will proceed first to the enrichment and development of human beings and only afterward to the production of greater numbers of material goods. The man-consumer, the man-commodity, and the institution of the vicious cycle of production and consumption will surrender its place to the human being. Technology will make it possible for people to work less hours, to use their free time more fruitfully and more creatively, to understand their own inner world, to open themselves up to love and friendship, and to give of themselves with tenderness and affection, endowing their whole existence with deeply existential experiences.

Finally, a person-centered society will advance beyond Freud by totally emancipating desire, which is the transcendence of death through love and beauty. In an individual-centered society there is a relentless war between the sexes, the game of the human species. Men see women as pleasure machines to be used for sexual release. Women in turn take revenge on men by becoming objects of their erotic desire. This mental and physical subjugation of others is the goal of non-loving individuals. It results in sadomasochism, which is the alternation of attraction and repulsion, pleasure and pain. The coupling of bodies does not express or serves the union of souls. Sexual relations sink to the level of loveless physical stimulation. Fallen man approaches sexual love in need and leaves in even greater need, since he does not know how to love or be loved.

A person-centered society, however, will reveal the potential for loving that exists within desire, the union of body and soul, and the integrity of the person. It will teach people how to experience the beauty of their souls and of their bodies. By relegating to the past a world where desire is commercialized and the body is fetishized, it will teach people how to give of themselves to others, how to be in love with one another and how to love one another. Two bodies in one soul and two souls in one body: this is how a person-centered society understands *eros*, a feeling as strong as death and also a foretaste of eternity, a victory over all that is impersonal, abstract, and transitory.

#### EDUCATING PERSONS

Making all this reality requires education, the kind of education, which transcends utilitarianism, economics, and technocracy. This means that we must leave behind us the school of the industrial age in order to progress toward a kind of education, which not only takes place within society, but also is diffused throughout society, thus becoming society's organ of critical self-awareness. This is the kind of education where knowledge becomes perfected through experience, professionalism entails compassion, and reason is located in the heart. In this form of education facts are continually transcended in an unending procession towards perfection.

This form of person-centered education constitutes the best way to serve two basic objects of life: science, on the one hand, and on the

other *philokalia*, which is love for God, man and nature. Science means total respect for the alterity of every being and total affirmation of its sacredness and dignity. It also means discovering its place and purpose within creation. *Philokalia* means responding to and participating in the beauty and grace of life; it is a life-giving experience, which informs man's soul with beauty, the only thing, according to Dostoevsky, which is capable of saving the world from suicide. This presupposes, of course, a great deal of spiritual effort in order to overcome self-love: vainglory, voluptuousness and avarice.

In short, we need a form of education that will teach man how to live and introduce him to the life of the miracle and to the miracle of life; teach him how to take joy in the innocence of his childhood, the creativity of his mature years, and the wisdom of old age; teach him how to practice internal peace, how to learn creatively, and how to enhance his life with grace and charm.

This form of education is of course nothing other than an exacting search for truth that tests our mettle and leads us to freedom. As education, it molds the innermost structure of our being; as guidance, it prepares us for life in society. Education shapes persons, human beings who give freely of themselves to others. The architect who beautifies our living space, the politician who promotes unity, and the physician who empathizes with his patient are all educated in this way. Each one, by making his own contribution, reveals the unity and the interdependence of life, which is why there are really no intellectual distances between people and no social differences between professions. Education does not begin in school and even less does it reach completion there. This means that a society, which provides such education, has also made this way of life the goal of its existence.

Education is said to be a vocation. In a person-centered society education is truly a vocation because it transforms everything else into a vocation: it elevates economics to the level of philanthropy, work to the level of creativity, politics to public service, and *eros* to the communion of body and soul. This is so because in the kind of education described here there are no major or minor subjects of study. The goal of everything is human coexistence in brotherly love, and every subject contributes absolutely equally in its own way toward this common goal: language communicates experiences, mathematics reveals the rationality of the universe, history shows humanity's

spirituality, geography encourages greater proximity, physics testifies to universal interaction, music uplifts the soul, and religion announces the victory over decay and death.

#### THE GREAT CHALLENGE OF THE NEW CENTURY

In roughly the middle of our century, on August 6, 1945, the first atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima. On this day of the year the Church celebrates the Transfiguration of Christ. Hidden behind this event lays the eternal problem of mankind: division or connection, distortion or transformation.

At the end of the twentieth century, humanity welcomed our entry into the year 2000 with celebrations. Hidden behind this event and all its extravagance lays man's deep yearning to conquer time and live eternally.

The vision of a person-centered society offered by the Church constitutes a challenge to man's freedom. In these rather unimaginative times, this vision may perhaps seem utopian. But it has always been the utopias that have been responsible for creating spiritual revolutions, since only they are capable of transforming life. Let us not forget that twelve fishermen were able to disrupt Rome, the greatest power in the world, because their moral code and their actions undermined the foundations of Rome's ideology.

It is necessary for us, therefore, to make a transition: from being numbers to true existence; from individualism to person-centeredness; and from being merely informed to becoming civilized. In the end, this all means a transition from necessity to freedom. This is the great challenge of the third millennium.

As long as the Church does not degenerate into moralistic fatalism, or become the mere remains of a folk tradition from the past, or sink to the level of ethnic or racial ideology, it will be able to help us make this transition. Otherwise, it will betray its mission, and in an era of tremendous division and antagonism, instead of putting forward a vision of life that is for all human beings, the Church will become just another conventional institution full of meaningless squabbling between unrelated enemies and unrelated friends.

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## Travels In The Land Of Greeekness

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HELEN PAPANIKOLAS

For almost 50 years, I have been traveling in the Land of Greeekness, a land that lives in my imagination. I was a child in this land of immigrant Greeks. The people who inhabit it were molded by America, by Greece's *kleftic* era, somewhat by Byzantium, and barely by antiquity. In this land, a priest in black robes and tall black priest hat - the *kalimafkion*, walked dusty roads among strikers and strike-breakers, midwives, and folk healers, the *praktikoi*; gamblers, procurers, bootleggers, and especially the mothers of Greek Town with their many children, vegetable gardens, outside bread ovens, chicken coops, rabbit hutches, and pigeon cotes. All of them, men and women, could have stepped out of a Kazantzakis novel. I have always been aware of them while writing history, my parents' biography, and my short stories. In the center of this land was a hazy area where the essence of Greeekness lay. I circled it, but even though I attended church and Greek school, and took part in the communal celebrations of our people, I knew my heritage superficially.

My first vague realization that there was more to learn in this Land of Greeekness began in 1950 when the Director of the Utah Historical Society asked me to write an essay on Greek immigrants. Although I had earned a degree in bacteriology, I had also been active in the literary circles at the University. In going through old newspapers, I was amazed and angered at the invective and uncorroborated information printed in the first years of this century. American newspapers gave glaring prominence to disturbances of the peace and killings among immigrants, printing their names, usually misspelled, and their national origins. Our immigrants had brought with them cultural patterns, such as vendettas, that contributed to the

nativism of Americans. But mainly, they were despised because they were poor, barely educated, and looked different.

Learning to research and write history required a new vision. It was exhilarating to discover hidden incidents that opened a vista of the Greek experience in this country. It was also dogged detective work. The early years of this century are clouded. For example, in writing his book on Louis Tikas, the leader of the Greek strikers in the Colorado coal strike of 1913-14, my son spent nine years searching for his Greek name. Not until he found his name and his birthplace, Louis Spandithakis born in Loutra, Crete, could he proceed with his book, *Buried Unsung: Louis Tikas and the Ludlow Massacre*.

My article for the *Utah Historical Quarterly* was set in the coal mining town in Eastern Utah where I grew up. A segment detailed two episodes that Greek readers criticized. One, the near lynching of a young Greek in 1917 who gave an American girl - called "white" in those days - a ride in his new Buick. He was dragged to a lynching tree, and was saved by his fellow Greeks and Italians who descended on the mob with knives, guns, and pitchforks. I should not have mentioned the aborted lynching, people told me. "Why bring up old happenings? We get along better with the Americans now."

The second criticism was an account of a 1922 coal strike in which a deputy sheriff killed a Cretan miner. The sheriff had a superficial bullet wound in his knee. The shooting took place near an Italian farm, and was witnessed by two women working in the field. They testified the deputy sheriff had turned the gun on himself to show that he had fired in self-defense. The dead man's *patriotes* in the tent city erected by the United Mineworkers Union testified that he had been unarmed. I interviewed men who had been strikers, and the word *philotimo*, honor, peppered their answers. One of the strikers had several years schooling and was articulate. His tent was next to the murdered striker's. He told me he remembered seeing the striker leave the tent city, and knew for certain he did not have a gun. I am thankful that I presented the facts objectively, because decades later, the man who had given me this most vivid testimony, then old and sick, told me he had lied to me. Not only did the Cretan striker have a gun, but when he heard the deputy sheriff's car had broken down near the Italian farm, he had run off, vowing to kill him.

While researching this strike, I began to know more about the immigrants' nationalism, their need for expediency, and their vola-

tile response when they perceived their *philotimo* had been injured. I learned that immigrants could quarrel and even kill each other, but they banded together against hostile officials who threatened them. Above all, I learned that there is only one path for a historian to follow, and that is honesty.

I continued to write about Greeks and other ethnics for over four decades. This has been an adventure, and I have come to believe that all of us – each with his or her own land of Greekness must want to see tangible evidence of our people's experience in this country. Museums provide it with artifacts, clothing that tell us what people wore, what utensils they used, what religious articles they revered, what books they read, what music they listened to, and what their political views were. Museums collect documents, lodge records, photographs, oral history, and memoirs. Those who follow us will know little about their past if museums are not established to display vestiges of it.

In the early years of the Church, it was said, "Icons are the Bible for the unlettered." The masses were illiterate, but from the icons, they learned the events of the New Testament. Today's Orthodox are mostly literate people. Now, the icons are reminders of the faith, besides their being works of art, that give Orthodox churches a unique beauty.

Museums are like the early icons. We must have museums, because memories fade; voices are silenced; ignorance prevails. The past is part of us; we need it. Museums assure us that our forefathers have not been lost to history. They also teach us necessary truths.

Everywhere today, photographs and documents are being collected and oral history is progressing, but only Chicago and Salt Lake City have permanent museums. Oakland will be the third.

It is amazing to me that Greek ethnics are allowing their immigrant past to disappear without a trace. In September of this year the Greeks in Print symposium in New York City held a panel discussion on Greek American culture. A member of the audience stood up to complain that he had tried unsuccessfully for three years to gather funds for a Greek museum. A Greek immigrant gave him \$500, and a Jewish acquaintance donated \$600. I was surprised at the apathy of those listening to him. One man said loudly, "Oh, he's a curator. He's only looking for a job." Rather than becoming involved with a Greek American curator who knew his craft and could reject unsuitable ar-

tifacts and mount a professional group of exhibits, they dismissed his concerns and the concept of a museum altogether. In doing so, they cheated their children and grandchildren of learning about their heritage. Unknowingly, they gave the impression that their heritage was not worth saving.

Yet New York was the first place where most immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries landed. The first true Greek town in America was founded there with stores, restaurants, Greek newspaper publishing houses, and government offices. Its history began long before the deluge of poor immigrants that emptied Greek villages in the first years of this century. By the 1830s, a Greek community existed of well educated, wealthy Greeks who were involved in importing, exporting, and the cotton exchange. Several were listed in New York's Social Register, and held membership in exclusive clubs.

In establishing a museum, dedication and honesty are cardinal rules. Salt Lake City is fortunate that a group of men and women have taken the prime responsibility for maintaining the Greek museum. Elsewhere, honesty is sometimes overlooked in temporary exhibits. Fifteen years ago, I was asked to speak at the opening of a museum exhibit in Grand Rapids, Michigan. After my talk, several members of the community told me that they were incensed that pictures of a Ku Klux Klan outrage were not mounted. In 1923-24, the Ku Klux Klan, which had been dormant for years, activated itself, this time, against the immigrants, especially those from Southern Europe and the Balkans. The dispute in Grand Rapids was over the Klan's having driven Greeks, men, women, and children, from their homes in a neighboring town. They found refuge in Grand Rapids. Yet when the Museum Committee met to discuss which pictures to exhibit, most of the members were adamant that no pictures or anything showing the Klan atrocities be displayed because "it will embarrass the Americans." This is not history. If a museum is to be true to its noble purpose, it must show history as it was and is.

Closer to our time, a picture that I sent from the Steve Sargetakis collection is displayed in the Ellis Island Museum. It has great charm. A group of smiling, young Cretan miners are pictured in 1911 in their Sunday best clothes, sprigs of basil in their lapels, each with a bottle of beer in one hand, and a pistol in the other. Almost everyone in the West carried a gun in those days. This is the kind of picture that

photographers took on paydays; the immigrants sent them to their families to show their good fortune in America. Yet a New York City woman has carried on an unrelenting campaign to have this picture removed. Her reason: that it makes Greeks look like the Mafia. She appealed to lodge and church leaders to force us to remove the photograph.

First, once an article has been donated to a museum, it cannot be retrieved. Second, this picture of ninety years ago, shows life as it was. The woman has accosted me whenever I give a talk in New York. Her diatribe has been silenced recently, and perhaps permanently after an editorial in the Greek American Newspaper appeared in answer. History cannot be rewritten, the editorial said; it should be viewed in the context of its time.

The wish to distort history continues and often the Greek ethnics themselves collaborate in this. It is almost one hundred years after our first immigrants arrived. One would expect that we are enlightened about our history. I have found it is not so for many. After giving a talk on Greek folklore, a young woman told me I should speak about the Greek lore associated with marriages, deaths, and illnesses only to Greeks. From then on, I began my folklore talks with a Mormon pioneer remedy told by a Brigham Young professor: for a man with a bad chest cold, boil his wife's underpants, and have him drink the liquid for a week.

The Mormons have been in the Salt Lake Valley for one hundred fifty years. They have passed the stage of being embarrassed about their pioneer folklore. Some day Greek ethnics might see the value in there's. In Greece, folklore is a vital academic subject. Folklorists from Britain, Germany, France, the United States, and even farther off have published countless books on Greek customs.

We must remember that we are no longer an immigrant people in an adopted country. The last census reported Greeks were first in education and second to the Jewish people in wealth. We have no reason to be ashamed of our vital history and our colorful folklore.

The people who have helped me along the way in writing history and collecting artifacts have joined the immigrants of my childhood in my memory. There are many rewards and a few pitfalls in the effort to gather communal history. I will tell you of my experience. I can say that the Greek people in Utah have been mostly generous with their family treasures and their willingness to tell of their his-

tory. For years before the Salt Lake City Greek Museum was established, I worked toward depositing family memorabilia in the Utah Historical Society or in the Greek archives at the University of Utah. Invariably though, I would read an obituary of a person I had talked with and after an appropriate interval asked family members about artifacts, and was told they had thrown them away. "They weren't any good," sons and daughters said. "Why would you want them anyway?" When they see the exhibits in our Salt Lake museum, I am certain they can understand the historical importance of what they have discarded.

Far more Greek immigrants, though, have been helpful and even grateful that what they have to give and what they have to say are evidence that their lives had value. I think of them with affection. I remember a woman who telephoned to tell me she had something to give me. When I arrived, I found a daughter and her husband had come by for a visit. The elderly woman led me to a back bedroom where she shut the door and quietly opened an old trunk, the kind picture brides brought from Greece packed with their dowry linens. In a whisper, she asked me to help her lift two locked metal boxes. As we lifted the heavy boxes, there was a metallic shift in them. Obviously, they were filled with coins, probably silver dollars, because of their weight. Gold coins could also have been included, because it must have taken decades to accumulate the hoard.

We placed the metal boxes on the bed, and then she brought out several exquisite *kilimi*, floor coverings, hand-woven from wool that had been dyed with pomegranate juice, black walnuts, the flowers of gorse bushes, and oak leaves. Many immigrants, like my father, could not afford a suitcase, and came to America with their few belongings wrapped in such a *kilimi*. The elderly woman asked me to choose one of the coverings. Then we returned the heavy boxes to the trunk. She locked it, and we left the room. It was all done in a stealthy manner and when I drove off, I smiled at this vigorous woman who had helped her husband make bootleg whiskey, and drove around in an aging Cadillac.

Others are eager to give articles that neither symbolize an aspect of history, nor have reason for being exhibited. I had a difficult time with a woman who insisted I take her wedding dress that was unbelievably wrinkled and stained with wine and food. She paid no attention to my explanation that we already had several wedding

dresses. I took the dress but balked at taking the shoes her husband had worn at the wedding. I had to avoid her at church functions because she would berate me for not taking the shoes and insist that I should come and get them. Photographs are especially valuable, and I search for them, not only to illustrate my publications, but because they provide a visual history in themselves. Many times, I have used pictures from Steve Sargetakis' large collection, some of which are classics. I've learned that photographs can tell us much, and even correct misinformation. When I first began interviewing the early immigrants, all of them now dead, I heard several times that the icon screen, the *iconostasis* of the first Holy Trinity Church in Salt Lake City that had been erected in 1905, had been sent to Pocatello, Idaho where the new Holy Trinity was built in 1924. I believed this until I saw a 1923 wedding picture from the Sargetakis collection. The bride and groom were photographed in front of the *iconostasis* in the old Holy Trinity, and it was identical to the *iconostasis* of the new Holy Trinity. When I told my respondents about it, they made light of it, saying other items had been sent to Pocatello.

Another photograph in the Sargetakis collection, one of my favorites, is a boarding house dinner table where a group of people are gathered, including the young widow seen as a bride in the 1923 wedding photograph. She is dressed in the traditional black with a black cap covering her hair, and she is holding her baby daughter who was born after her father was killed in the Castle Gate explosion in 1924. Forty-nine Greek miners were killed in that explosion, including the fathers of two of our museum officers, Andy Katsanevas and Steve Sargetakis.

The picture was taken during the Christmas season. In the background is a Christmas tree, unknown in Greece. This picture shows Americanization has begun, symbolized by the Christmas tree and a bottle of ketchup on the table. An early photograph of a funeral shows Christmas swags decorating the interior of Salt Lake City's first Holy Trinity Church.

Photographs also show us long, almost forgotten folklore. When young men left Greece for America to earn money for their sisters' dowries, and to help their parents who had mortgaged their rocky land for ship's passage, many carried a vial or amulet of Greek earth. If they were to die in *xenitia* in foreign lands, the priest would have a pinch of Greek earth to sprinkle into their caskets. Greek earth was

holy to the men. They also buried each unmarried dead as a bridegroom with a *stephani*, a wedding crown, on his head, a flower or sprig of basil in his lapel, and a gold band on the ring finger of the right hand, the hand that makes the sign of the cross. These were called *thanatogamoi*, death weddings; their origins go back to ancient Greece.

Using several of these death-wedding pictures, I illustrated an essay on Greek immigrant funeral customs in Utah. The last I have seen is that of a fifteen-year-old Wyoming girl who died of a brain tumor in 1935. She is dressed as a bride with veil and *stephani*. Her casket is surrounded by friends who wear the blue and white uniforms of the GAPA Girls Club. The dead bride and her friends wearing the GAPA uniforms are reminders that death weddings are no longer performed, and the Greek American Progressive Association, the GAPA, once a strong adversary of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, the Ahepa, is gone.

I thought I had found a sizable addition to my collection when a Greek-American woman told me her husband had numerous photographs that I could have. When I arrived, her husband showed me a dresser that had belonged to a bachelor uncle. In it were large wedding, baptismal, and funeral pictures in excellent condition. Evidently, the uncle had placed them in drawers and never looked at them again. In Utah immigrant days, two Greek photographers, John Sagris and George Kyrianakos took pictures of every Greek happening in Salt Lake City, Murray, Midvale, Bingham Canyon, and Carbon County. These photographs were given out liberally as keepsakes. The nephew did not know anyone in the pictures; his uncle had not written the names and dates on the backs, which is a loss. Yet at the last moment his nephew could not give me the pictures. He looked at them as if they were riches he could not part with, even though he had no use for them, and they meant nothing to him.

Oral history is also valuable. It tells us about people's social history and about historical events. In Salt Lake City, John Chipian and Constantine Skedros have made videotapes of older members of the community. It is too late for taping Greeks of the early nineteenth-hundreds, but we must search for written accounts and tape their children and the immigrants who arrived after the Second World War.

By now, most of you might know about the burning of South Omaha's Greek Town in 1909. By that time the Greek section of the



city had several buildings and shops and was well established. Eighteen hundred Greeks worked in slaughterhouses and on railroad gangs. The conflagration followed when a policeman objected to a young Greek's walking down the street with an American woman (in those days, Greeks were not considered white). The immigrant had taken her to a movie, and afterwards to an ice cream shop. In the confrontation, he shot the policeman. A mob formed the next day, looted stores, beat Greeks who had been unable to escape, and burned Greek Town to the ground. Much was made in the newspapers about the woman: was she a good woman or a prostitute? It boggles the imagination that over five hundred people knew the woman well enough to sign an affidavit declaring she was a virgin.

I had read Theodore Saloutos' and John G. Bitzes' versions of this assault, but not until a Greek slaughterhouse worker told me about it, and later wrote it down, did I see it so starkly. James Galanis was better educated than most immigrants. After the burning of South Omaha, like all Greeks, he fled; he came to Carbon County, Utah, worked in the mines, and by the time I was a child, he and my father had become good friends and businessmen. For many years after his retirement and move to Santa Monica, we corresponded and telephoned each other. His account was as vivid in 1977 as if it were related sixty-eight years earlier in 1909. He told of hearing gunshots, running for shelter to coffeehouses, then to a grocery store, but immediately the store burst into flames. He wrote, "During all these atrocities, the POLICE standing a short distance watching this destruction of property and danger to human beings (to the police, apparently, the poor immigrant Greeks were not considered as such). And I mean what I say, because I was there!" Three days later, he said a twelve-year-old Greek boy was found dead under a bridge. Official inquiries do not mention this. I am not surprised. Immigrants were killed, quickly buried, and proper notification to parents were often not sent. One reason is that mine and railroad management foolishly gave the small compensation to Greek labor agents to mail to the dead men's families who never received the money. In immigrant days, there was a saying, "America swallows young men." James Galanis is a tall figure in my mythical land of Greekness.

Although some respondents are reserved about being interviewed and look at the recorder with suspicion, most are willing and even exuberant. Often they reveal their human contradictory selves. I in-

interviewed a much respected man, so religious he wanted to become a priest, but the great Archbishop Athenagoras told him, "No, get yourself a little woman instead." This immigrant was devoted to Orthodoxy, yet he told me the following with anger, even though decades had passed since the happening. When he was a young man, he and two other men worked in the Garfield, Utah Smelter, and lived in the *bekiariko*, a bachelor house near Magna. On his name day, he and his friends stole a lamb from a Mormon farm and put it on a spit. They were ready to carve the roasted lamb when some fellow Greeks came to share it. Angrily he said, "I told them to get out. You didn't help steal the lamb, and you can't help eat it!" I asked a Greek sheepman about sheep stealing and he said, "Oh, we did it all the time. They stole from us, and we stole from them."

Besides artifacts, photographs, and oral histories, journals make history live. I have found only three firsthand accounts of immigrant life in America written by Greeks. The first is the Michael Contopoulos book based on the M.L. Evangelides diaries about the wealthy Greeks in New York City from the years 1834-37. The second is a treasure written by Maria Economidhou, a Greek woman journalist for her husband's Athenian newspaper *NIKA*; and the third is the Haralambos Kambouris diaries of 1912-1917. Harry Kambouris lived most of his life in Salt Lake City. I always mention the Economidhou and Kambouris writings, because we have so little to help us with our immigrant past, and they are stark, vivid accounts.

I found Maria Economidhou's book many years ago in my parents' basement. I gave it to the University of Utah Greek Archives; our museum had not been established yet. It is widely used through the interlibrary exchange.

In 1912 the journalist began traveling throughout the United States, Cuba, into Canada, and British Columbia. She wrote of her experiences in her book, *The Greeks in the United States As I Saw Them*. She berated managers for the Greek miners' horrific working and living conditions. They lived in shacks they built themselves out of blasting powder boxes and in tents with streams of water and sewage running parallel to each other. The manager of Utah Copper Company, now Kennecott, the largest open pit mine in the world, told her, "And if we did build them accommodations, they would prefer staying where they are."

She traveled three miles into the blackness of a Utah coal mine

and called out to a cluster of shadowy figures swinging picks, "*Ya sas Krêtikakia. O Theos tês Krêtês mazi sas*" (Have life, young Cretans. The God of Crete be with you.) The men froze, thinking an eerie voice was warning them of a cave-in. A six-foot young man cried on hearing the voice of a Greek woman.

Maria Economidhou wrote of the wandering showmen who set up *Karaghiozês* puppet shows to entertain miners and railroad gang workers. She was present in a railroad camp when a garishly painted woman, *Kyria Sophia*, sang and also danced, Maria Economidhou wrote, "with the grace of an elephant."

She revealed how little Americans and Greeks knew about each other. In a Dallas, Texas, restaurant, she sat at a table near three Greek men who had come to America to buy horses for the Greek army. They were asked to remove their hats while they ate, and they thundered about bad-mannered Americans. One of them had taken a streetcar that went a block too far from his stop and he promptly slapped the conductor as he would have done in Greece. He found out it was improper behavior in America. On her travels, the journalist met a minister who was leaving for Greece. She asked someone what he would do there and the woman answered, "Why to Christianize the Greeks!"

The Haralambos Kambouris diary is also a treasure. The diary has special importance, because Greeks did not keep journals. They came from an ancient oral tradition that told their history in song and poetry. Although memoirs exist throughout the United States, we have only this graphic diary that begins with a young man's departure from his village near Thebes. At the train station, he writes, "My mother embraced me, kissed me, and gave me a handkerchief to remember her by, and inside was a five-drachma coin and a sprig of basil."

In those days before workmen's compensation and Social Security, Haralambos writes of deaths, injuries, loneliness, and of a five-month search for work. The abyss was reached on a railroad construction gang three hundred and fifty miles from Seattle, Washington, snow eight-feet high, the nearest town eight miles away, and the Italian foreman had taken their stove. The men had to provide their own food. In a shack they celebrated Greek Easter not with the traditional lamb, but with two pounds of pork and eggs which Haralambos dyed with ink.

The latter part of the journal tells of Haralambos' feud with an

uncle who sued him for “disturbing the peace of his home.” Haralambos writes that his uncle was “bloodthirsty” and “detestable.” He was fined eighteen dollars. About 10 years later Haralambos, then in Salt Lake City, established the Star Theatrical Company, and wrote plays, usually on the Greek Revolution of 1821. It was not considered proper in those days for Greek women to take part in plays without their husbands. In one play, the part of a woman wearing a dress, ankles demurely crossed, with makeup on his face, was taken by Haralmbos’ uncle, the feud forgotten. Our early Greeks stormed with wrath, sued each other, later calmed down, and became friends again.

Harry’s son, Dino, gave me the journal when he realized it had value for others besides his family. Scholars are grateful to him and to Maria Economidhou.. I think of Mormon scholars who have hundreds of pioneer journals to help them research their history. I think, too, Maria Economidhou’s book might have disintegrated in my parents’ basement if I had not been writing Greek-immigrant history, looked through their old books, and found this unusual account. Also, if Dino Kambouris had not given me his father’s journal, Haralambos Kambouris’ voice might have been forgotten as the years passed. Our Greek immigrant history is richer because of these two treasures. Certainly, there are memoirs and documents in people’s homes that could add to our history. This is our last chance to find them.

Memoirs exist, however, and these stark, pared-down writings give information on work, events, customs, and the effect of a new country on lives far from *patridha*, the father land. Often a person’s telling of an event is slanted, the speaker placing himself in the center of the action, in the role of the sage, or brave leader. An interview conducted by a member of the Utah Historical Society is a good example. A prosperous Greek businessman from Price, Utah, told the interviewer that he was responsible for establishing Greek Sunday Schools in the United States. He said he went to Archbishop Athenagoras, a man of great humanity and dignity, and told him it was a dire necessity. This is untrue. The Salt Lake City Sunday School, for example, was begun before by Maria Takis and Lela Kannes.

Memory sometimes fails. In my files I have two different accounts by the same person about a fearful negligence against Greek workers in Nevada. One of them had been badly injured, but the straw bosses and the Greek labor agent would do nothing to help him. In one account, the respondent said he walked from McGill, Nevada to Salt

Lake City; in the other that he had enough money to take a railroad coach car while others walked over the sagebrush, dropping their belongings as they went on. In this instance, I can find no one to verify either version. In those first years our young immigrant men were always traveling, usually on freights from place to place, always looking for work and better wages. As time passes, people die, move away, forget.

The sardonic humor that saved our young Greeks from total despair often comes alive in reminiscences, however. I must not leave you with the impression that life was totally grim for our first immigrants. They had times of great joy in weddings, baptisms, and communal celebrations. I remember them as young people in my Land of Greekness.

A fine memoir was written by George Kyrianakos, the photographer. He had given a Mormon photographer five dollars to teach him how to take pictures. After ruining a number, he became adept at his trade. His memoir includes frightening experiences as he wandered through Turkey to take a ship to America in 1903. After many experiences as a naive country youth, he became established in Salt Lake City. He wrote:

"Then I decided to get married. But I have started to be baldheaded. I ask one good girl to marry me, but she doesn't want me. Then I order a toupe and start to wear it, and I look like a young and rich man. Then I go to the dances, and I meet the girl I want. Then I ask her if she loves me, and if we will get married, and she says, "Yes, I love you, dear." Then, after one month, I am ready to get married.

We send out invitations to our friends, and they come to church. About five hundred people. Then the best man starts to change the wreaths on the heads, and my wreath catches on my toupe, it dropping down. The bride turns and looks at me, sees a baldheaded man, and starts to cry, and insult me with all kinds of names. She calls a taxi and goes away.

Some of the people are laughing, and some are saying, "Poor George." "What is the matter?" "Too bad for you."

Then I jump on the chair and I say, "Ladies and Gentlemen, the bride is going away, because I am baldheaded, and I will try to find another. You people come to my home, and we will finish the lamb and wine, and we will have a good time."

He ends his memoir with this advice: "Be honest."

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Papadeas George, *Why Did She Cry?* Patmos Press, South Daytona, FL 2000, pp. 197.

Father George Papadeas is a pioneer priest in America. He entered with the charter class at the Pomphret, Connecticut Orthodox Seminary in 1937, and graduated in 1942. He was the first graduate from Holy Cross to be ordained, and opened a new era of Orthodoxy in the American continent. He made history as well, as he lived and experienced the development of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese on the Americas.

He pioneered the dissemination of liturgical books in Greek and English for the benefit of the faithful. The Holy Week service book is one that most Greek Americans attached for it is most helpful to guide the worshipper during the daily services in Holy Week.

The present volume is indeed an expression of his love to share the story of an event that took place in the Orthodox Church of America and caused many to wonder why this happened at the particular place and time. Fr. George does not purport to answer the "why" because he considered this a "mystery" and a "miracle." He tells the story of the evens as well as the experiences of the weeping icons as he lived them. The descriptions of these miracles manifest the love and concern of the Mother of God for all humanity. This book is an account of the eyewitness of the three weeping icons of the Virgin Mary in the St. Paul's Cathedral in Hempstead, New York. The manifestation occurred on March 16, 1960; on April 12, 1960; May 7, 1960.

The author begins this volume with the statement that, "God works His wonders through people." This is because God's love is related to human persons and is not outside of experience of people and that God does not act in a vacuum.

Very interestingly, Father George wants to educate people through his book. He begins the book in the first chapter with, "A word about the Holy Orthodox Church." He "deems it necessary to give a brief historical account of the Holy Orthodox Church and the veneration of the Icons, as revered in the Eastern Orthodox Church" (p. 3). He goes on to explain the terms used to define the Orthodox Church. He speaks of the relation with other churches. He speaks of icons as windows to heaven. Through the icons the worshipper gets a glimpse of the heavenly reality.

He proceeds in the course of his story to relate to the present

generation his experience of the events. He says, "I am a living testimony of all the relative events, as also are to a sizable degree, the hundreds of dedicated parishioners who volunteered and worked diligently to accommodate the hundreds of thousands who made the pilgrimage to St. Paul's to view the icons—some to revere and pray—and other out of sheer curiosity" (p. 21). I was one of the "pilgrims" who came to Hempstead to receive the blessing of the "weeping Madonna." I was a seminary student and during the same week I stayed with my sister, Olga Mandas, who worked in New York City. I still remember my awesome feeling of reverence for the compassionate Birthgiver of God.

Thousands of people filed into the church to see and pay respect to the Virgin Mary. There were also numerous reporters and even scientists who came to experience the authenticity of this "sign." Most people who came marveled at this as a "Divine Sign."

Fr. George includes in this book the three icons and their history, the people who owned them and pertinent historical and symbolic information useful for the religious education of the people who read the book. He explains the Akathist Hymn sung during Fridays of Great Lent in honor of the Virgin Mary. Fr. Papadeas himself translated this extraordinary poetic masterpiece into English.

In his telling us the story, Fr. George gives details of the people who were involved including those who owned the icons, the assessment of Archbishop Iakovos, the Patriarchate, other religious leaders as well as journalists and political personages. Fr. George speaks of the processions of the icons into the Church, and the religious experiences of people—including Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish. They all felt a certain awe and wonder of this "sign".

The author tells his readers of the interest of some government officials to hear of the firsthand from an eyewitness of the "weeping icon." Fr. George was invited to Washington, DC to deliver the invocation at the Senate where he met with several senators and the vice-president, R. Nixon, who were eager to hear about the "weeping Madonna."

The author documents the entire event with details that describe the reports and experiences of people witnessing this miracle. The answer to the question "Why did she cry?" is ultimately unanswerable to the unbeliever, but evident to those who believe and discern God's ineffable expression of love. Many hierarchs and Church officials



interpreted this as a “divine sign” pointing to people the way of repentance and return to God. Fr. George points also to the negative expressions of people who felt this was a “gimmick” to raise funds or “hoax,” but as this dedicated man of God saw it and many others verified the “sign” was really from God. The Archdiocese and Ecumenical Patriarchate declared it as a “sign from God,” that is, the Panagia was weeping for humanity. This became a powerful force in the spiritual life of many people who experienced it. This book is indeed a teaching text and inspiration for all Orthodox and non-Orthodox people who yearn for God’s sign to direct their lives. I especially recommend it to the pious Orthodox Christians to read this as history of our Church in this country, and especially to share in the miracle that took place in Long Island, NY and received national publicity.

Fr. George Papadeas is to be congratulated and deeply thanked for his dedication and great effort to present a piece of history for future generations. The story is told as it happened.

In addition, he also includes a helpful glossary at the end that explains the terms used in the book. This is very useful to the reader who is not familiar with the Orthodox terminology.

I highly recommend this book to the general reader and especially to the new generation to learn the history of our in this country as lived by one dedicated priest.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Constantine Cavarnos, *Byzantine Churches of Thessaloniki*, Belmont, Ma: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies (1995) pp.88.

The present volume is a contribution to the study of the Byzantine Churches in Thessaloniki and their iconography and architecture. It contains an account of the architecture, iconography and decoration of seven Byzantine Churches of Thessaloniki of historical and aesthetic importance.

Thessaloniki is the capital city of northern Greece. It is an important administrative and cultural center in Macedonia since the Byzantine period. The author describes seven beautiful, awe-inspir-

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